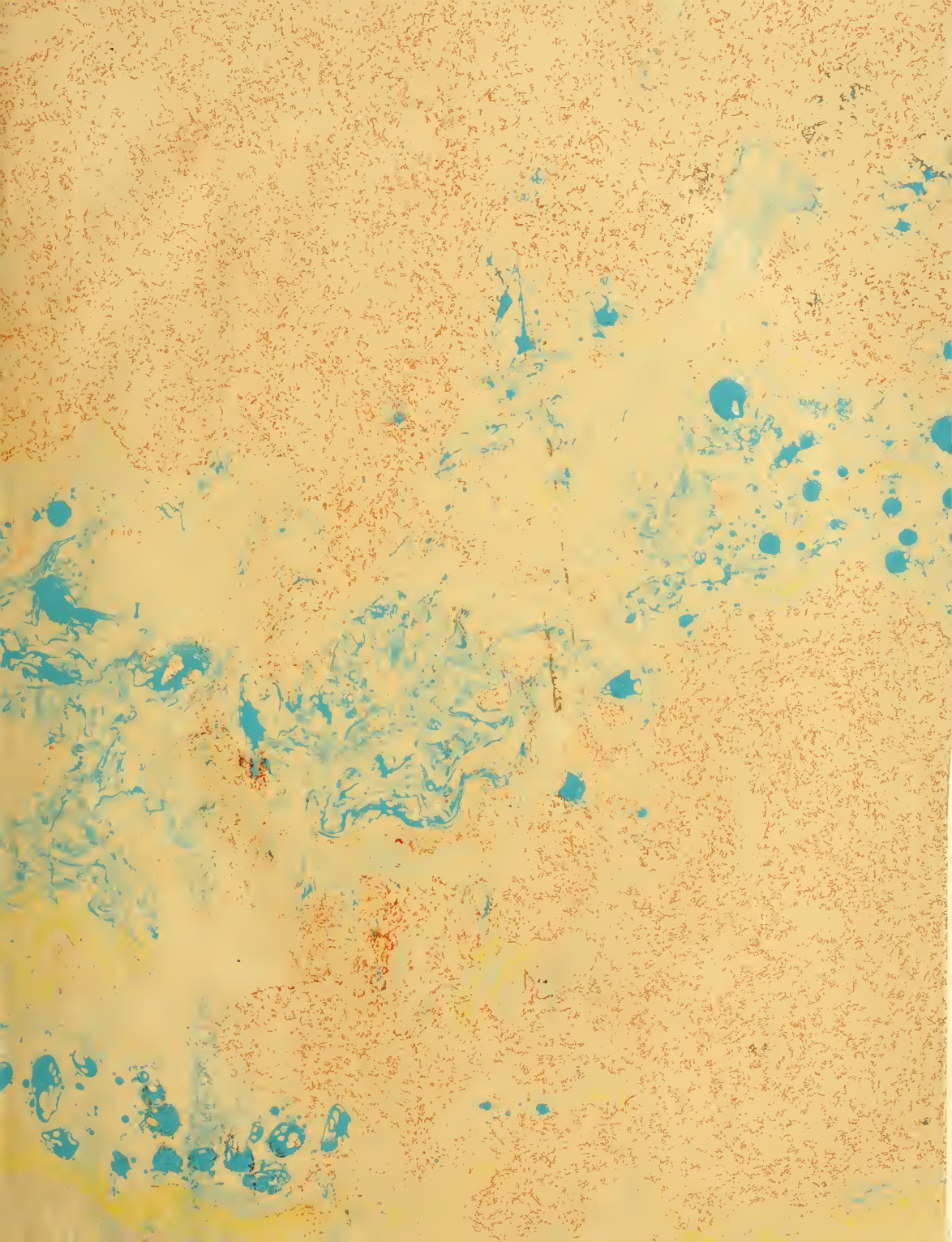

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a tribute of Esteem from the Author.

Esher Sepr. 1829.

Futteh Ali Shah.

King of Persia.

TRAVELS

IN

GEORGIA, PERSIA, ARMENIA,

ANCIENT BABYLONIA,

&c. &c.

DURING THE YEARS 1817, 1818, 1819, AND 1820.

By Sir ROBERT KER PORTER.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS OF PORTRAITS, COSTUMES, ANTIQUITIES, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1821.

Your Majesty's accession to its government, is of a nature to attach, as well as to enlighten; to prove that the most extended sceptre rests in the mind and in the heart; and by such means the King of England's empire is the globe.

With this proud feeling of a British subject, the narrator of these Travels brings back from all lands the unalienable principles of affection and duty to the august Sovereign of his country; for whose most gracious acceptance of this humble tribute of devoted loyalty, the writer has not terms sufficiently to express the deep gratitude with which through life he is,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Most Dutiful Subject, and Servant,

ROBERT KER PORTER.

May, 1821.

PREFACE.

In offering this narrative to the public, the writer is conscious of no personal vanity as an author; that being a character, in its usual important sense, to which he forms no pretension. During three years' travelling in the East, he kept a regular journal of all he saw worthy observation; and he wrote his remarks with the impression of the moment. From this Diary, sanctioned by opportunities of comparing his own remarks with others, and first with second impressions, he collected the matter of these two volumes; arranging their subjects, without altering their language to give it literary grace; a task that might have been more than difficult to a man who has passed the chief part of his life in foreign countries. Hence, as he lays claim to nothing of what is commonly called style, in writing, he trusts in the candour of his reader to judge him by his pretensions alone; truth, in what he relates, and fidelity in what he copies. A few extracts from a letter with which he was honoured by His Excellency Mons. Olinen, the Russian

Imperial Secretary of State, President of the Academy of Fine Arts, &c., a short time previous to the commencement of his journey, may be deemed the text on which he has proceeded:

Translation of part of a Letter to Sir Robert Ker Porter, &c.

" I hasten to communicate to you the result of my observations on the different travels, given to the world on the subject of Persia. My remarks have for their object a distinct illustration of those precious monuments of antiquity which yet remain at Chehel-minar, or Persepolis; at Mourg-aub, which, according to the felicitous explanation of Mr. Morier, should be Pasargadæ, with the tomb of Cyrus; and, finally, the beautiful relics at Nakshi-Roustam, Be-Sitoon, &c.

" When comparing the engravings in the Travels of Chardin, Le Brun, and Niebuhr, which represent the same subject, we find them so utterly contradictory to each other, as not to bear the smallest pretensions to fidelity; being rather vague memorandums, than any thing of veritable outline. I made an accurate copy of one of these subjects, as it is represented by these three several travellers; and you may see, by casting your eye on the specimen from each, how little dependance is to be placed in the pencil of any of the trio. Here, you may observe the same figures of the same Persepolitan bas-relief, transmitted to us in three perfectly different forms of outline. The bas-relief was cut in very hard stone, which I have had an opportunity of knowing from a fragment that was brought to St.

Chardin. 1671.

Niebuhr. 1765.

Le Brun. 1704.

London Published by [illegible] 1827

Petersburgh; and the same personages which Le Brun represents in the year 1704, with their noses, mouths, and beards mutilated, re-appear, quite whole in every feature, in the drawings of Niebuhr from Persia, in the year 1765. You will confess, that without some miracle, both these accounts cannot be true; yet this phenomenon actually presents itself on the plates of these two travellers; and Chardin shews the like inaccuracy to so great an extent, that I know not to which to yield any belief. * In short, I cannot but repeat the old French proverb, ' A beau mentir qui vient de loin.'

" In this great perplexity to a lover of antiquity, I place my confidence in your plain dealing; that you will decide the controversy, by taking the trouble to make your drawings on the spot, and with scrupulous exactness copying the object before you line by line. Indeed, I conjure you, in the name of the *Holy Antiquity*, to mark down nothing but what you actually see; nothing suppose; nothing repair. I only beg you to represent the original ancient remains " tali quali, in statu quo."

" By this simple matter-of-fact representation, we shall at last obtain a true idea of the progress which the arts made amongst the Persians; and may become better acquainted with the forms of their ancient writing; whether they did, or did not divide their letters with stops, and each word with a cuneiform character placed obliquely. Besides, I hope through your ob-

* See Sir Robert Ker Porter's copy of the same bas-relief, Plate XXXVII.

servations, to be put in possession of an accurate description of the ancient Persian bow, its shape, and the manner of attaching its string; and, indeed, from your remarks and sketches, to be enabled to judge which of the three above-mentioned travellers are, on the whole, most correct in their drawings of the remains at Persepolis and Mourg-aub. By looking at my next plate, you will perceive the errors which appear to have crept into the copy given of the inscription in Persepolitan letters, found amidst the ruins at Mourg-aub.* I also anticipate your shewing us the precise form of the Pehlivi and Zend characters; and, perhaps, you may find it in your power to give a true explanation of the Persian *beit* or distich, engraved on the gold ring that was found in the ancient city of Torjok, in the great road from St. Petersburgh to Moscow. The ring is in the possession of His Imperial Majesty; and you will find it represented on my fifth plate.

"In conclusion, I repeat, draw only what you see! Correct nothing; and preserve, in your copies, the true character of the originals. Do not give to Persian figures a French *tournure*, like Chardin; nor a Dutch, like Van Bruyn, (Le Brun;) nor a German, or rather Danish, like Niebuhr; nor an English grace, like some of your countrymen; in your portraits of the fragments at Nakshi-Roustam. Adieu.

"Your faithful Friend and Cousin,

"A. Olinen."

* See Sir R. K. Porter's copy of the same inscription, Plate XIII. It may be useful to my general readers, to mention here, that the appellations "Persepolitan," "cuneiform," "arrow-headed," "nail-headed" characters, all mean the same style of writing; mostly found at Persepolis and Babylon.

What refinement of taste in some of Sir Robert Ker Porter's predecessors may have caused them to change, almost unconsciously, a scrupulous curiosity in observing the progress of the art, determined him to copy line by line, defect or beauty; whatever he saw, to pourtray; transcribing shape of person, character of feature, and fashion of apparel, to the minutest particle. An ardent lover and sedulous practiser of the arts, from childhood to the present time, his eye and his hand being alike familiar to every detail of the pencil or the chisel, precision in these respects is as natural to him, as embellishment to those, who may be amateurs of the arts, without having actually studied the principle of its schools. Therefore, to such an undeviating fidelity of portraiture, the writer of this work avows his claim. A similar experience in military objects, assisted his observations on the arms of the people, ancient and modern, of the nations through which he travelled, and greatly facilitated his measurements and plans of the sites and elevations of certain cities and places of renown and interest. He also wishes to state, that the large map of the Persian empire, &c. is laid down by himself; chiefly from his own personal observations, assisted by those of Major Monteith, of the Madras engineers, who is now a resident in Persia; and where their joint personal information did not reach, both published and MSS. geographical observations were consulted, while the writer was in the East, and, subsequently, every thing useful that could be found in the *Depôt Imperial des Cartes* at St. Petersburgh. The smaller routes are entirely from his own remarks; and should they, with the preceding, meet the attention of Major Rennell, the vener-

able father of this branch of geography in England, his approval would be one of the highest gratifications the compiler of these maps could receive; while he hopes their minute details may smooth the way to future travellers.

This volume ends at the termination of the author's journey through Persia Proper. The next will comprise Babylonia, Kourdistan, and those other countries of the empire, which formed the subject of so many pages of deep interest in the old histories of the East, whether by classic or native writers.

Specimens of the antiquities which the author brought from those countries, he has deposited in different museums; but chiefly in those of the united kingdoms under the sceptre of his own sovereign; the British Museum, Edinburgh, and Dublin. All his coins, which are numerous, though rare, are yet in his own possession.

It were an endless task to make his acknowledgments to every person, who, from his first setting out, till his return to his country, facilitated his pursuits, and was hospitable to him in his travels. A few names he has mentioned in this way, in the course of his journal; and even those, a friend, in casting his eye over the MSS., pronounced to be too many; adding, that a succession of encomiums might be deemed more than natural. But, if the reader will recollect that these persons are mostly stationed in new establishments, where power must be maintained by the best talents; and that such ministers, when found,

must be so described; no surprise need be excited at a word of gratitude; and patience at least, may be granted to the tribute which is paid to the contemporary worth that makes a brotherhood of every nation.

To clear away a little the maze of eastern and classic names which generally presents itself whenever an ancient king of Persia occurs in these pages, a list of the sovereigns of the empire, Medes and Persians, is here subjoined. The table of contents of the volume is added, something between the copiousness of an index, and the brevity of a mere head of chapters.

P. S. The author of these Travels being abroad, the transcriber takes this opportunity of apologizing to the public for some errors in the orthography of proper names, which have crept into the work from the difficulty of decyphering the hand, or rather character, of the MS. transcribed.

LIST

OF

THE PERSIAN MONARCHS,

ACCORDING TO

NATIVE AND FOREIGN AUTHORS.

THE DYNASTY OF MAH-ABAD,

Recorded in the Dabistan, a work compiled from ancient Gueber fragments. This line is considered fabulous, or antediluvian, and begins with,

MAH-ABAD.

He had thirteen descendants, who reigned monarch and high-priest, till the last prince of his race,

AZERABAD,

Abdicated the throne, and retired into solitude. A time of terrible anarchy succeeded, until the rise of a new succession of kings, which are registered in the pages of Ferdousi and others, under the name of the

PAISHDADIAN DYNASTY, OR DISTRIBUTORS OF JUSTICE.

KAIOMURS,

The founder of the line, has been supposed to represent Noah, or one of his immediate descendants. He is also called GIL-SHAH, or King of the Earth.

HOUSHUNG,

The first worshipper of the element of fire, under the name of the Light of God.

TAHAMURS

Introduces the worship of images.

JEMSHEED,

Recorded as the founder of Persepolis, and contemporary with Zohawk tyrant of Assyria, supposed to be the NIMROD of Scripture.

FERIDOON.

ERIG.

MANUCHEBER.

NOUZER.

ZOOH,—KERSHAP, ARBACES of the Greeks, and TIGLATH PILESER of the Scriptures.

With him closes the Paishdadian race, according to the native historians. More regular and authentic accounts, Greek and native, record the next line, called the

KAIANIAN DYNASTY.

Began to reign, B. C.

709. .....KAI-KOBAD,—DEJOCES of the Greeks, and ARPHAXAD of the Bible.

During his reign, and those of his immediate descendants, the celebrated Persian chief, Rustam, or Roostam, distinguished himself in the service of Persia.

656. .....PHRAORTES,

The son of the preceding. He is omitted by the Persian historians; and his reign may probably be included in the very long one they ascribe to Kai-Kobad. Their dates are very inaccurate, and the confusion of places and persons, often as much so.

634. .....KAI KAOOS,—CYAXARES I. of the Greeks.

In his time Nineveh was destroyed by the king of Babylon and himself, who had united their forces against it.

594. .....ASTYAGES,

The son of the preceding, is omitted by the Persians, and so is his son,

559. .....CYAXARES II.—DARIUS, the Mede, of the Bible,

Both these reigns being included, by the native writers, in that of the succeeding one.

536. .....KAI KHOSROO,—CYRUS of the Greeks, and of the Scriptures.

The Persians make his reign commence B. C. 599, by their omission of his immediate predecessor. He is succeeded by his son,

B. C.

529. .....Cambyses,

Who is omitted by the Persians; as is also Smerdis, the Magian, who usurped the kingdom, B. C. 522, if he is not intended by

Lorhasp,

Whose supposed reign includes the two preceding; and who appears a confused personage, between Smerdis the Magian, and Hystaspes the patron of Zoroaster, and the father of

521. .....Gustasp,—Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks.

He new-modelled the ancient Mithratic religion, under the auspices of Zoroaster; and is said to have been the first coiner of gold in Persia, hence the name of Darics.

485. .....Isfundeer,—Xerxes of the Greeks.

He commanded the famous expedition into Greece; and was one of the most favourite heroes of the Persians.

465. .....Bahman, Ardashir Dirodaste,—Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks, (and Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther,) succeeded by his son,

424. .....Xerxes,

Who was murdered by his brother Sogdianus, who was slain by his brother Ochus, who, taking the name of

423. .....Darab I.—Darius Nothus of the Greeks,

Was the husband of the celebrated Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus the Younger, the prince whose fortunes Xenophon followed into Persia. The character of this ambitious queen appears to identify her with Homai, to whom the building of one of the palaces at Persepolis has been attributed. Darius Nothus was succeeded by his son,

405. .....Artaxerxes Mnemon,

So called from his extraordinary memory. His brother Cyrus, at the instigation of his mother Parysatis, rebelled against him; and perishing in the contest, gave rise to Xenophon's ever memorable retreat of the Ten Thousand. Artaxerxes reigned forty-six years, sharing his power one year with his eldest son Darius, (B. C. 361.) but who was cut off in the same. On the death of the old king, he was succeeded by his son Ochus, who took the name of

353. .....Artaxerxes Ochus,

This most barbarous of all the Persian native princes, was succeeded by his son,

B. C.

337. .....Arses, or Arsemus.

Neither this prince, nor any of his predecessors, until Darius Nothus, the Darab I. of the Persians, are mentioned by the native historians; who pass at once from Darab I. to Darab II.; the latter being the great-grandson of the former. Arses reigned only two years, and was succeeded by

335. .....Darab II.—Darius Codomanus of the Greeks.

Alexander the Great invaded Persia, in this reign, and seized the empire.

DYNASTY OF THE GREEKS.

331. .....Iscandeer,—Alexander the Great.

From this period the empire was governed by the descendants of his generals, till, about eighty years after they had divided the empire amongst them, Ashk or Arsaces, a Parthian chief, wrested it from their hands, and established a line of kings, of which himself was the first.

ARSACEDIAN DYNASTY, OR PARTHIAN EMPIRE.

250. .....Ashk I.—Arsaces.

Ashk II.—Arsaces.

Shahpoor, or Sapor.

This monarch was contemporary with Antiochus the Great. Amongst the native historians there is a lapse of two hundred years, between Shahpoor and a Parthian prince called Baharam-Gudurz; and in this blotted page, we miss the great names of Phrahates, Orodes, and above all that of Mithridates, which form such brilliant passages in the Roman accounts of the Parthian empire; and which, when marshalled according to the accession of the princes who bore them, would fill the gap till after the commencement of the Christian era, and to within a few years of

Baharam Gudurz.

Volas,—Volageses I. of the Romans.

Hormuz,—Artabanes IV. of the Romans.

Narsi.

Ferozi.

Khosroo,—Volageses II. of the Romans.

Volas,—Volageses III. of the Romans.

Volasin.

Arduan, or Ardavan,—Artabanus V. of the Romans.

He was the last of the Parthian race, being slain by the founder of the

SASSANIAN DYNASTY, OR REVIVED KAIANIAN LINE.

A. D.

223. .....Ardashir Babigan,—Artaxerxes of the Western Historians.

He derived his descent from Isfundeer (Xerxes), the son of Darius Hystaspes, by a daughter of the Great Cyrus. He resigned his crown to his son,

240. .....Shapoor,—Sapor I. of the Romans.

This monarch defeated and made prisoner Valerian, the Roman emperor.

271. .....Hormuz I.—Hormisdas of the Greeks.

272. .....Baharam I.—Varanes I. of the Romans.

276. .....Baharam II.—Varanes II. of the Romans.

293. .....Baharam III.—Varanes III. of the Romans.

293. .....Narsi,—Narses of the Romans.

This king defeated the Emperor Galerius, and made himself master of Armenia.

303. .....Hormuz II.—Hormisdas II. of the Romans.

310. .....Shahpoor II.—Sapor II. of the Romans.

This monarch, surnamed Zoolaktaf, was contemporary with the emperors Julian, Constantius, Jovian, &c., and achieved great successes over them all. He reigned nearly seventy years.

380. .....Ardashir II.—Altaxerxes II. of the Romans.

385. .....Shahpoor III.—Sapor III. of the Romans.

390. .....Baharam IV.—Varanes IV. of the Romans.

This prince founded the city of Kermanshah. He was the brother of his immediate predecessor Shahpoor III., and both were the sons of the great Shahpoor Zoolaktaf, whose exploits are celebrated in the sculptures of Takt-i-Bostan.

404. .....Yezdijird Ulathim.—Izdejirtes of the Greeks.

420. .....Baharam V., surnamed Gour.

This prince was educated by Arab chiefs, and is celebrated as one of the best monarchs of Persia. He was drowned in hunting the wild ass.

438. .....Yezdijird II. surnamed Sipahdost,—Izdejirtes II. of the Romans.

456. .....Hormuz.

458. .....Firoze,—Peroses of the Greeks.

484. .....Pallasch,—Valens of the Romans.

488. .....Kobad,—Cabades of the Greeks.

531. .....Noushirvan,—Chosroes the Great of the Romans.

This sovereign gained many victories over the generals of the Emperor

A. D.

Justinian. Mahomed the Arch-impostor was born about ten years before the death of this truly great monarch.

579. .....Hormuz III.; dethroned, A. D. 590.

590. .....Baharam Chouban, a usurper.

591. .....Khosroo Purviz,

The son of Hormuz III. This prince made himself master of Jerusalem. The celebrated beauty, Shereen, or Shirene, was his queen, who sacrificed herself on his grave.

628. .....Schirouch, Ghubad, or Kobad, reigned eight months.

Ardashir, reigned seven months.

Pooran-Dokht, or Tooran-Dokht.

This princess was raised to the throne on the death of all her brothers, being the daughter of Khosroo Purviz. She reigned sixteen months, and was succeeded by her cousin, or lover,

Shah Shenendah, who reigned only one month, succeeded by Arzem-Dokht.

This princess was another daughter of Khosroo Purviz; and, after some confusion, the throne was filled by

632. .....Yezdijird,—Isdejirtes III. of the Greeks.

The son of Schirouch, grandson of Khosroo Purviz, and the last of the Sassanian race. He lost his kingdom to the Arabs, or Saracens under Omar, A. D. 641; and his life shortly after, by the hands of a treacherous peasant, with whom he had sought shelter. His family, from the time of Ardashir Babigan to himself, had ruled Persia four hundred and fifteen years; and in his overthrow it thus became subject to the

651. .....Caliphs of Bagdad,

Who governed Persia, by means of viziers, or rather different lines of independent princes, under that inferior title. To these succeeded the

Sultans of Ghizni,

A Turkoman race; of whom Mahmoud's name is particularly illustrious, having gathered together the fragments of ancient Persian history which had escaped destruction by the caliphs. After the sultans came the

SELJOOKEE DYNASTY,

A Tartar tribe, who, with their Attabeg followers, governed Persia above two hundred years; until Halukoo, the son of Zingis, or Ghengis Khan, established the

A. D.

1206. MOGUL DYNASTY,

Which continued till the sons of Timour-lung, or Tamerlane, with 20,000 Tartars, over-ran Persia, A. D. 1387, and seated their posterity on the throne. They reigned until A. D. 1505, when the Usbeg tribes of the Black and White Sheep wrested it from their hands. And these again, gave place to the founder of the

SEFI DYNASTY.

Shah Ismail.

This sovereign proclaimed himself of the race of the Caliph Ali, and gave a new explication of the Koran. He was succeeded by his son,

1523. .....Tamasp.

Elizabeth, queen of England, sent out Anthony Jenkinson as embassador to this prince, he was succeeded by his son,

1576. .....Ismail II.—Succeeded by his brother,

1577. .....Mahomed Khodabund.

Humza Mirza, died by assassination, A. D. 1585. He was the son of Mahomed Khodabund, but never was king; and was the father of

1585. .....Shah Abbas the Great.

Sefi Mirza, his eldest son, died by murder; and his son Sam succeeded his grandfather Abbas. The new monarch took the name

1627. .....Shah Sefi;—succeeded by his son.

1641. .....Abbas II.

1666. .....Shah Soliman.

1694. .....Shah Sultan Houssein.

With this prince, it may be said, closed the line of Sefi kings.

The Afghans having conquered Persia under

1722. .....Mahmoud, the Afghan.

1725 .....Ashroof.

The celebrated Kooli Khan recovered Persia from the Afghans, and, for a brief time, restored to the throne of his ancestors,

1727. .....Shah Thamas, or Tamasp.

This prince was the son of the murdered Shah Sultan Housseiu, of the house of Sefi; and who was himself deposed, and afterwards assassinated by the rebel and usurper Kooli Khan; who, mounting the throne, assumed the name

1736. .....Nadir Shah;

After whose death a period of wretched confusion ensued, under different

A. D.

rival chiefs, till the elevation of the head of the Zund tribe, under the title of Vakeel, or lieutenant of the empire, but the real sovereign,

1753. .....Kerim Khan.

He was succeeded successively by his three sons, and family,

1779. .....Abbul Futteh Khan.
1780. .....Ali Mourad Khan.
1784. .....Jaffier Khan.
1788. .....Looft Ali Khan.

On the defeat and death of this last prince of the Zund family, the succession gave place to the

KAJUR DYNASTY.

1788. .....Aga Mahomed Khan,

Who was succeeded by his nephew, the present King of Persia,

1798. .....Futteh Ali Shah.

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A Map of the
GEORGIAN AND PERSIAN PROVINCES,
together with
Courdistan and Babylonia
lying between the
Black Sea, The Caspian and The Persian Gulf.
DURING THE YEARS 1818, 19 AND 20.
by
Sir Robert Ker Porter
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
GEORGIA
KARABAGH
KARADAGH
AZERBIJAN
GHILAN
MAZANDERAN
COURDISTAN
IRAK AJEM
ARDELAN
ALGEZERA
IRAK ARABI
BABYLONIA
KHUZISTAN
PARS
PERSIAN GULF
GREAT SALT DESERT
PART OF KHORASAN
SHIRWAN
ARCHERAN
LAKE VAN
Geographical Miles

TRAVELS

IN

GEORGIA, PERSIA,

&c. &c.

The extraordinary political situation in which, not Europe only, but every country of the globe, has been involved during these last twenty-five years, has, in a most wonderful manner, brought all nations, remote and near, in a kind of scenic review before the observing eye. Places in ancient history, which time had thrown at such a distance in our minds, that they seemed almost as much passed into the grave as the persons their historians recorded, have not only risen before us, but appear as if at our very doors, touching us, in a thousand ways, by the sympathy of strangely associating interests. In short, the principle of the interests of any one particular kingdom, which, half a century ago, would not have been considered beyond the limits of its immediate neighbours, our portentous times have made so consequential to the security of all others, that the field of combat for one nation's rights has become the whole world. Hence the general impulse which has lately hurried the inhabitants of one half of the globe to visit the regions of the

other half. Armies have marched from climate to climate, to defend the liberties of their own country, on the invaded shores of distant allies; and thus found safety, as well as renown, in protecting the rights of others. Liberal speculation, and generous curiosity, (which foresaw a different empire than that of mere human ambition, in this extraordinary circumnavigation of the world,—the empire of civilized mind over brutal force!) these worthy motives, in the persons of the philosopher, the man of taste, the philanthropist, and the merchant, followed in the same track, eager to view places which modern story had brought into celebrity, and to visit countries which the past and the present cover with an ever-during fame. This latter impulse had long been very powerful with me; and, in the autumn of 1817, an opportunity occurred of gratifying a desire I had formed of travelling to Persia, across a range of countries which sacred, as well as profane history, has rendered peculiarly interesting to every man who finds pleasure in comparing men as they are, with what they have been; and the recent progress of Asiatic regeneration, with the full growth of civilisation as it is displayed in Christian Europe.

I left St. Petersburgh on the 6th of August (O. S.), 1817, for Odessa on the Black Sea; intending to embark at that port for Constantinople, and thence proceed to Persia. As I travelled *en courier* to the Turkish capital, time would not allow me to halt long at any place in my way: hence, my readers must expect little more than an itinerary of posts, till it became necessary to alter my route from the waves of the Euxine to the mountains of Caucasus. Having taken the usual road from St. Petersburgh to the banks of the Dwina, I passed that river on the 20th of August (O. S.) by a floating bridge. It crossed

the stream where the bed was not very broad; neither were the waters so rapid there, nor the banks so high, as in most other places. As we travelled onward, it was gratifying to see the country which, five years ago, showed only the footsteps of war and devastation, now exhibiting every mark of peace and happy industry.

Proceeding through Sourage, we passed on to Vitepsk; and in the evening reached Mogiloff, a town pleasantly situated on the shores of the Dneiper, with fine churches and handsome houses. From my first starting, to this place, the road had been unvaryingly good, excepting a small tract of bad land which presented itself soon after our leaving Sourage. Mogiloff is about seven hundred and eighty-three wersts from St. Petersburgh; — and the reader must hold in mind, that the calculation makes two English miles comprise about three wersts Russian. We now travelled over rough ground, through wild forests, occasionally intersected with spots in cultivation; till, on approaching Tcherningoff, we entered a country quite open. All was level and bare of wood, like vast downs, for a considerable extent before we arrived at the town; but a few tracts, scattered with trees, were discernible in its vicinity. The roofs of the cottages are thatched here, instead of being covered with wood, and the walls look neat and cheerful, from being whitened with a mixture of lime and mud. We crossed, by a long bridge of timber, over the Sojy to the town, which, being built on an eminence, gives a very imposing effect to its churches and monasteries. On quitting Tcherningoff, and its thin remnant of woods, we found ourselves again in the open country, which now seemed boundless. It is known in Russia by the appellation *Steppe*, or Desart; being an expanse of several hundred wersts, varied from

the common acceptation of its name, by the culture of corn, and the animation of innumerable windmills. The peasants were busily employed, gathering in the harvest.

On different parts of this vast plain, and not far distant from the road, I was struck with the successive appearance of some thousands of the *tumuli*, those mansions of the dead of ages past, which overspread the face of this country, even to the shores of the Black Sea, and nearly to the banks of the Kuban. My meditations on their design and origin were interrupted by our arriving at the town of Kremanchuck. It is situated on low and swampy ground, but surrounded by dry and deep sands. A few withering trees peer through the ungenial soil, yielding a scanty shade to the miserable garden of what is called the palace of this wretched place. On quitting Kremanchuck, we passed the Dneiper again, (the river winding about in many contrary directions,) over another wooden bridge. This was nearly a mile in length, and so constructed as to rise and fall with the action of the water. For many wersts onward, the road was of deep and loose sand; consequently our progress was slow and encumbered, till we regained the Steppe. There, our wheels moved faster, but it was long before they brought us in sight of any thing new or interesting. Nothing interrupted the monotonous line of country, except here and there a steep ravine; within which, though only to be discovered by arriving on its brink, might be found a few earth-built huts, and perhaps as many stunted trees, like the inhabitants, hardly nourished by so rough a bosom.

The next post is Elizabethgrad, one thousand and eighty wersts from Moscow. The site of this post bears a more cheerful aspect. It is situated on each side of a ravine, which, being more capacious in breadth than any I had yet seen, admitted

the erection of more comfortable habitations. A mud fort, of a very respectable height, stands on one of its acclivities, effectually commanding the approach to the town, by the road I came. A small stream, called the Yegal, flows through the little valley or dell, dividing the town, and adding much to its cleanliness and freshness. The churches, as is the case almost universally throughout the Russian empire, are the first objects of attention in point of architecture, and are here even elegant. The houses, being white-washed, appear exceedingly nice externally; but whether the same purity would be found within, may be doubted were we to judge by the *tout ensemble* of the persons who come out at the doors. This place, in common with all the others I had lately passed through, is mostly inhabited by Jews. From scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is used for purposes of fuel; and the inhabitants collect it with great care, forming it into cakes, which they dry in the summer sun, for culinary and winter use.

After leaving Elizabethgrad, no cultivation varied the face of the Steppe. All was one interminable tract of grazing ground, for innumerable herds of horned cattle, sheep, and horses. An eye accustomed to the farm-enclosures of England can have no idea of the effect of such a scene; so vast, so full of animal life, and yet giving the traveller such an impression of desert solitariness.

We arrived at Nicolaieff, (about one thousand three hundred and thirteen wersts from Moscow;) and after a short stay passed the river Boug in a large passage boat, three miles from the town. The width of the river, where we crossed, may be a mile and three quarters. We ascended a steep and sandy bank, on disembarking, and at its summit found the post-house. From

thence the road continued flat and uninteresting; though some parts were prolific in water-melons, a very grateful fruit in sultry weather. In many places they grew wild; and my little party did not spare their refreshing beverage. We reached the village of Koblinka early in the morning, and thence I had my first view of the Black Sea.

Koblinka is situated close to a large piece of water, called a Lyman; a name given in this country to any estuary which accident has separated from its originating sea; and this Lyman is the remains of what once formed a branch of the Euxine, but which, in process of time, was cut off from its parent waves by the accumulation of sand, gradually rising into a sort of isthmus between. Many similar lakes of the same origin intersect the valleys towards Odessa. On quitting Ajêlyka, (our last post before we gained Odessa,) we descended into a flat of considerable extent: it was worthy observation, from having been a still larger branch, now dried up, of the same sea; but the road was the worst I had seen during my whole journey.

We entered Odessa, the great mart of this northern Mediterranean, at nine o'clock in the evening. From the duskiness of the hour it was difficult to distinguish objects; however, I could discern wide streets, spacious houses, numerous churches, ranges of warehouses, and hundreds of draft-oxen reposing in the squares, and open grounds not yet occupied by buildings. I traversed the city in all directions, without finding a hotel; but the hospitality of Mr. Yeames, our Consul-general, put an end to my pursuit; and I learnt from him that private houses are the only lodgings at Odessa.

My next step was to engage a passage for Constantinople; but on proceeding to do so, every body told me, the plague

was raging there with a fury not known for years, and to brave it would be madness. Many of the Christian residents in Pêra had become its victims, and amongst them a much-lamented son of the Austrian Internuncio. In short, the official reports were amply sufficient to deter a more obstinate man than myself from following his own inclination; and having as many reasons for wishing to reach Constantinople without delay, as to reach it at all, to put off going, till colder weather might check the disease, would have been to waste time to no purpose; so I even took the good counsel of Mr. Yeames, and dispatching my business to our ambassador at the Porte, determined on entering Persia, *via* Georgia.

Count de Langeron (who succeeded the Duke de Richelieu as Governor-general of this part of the Russian empire) offered me every facility in pursuing my journey by this route; and having received his letters and passports, no time was lost in preparing my departure. The Count is the same gallant officer who distinguished himself so eminently, where all were brave, in the Russian campaign of 1812, against Buonaparte; and to have been obliged by such a man, doubled the value of the service. His government extends to Kherson, the Taurida, and Yekaterinsloff.

Odessa is distant from St. Petersburgh about one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three wersts; and though amongst the latest planted, is one of the most flourishing cities of the empire. It bids fair to realise the views of Peter the Great, in wishing to extend the commerce of his country on the side of Asia. Katherine the Second, treading in his steps, effectually opened the way to riches and to power; and to the rapid civilisation of all her subjects near the Black Sea, by her victories there, and

the consequent peace of Kamainargi. The founding of Kherson, in 1780, gave birth to an extensive commerce in that quarter, which gradually and substantially increased. The acquisition of the Crimea, promised security to its success; and the establishment of the ports of Kaffa, and Kertish, confirmed it. The prospect of a further stretch of commercial coast, was laid open by the capture of the Turkish fort of Gadgibei, which Admiral Rebus took by storm. That fort was the *nucleus* (if we may use such a metaphor) of the present city of Odessa. It stood on a high cliff, overlooking the sea, and commanding a great part of the coast, with a fine harbour below. From the manifest advantage of this position, the victors, or rather those in authority after its conquest, formed a plan, which they sent up to government, setting forth the eligible situation of the recently-acquired fortress, for the establishment of a new port on the Black Sea. The project was adopted; orders issued for the foundations to be laid; and in the year 1796 the Christian city of Odessa began to rise, around the battered walls of the Mahometan fortress. Since that time a gradual influx of adventurous, and industrious inhabitants, has brought it to the wealth and consequence it now exhibits. Within these few years, the exportation of grain to the Mediterranean, and other considerable markets, has produced a degree of commercial activity in the adjoining country, scarcely to be credited as the effect of so comparatively an infant mart. Government being amply aware of the growing advantages of such an emporium in that part of the world, (advantages which none, but a person who has been on the spot, can fully apprehend,) hold out large offers, in the shape of personal privileges, to certain orders of settlers; these privileges being in addition to the liberties which Odessa, as a city, is generally to enjoy.

In 1817 it was declared a free port. But as much money, labour, and time are required to fulfil several important articles in His Imperial Majesty's ukase, some years must yet elapse before the city can reap all the advantages of its abundant situation. Meanwhile, as fortunes have been, and are made, with an astonishing rapidity, there is no want of persons to fill the various duties attendant on the custom-house, quarantine inspections, &c. The salaries of these public officers are not their only emolument. I was told, the revenue received by the crown in 1803 amounted to forty-two thousand rubles, and its present produce is upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand. Six hundred ships have already arrived this season; and the quantity of corn exported is calculated at eight hundred thousand chetverts: a chetvert is about two English pecks.

Odessa possesses an admirable quarantine establishment, with commodious warehouses, and other conveniences indispensable to the comfort of the merchant. The whole is surrounded with walls and towers, and vigilantly guarded by a cordon of sentinels. Every precaution is taken, both on board the vessels which arrive, and with regard to the goods and persons disembarked, to prevent the plague being communicated to the town. Yet in spite of all this care, the dreadful malady made its appearance in the year 1812; a year terrible and glorious to Russia: terrible, that pestilence and war invaded her at once; but glorious, that in her calamity dawned restored liberty and peace to continental Europe.

Several handsome churches ornament the city; but none of its buildings equal the theatre in beauty. The edifice stands in a fine situation, on a sort of square, overlooking the sea, and presenting a portico which, at a distance, reminds the spectator of the

temple of Minerva, at Athens. Italian opera, and Russian comedy, form the dramatic amusements of the place. Thirty thousand inhabitants, it is said, compose the present population of Odessa.

Having bidden farewell to my hospitable entertainers, both British and Russian, and being obliged, on my changed route, to pass again through Nicolaieff, my good friend, General Kobly, brought me on my way as far as Koblinka. His property in that neighbourhood is of considerable extent, and greater value. The soil produces abundance of corn, besides feeding multitudes of sheep, bred from the original Merinos. This latter speculation has been found highly profitable to the landholders in general, whose pastures every where around, rivalled those of Koblinka; some having from twenty to thirty thousand sheep in their flocks, equal in form and wool to any of the species I ever saw in Spain. The breed is crossed by Moldavian ewes, but the fleece does not degenerate. — General Kobly draws a considerable revenue also from the sale of salt, produced by the evaporation of the waters of a small lyman, part of his property immediately bordering on the Black sea. A fishery near the spot returns a proportional profit in a species of herring, mackarels, turbots, soles, and sterlits; which are salted as soon as caught, and afterwards advantageously disposed of in the markets of Odessa.

Personal labour at Odessa and its dependencies is excessively high. A soldier may gain three rubles per day for manual work, a regular carpenter seven; consequently, all articles of living are dear; and to lessen the expense of labour, every expedient is adopted, to effect its purposes by the fewest hands. One attempt is, to divide the corn from the ear, without flail or threshing machine. — Several four-wheeled carts are filled with

stones, and each drawn by two horses; they are then driven in a regular circle over the sheaves, as they lie on the ground carefully disposed in rows. Some of the proprietors perform a similar operation by the trampling of horses without carts; this used to be practised in the east, by the treading of oxen: but for cleanliness, and ultimate profit, nothing is comparable to the regular threshing of the British farmer.

During my short stay at Koblinka, I witnessed (though fortunately for the neighbourhood it was at a distance) a calamity almost peculiar to the farmer of the Ukraine, and which too often spreads a temporary desolation over vast tracts of his country: I mean a grass fire. This terrible accident generally happens by the carelessness of bullock-drivers, or of persons belonging to caravans of merchandise, who halt for the night on the open plain; and, on departing in the morning, neglect to extinguish their fires. Wind, or some other casualty, brings the hot embers in contact with the high and dry grass of the Steppe; it bursts into flame, and burns on, devouring as it goes with a fury almost unquenchable. That which I now beheld, arose from negligence of this kind, and soon extended itself over a space of forty wersts; continuing its ravages for many days, consuming all the outstanding corn, ricks, hovels, in short, every thing, in its devastating path: — the track it left was dreadful!

My next sojourn, in this retrograde motion, was Nicolaieff, where I had the pleasure of seeing Admiral Greig. On arriving at this place from St. Petersburg, we crossed a long wooden bridge over the river Ingul, a considerable stream which flows past the north-west side of the town, but soon after falling into

the Boug, their united waters discharge themselves into the lyman of the Dnieper.

Nicolaieff, together with Cherson, (or, as it is pronounced, Kherson,) Sebastapol, &c. &c., was founded by the celebrated Prince Potemkin. The track of conquerors is usually traced by towns depopulated, and once-fruitful fields made barren wastes; but this victor left flourishing cities, where he found none; and colonized coasts, where, before, there was hardly a fisher's hut. This is indeed drawing the sword, to turn it into a plough-share; and who will deny such a conqueror present admiration, and the reverence of posterity?

A dock-yard has been established on the eastern shore of the Ingul, for building ships of war. One seventy-four, and one frigate, were on the stocks when I visited it. Indeed, an arsenal of this kind, and to be constantly at work too, is necessary to maintain a navy on these shores; for the Black Sea possesses a peculiarity more hostile to its fleets, than the guns of the most formidable enemy, — nothing more than a worm! But the progress of that worm is as certain and as swift as the running grains of an hour-glass. It preys on the ship's bottom, and when once it has established itself, nothing that has yet been discovered can stop its ravages. Even coppered vessels are ultimately rendered useless, when any small opening admits the perforation of this subtle little creature.

Several disadvantages attend the situation of the dock-yard at Nicolaieff. Amongst the most material, is the obstruction of the river by a bar, which makes it necessary to apply the camel to large vessels, when they are required to pass over it. A similar inconvenience exists at St. Petersburg. It is to be lamented that Peter the Great did not live to complete his designs

for Cronstadt. Those effected, its naval utilities would have equalled its military strength; and the expense and danger of launching vessels from the heart of the capital, being spared, Cronstadt might indeed have been the proudest boast of the Russian empire.

The town of Nicolaieff is rapidly extending itself in size, and population, under the good government of Admiral Greig; who, besides holding the post of its governor, is commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Black Sea. A judicious choice of men, so widely trusted, is not less honourable to the head that selects them, than happy for the people committed to their charge. Nicolaieff is one proof out of many, of this considerate delegated trust being worthily executed. But, without judgment in government, and ability in agents, empires cannot be built up; and, when up, without the same system they cannot long be maintained.

Amongst other excellent establishments at Nicolaieff, for the benefit of the public, and instituted by its successive governors, the Marquis de Traversy, a few years ago, founded a museum. On entering it, we found a good library, astronomical, and other scientific instruments, maps, charts, a few specimens of mineralogy, natural history, &c. And, considering the comparatively confined means of the liberal donor, the whole wears an appearance honourable to his science and his spirit. The collection of antiquities possesses some interesting remains; particularly the capitals of columns, parts of pilasters of white marble, and mutilated altars, which had been dug out of the ground where once stood Olvio, a city founded by the Greeks. Olvio was situated at some distance from the north-west bank of the Boug, near its junction with the lyman of the Dnieper,

Mounds of earth, and uneven spots, are now the only monuments of its existence; but when the ground is disturbed, other memorials present themselves, in the shape of coins, broken pillars, and the like relics usually found in the grave of a great city.

Nicolaieff boasts several fine churches, and synagogues also, of no mean architecture. Jews are the most numerous of its inhabitants, and their wealth bears no small proportion to their numbers; in short, they are the great medium of traffic. No transaction of business, excepting those connected with offices of government, is attempted in this part of Russia, but through their hands. Indeed, their influence extends further along the empire; for I am told that many of the Polish-Russian nobility farm out their estates to these people, who load the poor peasantry of the soil with the hardest yoke of bondage, not allowing them to sell any article of their industry but at a price fixed by the Jew their master. When these wealthy Israelites enter into agreement with the lords of the estate, a clause is generally inserted, to oblige each peasant to take annually a certain quantity of brandy from his landholder; for which insidious poison he returns a part of the wholesome product of his own labour, which was to have been food for himself and family. The effects of this mismanagement, on the health, morals, and situation of the country people, may be more easily guessed than described. But such practices have not found patrons in the government of the Ukraine.

The population of Nicolaieff may be about six thousand souls. During the summer months, the admiral, its governor, inhabits a very pretty country residence on the banks of the Boug, situated in a lofty grove. This last appendage, marks the parti-

cular attraction of the spot; the country around being almost barren of trees, and very few presenting themselves even on the margin of the river. The palace and its grove, stand about a couple of wersts from Nicolaieff, across a sandy plain, which the inhabitants of the town are obliged to traverse daily for every drop of water they consume. —All other water, rivers included, in the neighbourhood, excepting this one solitary fresh spring in the governor's grounds, are so brackish as to be nearly unfit for domestic use. The palace was built by order of Prince Potemkin; and occupied by him during the long siege of Otchakoff.

The road from Nicolaieff, towards Kherson, is excellent. The views around are all steppe; but vast tracts being sown with grain, its flourishing growth gave an air of cheerfulness to the poor little villages through which we passed. Were this road even a desert, it must ever possess a peculiar interest in the eye of an Englishman; for it holds the remains of our truly great Howard, the friend of the captive and the miserable.

The evening was drawing to a close when I approached the hill, in the bosom of which the dust of my revered countryman reposes so far from his native land. No one that has not experienced "the heart of a stranger" in a distant country, can imagine the feelings which sadden a man while standing on such a spot. It is well known that Howard fell a sacrifice to his humanity; having caught a contagious fever from some wretched prisoners at Kherson, to whose extreme need he was administering his charity and his consolations. Admiral Priestman, a worthy Briton in the Russian service, who was his intimate friend, attended him in his last moments, and erected over his remains the monument, which is now a sort of shrine to all travellers, whether from Britain or foreign countries. It is an

obelisk of whitish stone, sufficiently high to be conspicuous at several miles' distance. The hill on which it stands, may be about three wersts out of the direct road, and has a little village and piece of water at its base. The whole is six wersts from Kherson, and forms a picturesque as well as interesting object. The evening having closed when I arrived at the tomb, I could not distinguish its inscription; but the name of Howard would be sufficient eulogy. At Kherson I learned that the present emperor has adopted the plans, which the great philanthropist formerly gave in to the then existing government, for ameliorating the state of the prisoners. Such is the only monument he would have desired, and it will commemorate his name for ever; while that of the founder of the pyramids is forgotten;— so much more imperishable is the greatness of goodness, than the greatness of power!

Kherson is a very considerable town, on the right bank of the Dnieper, the ancient Borysthenes. It owes its existence to Prince Potemkin. In consequence of its defensive position, and proximity to the mouth of the river, government has since elevated it into a naval depot, for the fleet on this side of the empire. Its arsenal is very complete, possessing stores of every kind, requisite for the equipment of any necessary maritime armament. Under such an arrangement, it seems rather out of the way, that the admiral-commander-in-chief should have his head-quarters at so distant a place as Nicolaieff, where the demand for his vigilant eye can bear no comparison with its use at Kherson.

At a few wersts from the town we crossed the Ingouletz river on a very ill-constructed raft; and on reaching the bank an accident happened to my carriage, in getting on shore, which gave

me an opportunity of seeing the kindly dispositions of the natives. Some, who were on the raft, and totally independent of my company, with others from the land, immediately came forward to offer every assistance in their power; and, without reference to reward, or even thanks, worked hard till they had extricated my unfortunate vehicle. Indeed, it would be unjust as well as ungrateful, not to take this occasion of bearing testimony to the benevolence which is the characteristic of this unpretending race of men, not only here, but throughout the whole Russian empire. In all places, and at all times, they are ready to start forward in aid of the distressed traveller; to assist him with their most active service; and, so far from asking remuneration, they do not seem even to think it due. To this amiable trait they add a quick comprehension, and an ingenuity where expedients are necessary, absolutely surprising in men who owe so little to education. What the progress of civilization, and consequent cultivation of mind, may make of so fine a soil, is a subject for delightful speculation; but, at present, they may be considered a personally happy race. Without ambition, they do not repine; their wants are few, and they possess all they want. The lord, whose property they are, preserves them from the evils of poverty; and, content with the bread, however coarse, which has neither the gall of dependence nor the canker-worm of care to poison its wholesomeness, they take their daily food as from the board of a father; and work cheerfully on, secure for themselves and their little ones. These facts are no arguments for a continued state of vassalage; but they prove the goodness of Providence, in providing man, through every stage of his mental, and therefore civil progress, with means of happiness proportioned to his existing state.

On leaving the banks of the Ingouletz, our road recommenced eastward, over the dreary Steppe, where I again observed innumerable tumuli; and some of a breadth and height hardly credible. The different mounds in this immense region of the dead, vary greatly in size; and, where one of unusual magnitude presents itself, it is generally surrounded by several of smaller dimensions. There can be no doubt that the larger tumuli are raised over the bodies of princes and heroes; and the minor sort, cover the remains of the followers of their armies, or of their state. But that so vast an expanse should be occupied by monuments of the dead, extended regularly to the very farthest stretch of sight, seemed almost beyond belief: — yet, there they were; and the contemplation was as aweful, as the view was amazing.

The first idea which strikes the spectator is, that he is in some famous field of battle, vast enough for the world to have been lost on it; but Herodotus will not allow us to appropriate these remote regions of sepulture to the casual circumstance of war. He declares them regular places of interment for whole nations; and particularly mentions, that whenever the Scythians lost a king, or a chief, they assembled in great multitudes to solemnise his obsequies; and, after making the tour of certain districts of the kingdom with the corpse, they stopped in the country of the Gerrhi, a people who lived in the most distant parts of Scythia, and over whose lands the sepulchres were spread. A large quadrangular excavation was then made in the earth (in dimensions more like a hall of banquet than a grave), and within it was placed a sort of bier bearing the body of the deceased prince. Daggers were laid at various distances around him, and the whole covered with pieces of wood and branches

of the willow-tree. In another part of the same immense tomb, were deposited the remains of one of the late sovereign's concubines, who had been previously strangled; also his favorite servant, his baker, cook, horsekeeper, and even the horses themselves; all followed him to the grave, and were laid in the same tomb, with his most valuable property, and, above all, a sufficient number of golden goblets. This done, the hollow was soon filled and surmounted with earth; each person present being ambitious to do his part in raising the pile that was to honour his departed lord.

About six miles from the ancient city of Sardis, near the lake Gygæus, is still to be seen part of the great tumulus erected in memory of Alyattes, father of Crœsus. It is described by Herodotus as of prodigious height, having a base of stones, on which three classes of people were employed to heap up its enormous bulk. In the time of Strabo the remains were two hundred feet high, and the circumference three quarters of a mile. Several other tumuli surrounded it. This form of sepulture may be found all over the world; and, how lasting it is, as a monument, may be gathered from the date of this very mound of Alyattes. It could not have been erected much less than two thousand four hundred years ago, Alyattes having been contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon who destroyed Jerusalem about six hundred years before the birth of Christ.

Probably the smaller tumuli, commonly seen encircling a large one, may contain the bodies of certain self-devoted members of the deceased great man's family, who yet did not consider themselves high enough to share his actual grave; or, perhaps, of his guards, who held it their duty to follow their

master into the other world, And, as the fashion of these human immolations would, likely, prevail through all degrees of rank, we may easily account for the graduated sizes of other mounds which undulate these dismal deserts, even to the very horizon. In some parts, we find tumuli in distinct groups, wide of each other; and in other places they appear singly, like solitary and silent watch-towers at distant stations.

Proceeding to Bereslaw, at that place we crossed the Dnieper by a long wooden bridge which divides the governments of Kherson and Taurida. It was not until we had passed the post of Kowen, and reached the brow of an extensive table-land, that any variation from the monotonous scene we had been so long contemplating cheered our sight. There a fine vision, like an Oasis of the desert, opened to our view. It presented a luxuriant valley, many wersts in length, richly wooded, and clothed with the brightest green. Through this delightful vale flowed the waters of the Dnieper, with numerous tributary streams, presenting landscapes as brilliant as, to us, they were evanescent. My road lay for a considerable distance along the high ground which commanded this fertile stretch of country; and the sight alone was refreshing to the eyes and spirits; but, descending into the plain, we too soon found ourselves again on the eternal and wearisome Steppe. Here the nights began to be exceedingly bleak; and during our travelling through one of them, near the town of Youchokrak, we got into the midst of another of those grass-fires I before mentioned. This spectacle was even more awful than the one I had formerly witnessed. Then we viewed it at a distance: here we were in its very centre. The actual road was free from conflagration, having nothing for the burning element to feed on; but all around, the whole surface

of the earth was covered with a moving mass of flame. The effect produced was an apparently interminable avenue, dividing a sea of fire. The height of the flame could not be more than two or three feet from the ground: and on either side of our path, the smoke was so light as to enable us to discern this tremendous scene stretching to an endless distance. Not a breath of wind disturbed the atmosphere; hence it eat its devastating way over the face of the country, with the steadiness and majesty of an advancing ocean. During the course of my journey afterwards, I observed many blackened tracts, from fifty to sixty wersts in length, which had been so marked by one of these calamitous ignitions.

On my arrival at Mariopol, a town on the shores of the sea of Azoff, I was not a little interested by the view of that fine expanse of waters, where Peter the Great first tried his naval experiments, and, aided by the brave Cossacks of the Don, witnessed their success to the full promise of his expectations. But, how changed is the scene! The seeming consequence of Mariopol, when beheld at a distance, only shows its deserted state more strikingly, when we really approach it. Scarce a living creature was seen in the streets; not a vestige of existing industry discernible; all was motionless and silent. Two wretched little vessels lay in the Kalmius, that river dividing the town; and they were the only objects which gave symptoms of retained animation. On quitting Mariopol, we crossed the river on a raft.

During a short halt, at a village in the neighbourhood, my attention was caught by a couple of strange-looking figures sculptured in a sort of white hard stone. Their execution might reach to about the same degree of proficiency in the art as that

which marked the idols brought by some of our navigators from the Sandwich isles; but the forms of these were sufficiently intelligible to declare them man and woman. Their heads were of an enormous size; the lower part of their persons disproportionately short. The male figure wore a kind of pointed cap; the female one of a similar taste, with the addition of two projections behind her ears. She had also a petticoat; but whether the rest of her person were vested with a close garment, I could not make out; I only saw that her forms were pretty decidedly delineated. The man was wholly clothed, having, besides an undercoat similar to the woman's, the indication of a robe hanging from his shoulders, and fastened to his breast by two large buckles. From beneath the garments of both, something projected more resembling stumps than feet. I at first supposed the figures were kneeling, but, on closer examination, found that they stood erect. From the sole of their feet to the tops of their heads, they measured about four feet and a half. People at the post-house told me such figures are frequently discovered in various parts of the Steppe, when turning up the ground. The male figure had something like a book in his hand; a very unlikely appendage to a statue of those parts, and of its probable age.

Journeying onward, still on the Steppe, I saw little, as usual, to vary the road, though it now lay through the country of the Cossacks. The post-houses presented only male inhabitants; generally a father and his sons, who, being merely on a round of similar duty for a certain period, contentedly await, at each post, the time of being relieved; after which they return to the bosoms of their families, in some one of those clusters of cottages, denominated Stanitzas, which are occasionally seen on the banks of the Don, or the Axai. So much for the inhabitants of these wastes, barren alike of human life, and the vegetable kingdom; for, travelling werst after werst, we hardly met a living creature; and the only objects which, now and then, broke the tedious level of the plain, were groups of thistles, which may with truth be called the trees of the Steppe, most of them being from six to seven feet high.

On reaching the country of the Don, the Tanais of the ancients, a very different scene presented itself. The rich peninsula, on which stands the flourishing town of Taganrock, was before me; also the vast fertile plain through which the Don flows, and by its enormous mouths discharges itself into the sea of Azoff, at its eastern extremity. This magnificent river winds through the country for more than a thousand wersts, carrying with its stream the means and the rewards of industry. In many places, however, it has become so shallow, as to be scarcely navigable, particularly where it approaches the sea of Azoff, for there the sand thrown up in its bed forms daily accumulating obstacles. In the spring, when the snow thaws on the hills, the stream deepens and widens, and floods the country to a considerable extent; then the old city of Tcherkask becomes a second Venice, the inhabitants having no other way of going from house

to house but in boats. The banks of the Don abound in fine timber, which is daily felled, and being thrown into the river, the stream carries it safely down to St. Demetry, where part is appropriated to naval uses, and great quantities exported to Odessa, and other ports on the Black Sea.

The road was a descent towards St. Demetry and Rostow. Part of it passed over a sandy tract; but all there was life. Droves of horned cattle, horses, hundreds of waggons, multitudes of people on foot, and on horseback, swarmed in every direction. It was the celebration of the annual fair, held under the walls of St. Demetry; and the whole adjoining country was filled with the attending throng. The tents, the moving groups, the various sounds, were full of gaiety and business. So animated a scene could not fail to impart some of its tone to a traveller who had been so long in lonesome desarts; and, with no little exhilaration at the contemplation of so much enjoyment, I drove along, amongst Cossacks, Kalmuks, Turks, Tartars, Russians, &c. all in their genuine costumes, bargaining over every variety of portable merchandize, spread out upon the ground. Oxen, horses, and cart-wheels, seemed the great objects of sale. Wood also appeared in such estimation that, besides enormous piles which in places blocked up the road, the smallest twigs were laid ready in bundles for the purchaser. The cart-wheels were of every sort and size, and, elevated into pyramids, produced a novel and not inelegant effect. In short, it was one of the most bustling and amusing scenes I ever witnessed; and the clouds of dust, raised by new comers, or the wind, by occasionally obscuring parts of the spectacle, made amends for its suffocating influence, by often increasing the picturesqueness of the landscape and its groups.

Rostow, the name of the city to which this fair is attached, is a place of considerable importance; not only from its mercantile facilities on the shores of the Don, but in consequence of its lying on the road from Moscow and the other great towns of the empire, towards the coasts of Azoff and the Black Sea. The fort of St. Demetry, which gives its title to the fair, stands on a rising ground near the field of traffic, and commands the road leading to New Tcherkask. From Rostow I had not quite a day's journey to reach the latter city; and being impatient to shake hands, in his own land, with its illustrious Attaman, the ever-memorable Count Platoff, I rose very early in the morning to prepare for my departure.

By these matin hours of exertion, while most of the busy throng were still sleeping, I got rid of various impediments, which the experienced frequenters of the fair had cast in the way of a mere traveller; and, setting forth long before noon, about twelve the same night made my glad entry into New Tcherkask, the new capital of the Donskoy country.

The master of the inn where I had put up, told me the Attaman was at his summer residence, about two miles from the city, on the banks of the Axai. My wish was no sooner expressed, to join him there, than the worthy Cossack supplied me with a guide and a horse; and taking our course by a pleasant road, I soon reached the palace of my friend. It is a fine building, perfectly suitable in style and appendages to the high station of its brave inhabitant. A guard of Cossacks kept the gate; others with naked swords stood at the great door of entrance; while officers in waiting, orderlies, and every other degree of princely and military state, occupied the passages and anti-rooms. On being ushered, as a stranger, into an apartment

where I was met by the Attaman's secretary (the only person in his establishment who could speak French) I mentioned my name to him, and the good gentleman's joyous surprise was no unpleasant token of his chief's welcome. He told me His Excellency had, only the day before, received intimation from St. Petersburg, that I was proceeding to Persia by a route so distant from Tcherkask that he must abandon all hope of seeing me. I did not delay being conducted to the Attaman's presence; and words cannot express the hospitable greeting of the kind old man. He embraced me, and repeatedly congratulated himself on the events, whatever they might have been, which had induced me to change my route to that of his territory. When he could spare me to proceed, he said, he would pledge himself that I should have every facility in his power to bring me to Tiflis in safety. The police-officer of Tcherkask being in the room, was ordered to provide me suitable quarters in the town; but the Attaman's table was to be mine, and he commanded an equipage to be placed entirely at my disposal. I urged that my stay must be short; but he would not hear of my leaving him till I had shared with him the honour of a visit he was then expecting from his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael. Anxious as I was to lose no time in crossing the Caucasus, I could not withstand persuasions flowing from a heart so kindly to myself, and grateful to my country. He expressed, in the most enthusiastic language, his sense of the attentions bestowed on him by all ranks of persons during his stay in England in the year 1814; he said, that, independent of private respect for individuals, he must always consider himself fortunate when circumstances brought any Englishman into the Donskoy country, to whom he might evince his gratitude. "But, with regard to

you," he said, " the brother-in-law of Prince Alexander Scherbatoff, he, whose brave career I have so often witnessed, and now, with his country, must ever lament its early termination! For his sake, did I not esteem you for yourself, you should claim my amplest services."

The venerable Attaman expatiated on a subject so dear to his heart, and to mine; but what I have quoted is sufficient to stamp its character: and, surely, an honest pride in the virtues of a relative now no more, may obtain pardon for thus recording their testimony from such a man as Count Platoff.

No monument is so precious, as that which lives in the memory of the brave and good. And never did man more richly deserve that shrine than the gallant and amiable soldier whose early fate now called tears into the eyes of the veteran. His compatriots, indeed, must fall into the tomb; but while history remembers the glories of the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, the name of Scherbatoff can never be forgotten.

I passed the remainder of the day with my venerable host; and on my return to the city found most comfortable quarters; to which, in my absence, my carriage, servants, &c., had been carefully transferred. All were placed under a guard of honour, which was to hold attendance there during my stay at Tcherkask.

Next morning Count Platoff called upon me to see how his hospitable orders had been fulfilled. The hurry of spirits which followed the meeting of the day before, having now subsided with us both, I observed him more calmly; and, while in discourse, I could not but remark to myself, with foreboding regret, the difference between his present appearance, and the vigour of his frame, even so late as the year 1816, when he was my guest at St. Petersburg. The destroying effects of the campaign

of 1812, were now too apparent in his countenance and figure; but his mind continued unimpaired, and each succeeding hour I passed in his society increased my veneration for its powers. He took me to dine with him at his house in Tcherkask, whither he was going to inspect the preparations he had ordered for welcoming his Imperial Highness.

The hour of dinner, in this country, is generally two o'clock; but Count Platoff always dined at five, or sometimes a little later. The manner of serving the repast, differs in nothing from the style at Moscow, excepting that more wine is drank. The wines most in use, came from the Greek islands; yet his excellency boasts his own red and white champaigne of the Don, which, when old, are hardly inferior to the wines of that name in France. I drank at the Attaman's table another sort of red wine as excellent as any from Bourdeaux. It is made by a family of Germans, whom his excellency brought from the Rhine. And, from these specimens, I have little doubt that were the like culture of the grape, and similar treatment of the juice when pressed from the fruit, pursued throughout the country, the Donskoy vineyards would produce wines, that might rival, not only those of Greece, but of France and Germany.

Game is abundant here, and of the most delicious sort; particularly bustards, pheasants, partridges, &c., &c. Fish too, is in equal plenty; and, as a luxury, sturgeon holds an eminent place. Indeed good cheer of all kinds is procured at a very moderate expense; and, if I may be allowed to judge, by the liberal examples I saw, the bounties of Nature are neither neglected, nor churlishly appropriated, by the natives of the Don.

The windows of the house in which I lodged, overlook an extensive and beautiful plain, through which flow the waters of

the Don and the Axai, and a variety of minor streams. From hence, I could just distinguish the lofty spires of Old Tcherkask, and a black line of forest, stretching along the horizon.

The new city owes its existence to Count Platoff, the present truly glorious Attaman, who laid its foundation-stone about ten years ago. All Europe has heard of him as a hero; but we must visit his country to know him as he is, — the father of his people, as well as their general. He fixed the site of his new city on high ground, that it might escape the immediate inconvenience of the old inundations during the spring. The progress in building has been so great, that even in the city's present infant state, it covers nearly four miles of ground. A natural ravine runs almost completely round it, beginning and terminating to the south-east; which side of the town rests on the acclivity of a hill, abruptly sloping to the great plain. Many of the rich, and military in high rank, have already built themselves splendid houses; and this passion for architectural magnificence is daily emulated by other persons of the same stations in society. Two lofty gates, in the style of triumphal arches, (though not quite in the old Roman taste,) mark the entrances of the city from the Moscow and Rostow roads. An Italian artist was the architect of these structures. He is at present employed on more important works; the grand cathedral, and a palace for the Attaman. The former is to be of hewn stone, and has already risen considerably above the foundations. On walking through the town, and calculating the magnitude and number of buildings, astonishment equals admiration, when we recollect that for more than four years out of ten employed in their erection, three parts of the population were absent from the country, defending the empire. The streets are wide and long. In the centre of

the town a superb structure of stone, like the Gastonadvor (or place of shops) in St. Petersburg, is to be raised. In the meanwhile, a temporary building of wood supplies its place. The houses of tradesmen and humbler order of Cossacks are all constructed of timber, on stone foundations from three to four feet high. They are clean, to nicety, both within and without, equalling the Hollander's habitation in every species of domestic order. Such exactness is the more striking to a traveller coming from Russia, where punctilios of that sort are little thought of in the smaller towns and villages.

Amongst other judicious measures, Count Platoff has instituted a school for the education of the youth of Tcherkask, in which every branch of useful knowledge is taught by well-qualified and well-salaried masters. The establishment has not yet increased its inmates, equal to the population of the city; thirty-six boys being all the present number of its students. But this warlike people, surrounded by hostile tribes, may be excused for not yet fully appreciating the advantages of a system wholly directed to the mind, and must therefore appear connected with objects of peace alone. Simple in their wants, and simple in their views, to preserve themselves in possession of their little circle of family comfort, they think not of the embellishments of life, nor of the refinements of learning; but turn the whole force of their talents to the formation and the good management of arms. The pike, the weapon of his ancestors and himself, like the eagle of the ancient Roman, is regarded by the brave Cossack as a sort of tutelary deity; having the power to preserve, or to gain and to maintain the land he inhabits. But as European civilisation spreads around him, emulation for literature and the arts, will awaken with their evident use; and the ardent and active nature

of the native of the Don, will be found not to fall behind any other people in clear perception, and well exercised talents.

The name Cossack, or Kassack, has been variously derived. Some deduce it from a similar word in the Tartar language, meaning an armed man. Others go farther eastward for a root, and make it a robber. But both senses will suit the Cossack; the original mode of warfare with these armed men being that of robbery, or plundering their enemies. Indeed, such predatory ways and means seem common with all half-civilised nations who border on each other; and even our own country showed similar habits not many generations back, as the old ballad of Chevy Chace bears ample testimony.

The real term of military service, with these hereditary warriors of the Don, ceases only with their lives or their capability, that is, in actual war; but, in times of peace, four years is the regular period of duty with a regiment. These men are then relieved by others, who serve, and are relieved in their turn. From the military establishment being on so enlarged a scale, this rotation comes much sooner round than it did formerly; and this still throws to a further distance, the formation of those dispositions which incline a man to cultivate the quiet arts. Twenty-five years is the nominal extent of a Cossack's military service; but the martial spirit, and custom, make every man a soldier, when war either approaches his country, or requires his arm to keep it at a distance. A Cossack finds his own arms, clothing, and horse. When on service, the Emperor allows each man one cavalry ration, and double for his horse. Should the animal be killed in the field, money is given to purchase another. When at home, this man either carries on some business, in one or other of the two cities of Tcherkask,

or he possesses a cottage and spot of ground in the country, well stocked; on the produce of which he supports his family, cultivating the soil during the summer months, and returning into the village, or *stanitza*, for the winter season. The lower classes, who inhabit the New and Old Tcherkask, are mostly shopkeepers, traders, and fishermen. However, neither these useful occupations, nor their wealth, (did they wish to use it for purchasing themselves off,) could exempt them from performing any part of their regular return of military duty. During the campaign of 1812, and for nearly four years afterwards, almost all the population capable of bearing arms, were called forth; and I am credibly informed, about fifty thousand may be computed to have fallen in that space of time. The quota of force which this branch of the Cossack nation furnishes to Russia, for European and Asiatic service, amounts to eighty regiments, each regiment numbering from five to six hundred men. That of the Attaman, which is the *elite* of the country, is calculated at twelve hundred men. They have also an excellent corps of horse-artillery; the uniform of this corps is green; and they have been added to the nation within these ten years. The Cossack uniform, in general, is too well known to make a description needful here. Blue is the national colour; and, wherever variety in the regimentals has been sought, red seems the change usually adopted. The regiment, or guard, formed by Count Platoff wore some peculiarities; namely, a light blue stripe down their trowsers, with the bag of their cap, their sash, sleeves, cape, and epaulets, of the same colour.

A regiment, called the Cossacks of the Guard, are always stationed in St. Petersburg. They consist of the tallest and best

made young men in the country; and certainly, with Platoff's own corps included, may be styled the chosen of the nation.

The men of the Don are, mostly well-favoured; being robust, fair, and handsome. This happy exterior is a type of their hearts; hospitable, brave, honourable, and scrupulously religious. Several of the higher ranks have sent their sons to Moscow, or St. Petersburgh for education; but it is to be hoped, the public school, established by the brave and pious father of the city, not merely for high or low, but for all ranks, will in the course of time give every advantage at home, to so much excellent natural material.

The Cossack women seem far inferior to the men in mental ability; and the comparison, in personal endowments, fails with the ladies also. Meet them in numbers, and the aggregate is certainly plain; though it must be admitted, there are some very lovely exceptions. The usual female appearance is short stature, faces of strong Tartar feature, with eyes, however, almost invariably large and dark. The style of dress is decidedly fashioned from the east. A sort of chemisette (or small shift) of coloured linen, buttoned round the neck, and with sleeves to the wrist. A pair of trowsers, of a similar stuff, are covered by a silk caftan, reaching as low as the ancles. This upper garment is fastened, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, with buttons of small pearls, in form and workmanship like those in gold or silver from the Brazils. The waist is bound with a girdle, also ornamented with pearls, and frequently clasped by a diamond buckle. The heads of married ladies are adorned with, literally, a silken night-cap, which is wrapped about with a gaily coloured handkerchief, in the form of a fillet. The unmarried (like the damsels in Russia of the lower class) wear the hair in a long

plait down their backs; but with this difference from the Russian girl, — instead of a bunch of ribbons at the termination of the plait, the handkerchief, with which the head is bound, twists round the braid nearly to its end, something in the manner of the Corsican caps.

Count Platoff, in his wish to bring the manners of Western Europe with its arts and sciences to the banks of the almost Asiatic Don, is even desirous that the ladies of the Cossack *noblesse* (if I may use that term) should adopt the thorough European dress. So far he has gained his point, that numbers of their children wear it; and on high festival days, the silken night-cap and fillet-kerchief of the maturer personages, receives, what they think, the British decoration of an artificial flower; or, perhaps, takes the bolder turn of a Parisian turban. As the innovation has begun, it may be regretted it did not commence at a different part of the figure, the bosom and waist; and had it stopped there, the change would have been sufficient. The adoption of the French corset, by preserving the shape in its due proportions, would have effected every thing, (if elegance and simplicity be the object of fashion,) to show a fine form to the best advantage, in its truly becoming national costume.

During my stay in this country I visited General Leveshky at his seat, as we would call it in England; and the reputation of its picturesque beauties fell far short of the reality. It is situated about five miles on the road towards Old Tcherkask, on a slope of the long line of high ground which borders the north-western extremity of the great plain, and thence runs forward towards St. Demetry, and the shore of the Azoff Sea. The view from the house is as noble as it is extensive. On the left, New Tcherkask presents itself on an elevated site, overlooking the whole country.

The eye then sweeps along the horizon without interruption till it meets the minarets of the old city, and the glittering meanders of the Don, the Axai, and another smaller river, called the Koraitch, which intersect the green and luxuriant plain in a thousand different directions. Thickets of wood at various distances, surrounding single spires, mark the stanitzas or humbler towns of the Cossacks. The main road from New Tcherkask to the ancient city, lies along the foot of the height, on the brow of which stands the residence of General Leveshky. The path is rendered delightful by groups of trees, giving refreshment as well as shade, most of them bearing excellent fruit. In this part of the plain, the wealthy of the new city generally erect their villas. The Axai flows close to the road; a beautiful companion; but it has not the advantage of being navigable. A plan is in consultation to increase its waters, by means of canals. Indeed it was once projected to unite the Don with this river; but, on examination, the level of the Axai was found too high for the intended junction. Count Platoff, and those in authority with him, are particularly anxious to accomplish some mode of rendering the latter river capable of transporting merchandize; its present comparatively useless state being the chief reason why so many opulent and industrious families still remain amongst the unwholesome damps of the old capital. The Axai once navigable, New Tcherkask, flourishing and salubrious, must soon leave its ancient name-sake without inhabitant.

In the morning of September the fifteenth (O. S.), an *avant courier* announced the approach of His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael. He was to arrive the next day. The whole town was instantly in motion. Nothing was to be seen at dawn but men and horses running to and fro, squadrons of artil-

lery moving out in every direction ; the whole having more the air of a place preparing to repulse an enemy, than a city opening its gates to receive a highly honoured prince. But thus one dominant colour casts its own hue over all others: the people of the Don are a nation of warriors ; and every man was under arms. The Attaman's regiment, the *elite* of the country, was posted about three miles on the Moscow road. Parties of dismounted Cossacks lined this road on each side, closing upon the gate of the city, where a splendid tent was pitched. It contained Count Platoff, and all the general officers in attendance, ready to greet the illustrious visitor. Twelve pieces of cannon were planted on a height directly over the ground, which commanded a view to the very horizon. The whole face of the hill, down to the tent or pavilion, presented various groups, consisting of natives, Tartars, Kalmucks, and Russians ; while the plain itself was covered with a vast concourse of people of all ages, sexes, conditions, and nations, on foot, in carriages, in waggons, on horseback, &c. Every countenance beamed with animation ; and there only wanted the appearance of the expected guest to give voice to their impatient enthusiasm. The suspense of the anxious multitude continued from hour to hour. The evening began to close in ; the sun gradually dropt behind the horizon, and it became nearly dusk. Disappointment was drawing its shades also over every face, when at last, by a distant and scarcely perceptible cloud of dust, the approach of their prince was descried. It was instantly announced by a discharge of cannon. A universal shout echoed the welcome news ; and, in the midst of the eager throng, pressing towards the immediate point of sight, His Imperial Highness reached the gate. The Attaman was ready, with his officers, to hail the brother of their

sovereign; and this was done with the customary testimonies of loyalty and welcome, bread and salt; which they presented to him on a magnificent salver of gold.

This ancient form was accompanied with a speech by Platoff, brief, but worthy himself and the prince to whom he addressed it. The Grand Duke's reply was in the same noble spirit; and then, mounting his horse, surrounded by the Count and his suite, and followed by the acclamations of the people, his Imperial Highness proceeded to the great church of the city. During divine service the whole town was illuminated; and nearly ten thousand earthen lamps, blazing with lights, tracked the way that was to lead the illustrious guest to the residence prepared for him Ranks of Cossacks lined the streets; and, nearer the gate of the imperial lodging, officers and under-officers were stationed, bearing the different standards which the sovereigns of the empire had, on various occasions, presented to the Donskoy nation. Amongst other objects which were more than pageantry, the silver mace of office attached to the authority of Attaman, was carried in the procession; also a massive silver chest, containing the archives, supported by four men. But it might be tedious to describe every particular to which the occasion gave peculiar interest. About eight o'clock in the evening, the ceremony terminated.

Next day, at an early hour, Count Platoff sent an aide-de-camp, to request I would join him in paying his morning duty to the Grand Duke. About nine o'clock, I accompanied him to the residence, and found a numerous assemblage, field-officers and other persons, waiting in the saloon, to be introduced by their Attaman. The whole party were soon in the presence of his Imperial Highness. More heart than form prevailed in the

ceremony; being performed on one side, by a veteran hero unused to court etiquette, presenting a people simple as brave; and accepted on the other, by a prince whose well-known family characteristic is urbanity of manners, grounded on graciousness of principle. To speak thus of royal personages, is generally, and, I must say, often unfairly imputed to flattery. But if a man be unsuspected while speaking disparagingly of the great, why is he to be doubted when he brings forward a different testimony? — A whole people are allowed to thank Heaven for a good king; but if an individual raise his voice with the same sentiment, perhaps just before or after the general clamour, he is treated with derision as a slave and sycophant. It is strange that these persons do not find out that a party, a populace, may be flattered as well as a prince; and that he alone is base who fears to utter the truth, whether it be good or bad, of high or low. The greatest power does not always dwell with the greatest rank.

His Imperial Highness spoke of his intended tour the ensuing summer, through Germany, Italy, France, and England; and in terms so gratifying to an Englishman, that I could not but join in the wish with which he honoured me; that I could be in England at that time, to enjoy the impression of its institutions &c., on a mind so capable of appreciating their value.

After attending divine service in the great church, and visiting the different establishments of the city, all which he contemplated with declared approbation of their utility and progress; the prince proceeded to a part of the plain about two miles distant from the town, and followed by a numerous cavalcade, reviewed the troops. The field consisted of the artillery, the regiment of Platoff, and another fine body of Cossacks, which manœuvred in their desultory, but very effective mode of warfare. A

Kalmouk band, chiefly composed of variously discordant trumpets, kettle-drums, and a huge tambourin, played all the while such inharmonious music, and with so tremendous a noise, that I can only compare it to the roaring of elephants under the goad of merciless keepers. Savage sounds are certainly more in character with the clash of arms, than more civilised strains; and here the effect was manifest. The spirit and dexterity of the troops showed again, in shadow, what they had so substantially proved during the campaign of 1812, — their military powers and energy.

After the review, (about three o'clock,) a magnificent dinner, consisting of every delicacy in food and wines, was served at the Attaman's residence in the city, for the refreshment of his Imperial Highness. In the evening the latter returned to it at an early hour, to be present at a ball and supper, where all the rank and beauty of the country were assembled. The ladies had taken no small pains to array themselves for so extraordinary an occasion; and both the national and the European modes of dress were displayed to every possible advantage. The Grand Duke paid his usual polite attentions to the fair group, *polonaised* with several; and at eleven o'clock retired; leaving the party at a sumptuous supper.

Early in the morning of September the 18th, his Imperial Highness bade adieu to the hospitalities of New Tcherkask, and, mounting his horse, proceeded to the old city. Count Platoff, with his suite, attended him. From the old capital he was to go by water to Rostow; thence, *via* the Crimea, to Odessa; and so on, to Moscow, where the Imperial family were to pass the winter.

The scene of bustle being over, on the Attaman's return I

made preparations for my own departure, requesting him to allow his secretary to get ready immediately the letters, papers, passports, &c., which he was so kind as to promise me, for my future progress. His Excellency would have detained me longer; and could I have staid, I should have been glad to comply: but I urged the advance of the season, and consequent probability should I delay, of being closed up in the Caucasus. He was too well aware of the truth of these arguments, when once he saw I must proceed, to do otherwise than *speed the parting guest;* and every facility was then given to my movements. I had promised General Leveshky to dine with him the day of my passing through his domains, (which were twelve wersts onward in my way ;) and accordingly I dispatched my servants and carriage to the general's, to halt there till my arrival. I meant to follow on horseback; wishing to give as much time as I could to my last day's enjoyment of the venerable friend I dared hardly hope to see again. We passed several hours together. The terms are dear to memory in which he bade me farewell; and, attending me to the door of his palace, he once more embraced me. I shall never forget the veteran dignity of his figure at that moment; his grey hairs and furrowed cheek, and the benign smile, which at all times brightened the soldier-like simplicity of his aspect. I left him on the 23d of September (O. S.), and we were, indeed, never to meet again. He died before I had half performed my Persian tour.

On arriving at the house of the general, where I was to dine, I found that the kindness of Count Platoff had preceded me even there. He had added to my suite a subaltern officer of Cossacks, and a store of every sort of provision I could require on the road. The officer was to travel with me; to see horses,

quarters, escorts, in short every thing provided, that could administer to my safety and comfort, till I should reach Tiflis, the termination of the Russian jurisdiction, and of the Donskoy influence. The most dangerous part of my journey between Tcherkask and the Persian capital, probably was that which I was then commencing, so many marauding tribes still continuing unsubdued, near the mountain passes. We set forth soon after dinner, and crossed the Axai over a small wooden bridge. The road then lay through the plain, bringing me to the ancient capital, Old Tcherkask, just as the evening closed. So far from its having the Asiatic appearance some travellers represent, the houses are not even flat-roofed; and, besides the cathedral, which is a noble structure, there seemed little else in the town to give it an air even of departed grandeur. About three wersts from thence, we crossed the Don on a wretched bridge of loose beams. It was nearly a werst in length, crazy and old, and so dangerous at both ends, from neglect, we could not advance a step without peril of our lives. The darkness of the hour when we arrived rendered the passage more hazardous; and, before we got quite over, I was obliged to call in the assistance of a couple of sturdy oxen, to drag the carriage up the ascent, of rotten and ill-constructed planks which united the bridge to the bank we were approaching. Two of my horses had fallen in the attempt, and one narrowly escaped drowning. On gaining the shore, through the gloom of the night I discovered that we were again on an extensive steppe, and surrounded with innumerable tumuli.

At five o'clock the following morning we reached the village of Kagulnitsky; and in the afternoon of the same day arrived at Nishnoy Egorlisky. At this last place we enter the govern-

ment and line of the Caucasus, though the mountains themselves were still out of sight. A quarantine is established here for travellers coming from Georgia, or any of the countries near the Terek and Kuban rivers. Arriving under suspicion only, they are too likely to go out accompanied by some real evil, for a more pestilential looking spot I never beheld. An earthen embankment hems in the miserable wooden habitations destined for the suspected of the plague, and a noisome and unhealthy stream called the Egorlick (which name literally means *stinking*), runs close to the bank. A post, and guard of Cossacks, enforce the quarantine regulations, and see that nothing passes these frontiers without purification. The country from hence is of the same flat, shrubless, uninteresting character, till we reach the village of Donskoy. There it becomes varied by some high ground, on which is scattered a few trees; and this undulating line continued on our left, to the distance of fifteen wersts, till we reached a valley, at whose extremity were situated the fort and village of Moscofskoy. This little strong-hold commands, to the right and to the left, two other valleys which run far into the country, and it is the last post before we arrive at the city of Stavrapol. On entering the town, we found it finely situated on the side of a hill overlooking the extensive plain between it and Moscofskoy, which we had just traversed. Its houses, being appendaged with gardens, have an air of external consequence and convenience which I fear few within would verify; at least, if I may judge by my own experience. I was quartered in one of the most imposing looking habitations in the place, and yet found it impossible to get the common comfort of hot water, or to rest at night for the vermin, &c. that infested every corner. Indeed, while on these tracts, for the above

reasons, I generally retired for the night to my carriage, preferring the endurance of a little extraordinary cold, rather than expose myself to all the filth of one of these abominable abodes of uncleanness. Stavropol is about three hundred and thirty wersts from New Tcherkask ; and here the great road comes in from the western line of the Caucasus, as well as from the Crimea, and the Turkish possessions on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

Early in the morning we descended the northern side of the town into a plain, keeping, for a considerable way, along the foot of some high, well-wooded ground; after which we ascended again over a succession of lands, until we reached the village and post of Zergifskoy, a place situated on the slope of a considerable hill, conspicuous even as far as Stavrapol, from its being composed of whitish sand, which, from that distance, has the appearance of snow. Here two Cossacks were given me for an escort ; but how different were they, both in person and costume, from my friends of the Don ! Their stature was low, their visages rugged, and their garb of the wildest and most savage fashion. These people belong to the foot of the Caucasus ; and, as I proceeded further, I found most of the inhabitants habited in a similar manner. A small cloth cap, bound with sheepskin or fur, fits almost close to their head ; while a short vest covers their body, and, falling as far as the knee, meets a pair of loose trowsers, which, stuffed into boots, completes the uncouth but picturesque habiliment. Their arms are, a musket slung across the shoulder, protected from the damp by a hairy case; a straight sword fastened to the left side by the belt round their waist ; a dagger of great breadth, and also a large knife, pendant from the same. On the right and left of

their breast is sewn a range of narrow pockets, each large enough to hold a wooden case containing a charge of powder; the range usually counts six or eight of these charges. Independent of this magazine, few go without a light cartouch-box attached to another belt which crosses the right shoulder. Their saddle, and the rest of their horse accoutrements, differ little from the fashion of most other Cossacks. But both man and horse are, in some measure, protected by their *bourka*, a sort of cloak made of the hair of the mountain-goat, and only manufactured by the mountaineers. This forms an excellent defence against rain or wind, when brought round the body; but in mild weather it is merely tied on behind. In addition to the cloak they wear a hood for the protection of the face and ears, called a *bashlick*. No fixed colour marks the uniform of this military branch of imperial Cossacks; but brown, grey, and white seem the favourite hues.

On quitting Zergifskoy, we mounted the height, and continued travelling over a country similar to that we had passed the preceding day. We hoped to gain the town of Alexandroff before night, but were disappointed, and obliged to halt at the village of Severnaia, finding it impossible to proceed on so dangerous a road after dusk. We set off, however, by times in the morning; and, after traversing a rather uneven country, at the distance of eight or ten wersts from our last lodgings reached the brow of a very steep hill; from whence, for the first time, I beheld the stupendous mountains of Caucasus. No pen can express the emotion which the sudden burst of this sublime range excited in my mind. I had seen almost all the wildest and most gigantic chains in Portugal and Spain, but none gave me an idea of the vastness and grandeur of that I now contemplated. This seemed nature's bulwark between the nations of Europe

and of Asia. Elborus, amongst whose rocks tradition reports Prometheus to have been chained, stood, clad in primeval snows, a world of mountains in itself, towering above all, its white and radiant summits mingling with the heavens; while the pale and countless heads of the subordinate range, high in themselves, but far beneath its altitude, stretched along the horizon, till lost to sight in the soft fleeces of the clouds. Several rough and huge masses of black rock rose from the intermediate plain, their size was mountainous; but being viewed near the mighty Caucasus, and compared with them, they appeared little more than hills; yet the contrast was fine, their dark brows giving greater effect to the dazzling summits which towered above them. Poets hardly feign, when they talk of the genius of a place. I know not who could behold Caucasus, and not feel the spirit of its sublime solitudes awing his soul.

We travelled onward, and a very short time brought us to the town of Alexandroff. It stands at the foot of a high precipitous hill, embosomed in trees and gardens, and watered by the river Kouma, which flows near it. The country from hence to Georgewesk is all steppe, bounded by the distant Caucasus, which were occasionally shut from our view by the thickening vapours of the atmosphere, and the weather, which had been gradually darkening, at last turned to a long and drenching rain; under which we entered the town.

Having a letter for the commandant, General del Pozzo, I drove to his house, but did not alight. He was absent in the mountains, superintending the erection of a new fort. This information conveyed no small degree of disappointment to me, as from him I was to have received every means to facilitate my journey; proper introductions to the officers commanding at

Mozdock (the gate of my entrance into Asia), to those at Wlady-Caucasus, the key of the mountains, and, above all, an order for the indispensable escort. Not anticipating his absence, I had no credentials to deliver to the civil governor, whose good offices might in this dilemma have supplied to me the place of the commandant. However I determined, as soon as I had taken possession of the quarters my Cossack officer had provided me, to be my own passport, and pay my personal respects to the governor. My quarters were in the house of a person who had attended General Yarmolloff in his last route across the Caucasus; and from him I learnt, that the present time of the year was the best for undertaking that perilous journey, provided the season were not rainy in the low country; for, in that sort of weather, snow always fell in the mountains, and the dangers of travelling were consequently augmented. From the lateness of the hour I could not with propriety call that evening on the governor; but early in the following morning I paid my visit, and stated my embarrassment. He expressed ready zeal to supply all that I might have expected from the commandant; and while his secretary was preparing the requisite papers to be my convoy, he detained me to dinner, (which was at one o'clock;) and still more seasoned his prompt hospitality, by expressing his pleasure at the opportunity I had given him of serving a stranger and an Englishman. I must here observe, that alacrity to oblige foreigners, while travelling in the Russian empire, is universal in the heads of cities; and when that foreigner comes from Great Britain, it is not merely politeness, but friendship that receives him. Mr. Malitzky fills the station of civil governor at Georgewesk; and having passed many years of his life in Georgia and the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, during the few

hours I was under his roof, he entertained me with several interesting particulars relative to the wild inhabitants of those elevated regions. His history of their predatory descents, in small bodies or large, on any luckless or rash traveller who attempts the mountain passes by night, was picturesque, but it was terrible; and I had no inclination, by setting out that evening, to incur similar increase of dangers. In the day, these indefatigable sons of plunder are seen hanging from the precipices, looking out for prey; and, frequently, they start out on the unwary, from behind the savage rocks by which he is surrounded; but then light is in his favour, to observe the approaching contest and prepare for his defence: at night they can lie, even in his path, shrouded by tumuli, or the darkness alone; and, rushing from their ambuscade, overwhelm him before he has time to apprehend aught but that he has received his death-blow. From these considerations, I did not leave my present secure quarters till early the following morning.

About forty wersts from Georgewesk are the baths of Konstantinogorsk, which are much frequented by the Russians, even from distant parts of the empire, on account of their mineral virtues. They rise in the Beschau mountains, and their temperature at the source varies from thirty to forty degrees of Reaumur. The country around these baths is beautiful as well as salubrious; and, from the efficacy of the waters, both in external and internal application, besides the protection and conveniences afforded visitants by the munificence of the Emperor, even strangers come from afar to experience their virtues. A Scotch colony of missionaries have established themselves in the neighbourhood of Konstantinogorsk; but it may be regarded as an agricultural society, rather than a theological

college, their efforts in spreading religious instruction amongst the infidel mountaineers having hitherto failed of success ; the few whom they have converted to Christianity, being generally murdered by their countrymen, as soon as they fell into their hands. To protect the colony itself from the plundering infidels, a certain number of Russian troops are always stationed there.

Having crossed the river Podrouma from Georgewesk, the plain still extended itself before me, with the exception of a very deep ravine, or rather hollow, up and down which lay the road. The descent and ascent were steep and difficult; quantities of low impeding brush-wood covering the face of its slopes. The spot had always been known as a favourite haunt of banditti ; and from the frequency of its scenes of robbery and assassination, it is commonly called the Valley of Thieves. The governor of Georgewesk had added to my own Cossack escort four more men ; and as I had been warned of the probability of an attack, even in broad day in this place of ambush, I set my whole party on the alert ; but we passed through it without any signs of molestation. At certain distances on the vast plain which extends to the foot of Caucasus, and along its seemingly interminable chain, guards of Cossacks are stationed. Each body consists of from four to six men, who watch alternately day and night. The picture they present to the passing traveller, is both curious and romantic; harmonising in every way with the wild regions they are sent to protect. A small hovel is constructed with reeds and branches of trees, close to which is raised a kind of stage, but of no larger dimensions than to contain a single person. It is elevated about twelve feet from the ground ; and while his comrades repose in the hut, a Cossack sentinel stands here, day and night, on the look-out ; and when

Pl. 1

Sir Robert Porter.

T. Clark sc

Distant View of Mount Caucasus

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causes for nearer observation appear, the horses picqueted beneath, are ready at hand for their masters. The soldier on guard is always enveloped in his bourka; which, together with the rude workmanship of his post, when seen from afar, form a no less picturesque than cheering object on that long, desolate, and monotonous horizon. I halted for the night at a small village, and reached Mozdock, my first step into Asia, about noon the next day, Sunday, September 30. (O. S.)

Mozdock is a flourishing little town, situated on the banks of the Terek, and possesses a respectable garrison, commanded by a colonel, who is also governor of the place. A convoy (or caravan) of merchandise, together with the post, depart from the town every Sunday; but on that day only; so that travellers who arrive on any other day of the week, are obliged to await there the appointed time and then cross the river with their attendants and equipages before three o'clock, having several wersts to go, on the opposite side, ere they can join the general rendezvous. But, previous to their setting forth, it is necessary to purchase at Mozdock a stout harness for the number of horses their carriages may require; also a full store of provisions for the road. The Commandant, who did ample honour to the governor of Georgewesk's kind demands in my behalf, gave me every facility for the transport of my vehicle, and all other accommodations for the journey; but he strongly recommended my buying a horse for myself of the Tcherkasians. He urged, that I should not be able to remain much longer with any comfort in my carriage, on account of the steepness of the hills and badness of the roads; and that, besides, if our convoy were attacked, it were better, for defence, to be well-mounted. In order to assist in this purchase, he proposed accompanying me to the opposite

bank of the river, where I was likely to procure the sort of steed proper for so long and fatiguing an expedition. I accepted his friendly offer, and we crossed the Terek on a float, which was guided safely to the shore by means of a rope. The Tcherkasians, with whom we were to negociate, are a sort of off-set of the people called Circassians.

This river, which separates Russian Europe from Russian Asia, rises in the Caucasus, near Kobi; and the mountains, whence it issues, are the highest seen from the near neighbourhood of Mozdock. The first course it takes is to the north, making its way through a great portion of the breadth of this tremendous pile. The stream, as it descends from its native rocks, is exceedingly rapid; rushing onward (for I cannot give it so mild an appellation as flowing) with a noise and violence scarcely to be equalled by any other mountain-torrent; nor do the swiftness and tumult of its progress diminish much for a long stretch after it has reached the plain, but it goes rolling forward to the north-west, as if still impelled by the plunge of its first descent. About thirty wersts from Mozdock it makes a turn eastward, and thence, gradually subsiding in turbulence, flows on with increasing tranquillity as it approaches nearer the Caspian shore. There it empties itself into several channels, which bestow benefits as well as beauty on the districts they water, until, that duty done, they unite again in the bosom of the Caspian Sea. On one of the most considerable of these branches, or channels, the city of Kislar stands; a situation of great advantage. I am thus particular in my account of this river, because, by its extent and various divisions, it is likely to be a frequent companion of the traveller in this part of the world: indeed, to him whose destination is Tiflis, it travels by his side nearly half the way;

an animated and cheering change from the dull earthy flats he had so lately been passing over.

On our gaining the opposite bank of the Terek, the colonel brought me to a tract of ground covered with wretched huts, serving as shelters for those who come from the suspected countries of Asia in this direction, and who must here undergo several days' quarantine before they are allowed to proceed to Europe. We found whole companies under this purification, as well as many groups of mountaineers, with droves of horses, which they usually bring down for sale previous to the departure of every convoy for Georgia. These animals are not very large in size, but they are strongly made, active, and hardy, and exceedingly sure-footed, from experience of the difficult and dangerous country they have been accustomed to pass over. I purchased one of the best, a fine, well-managed young horse, for two hundred roubles; equal in beauty and points to an English horse for the road of six times the price. Having completed my bargain, I took leave of the friendly Commandant, and, accompanied by my own little party, resumed my way to join the convoy which comprised our future fellow-travellers. We came up with them about three wersts onward from the place of quarantine.

The country, at the foot of the Caucasus, for a considerable distance to the eastward, is called Little Kabarda; the stretch to the westward, being of larger extent, has the name of Great Kabarda, running along the line of the mountains till it meets the country of the Circassians. The people who inhabit these two districts, are known to the Russians under the general appellation Tcherkess. They are the descendants of a mixed people, whose various origins, characters, and customs, are now

nearly lost as marks of distinction, in the one common name they bear, and the gradual adoption of each other's customs. At present, the population of both Kabardas differ nothing in costume from their neighbours, the Circassians. They generally speak the same language, and are fond of considering themselves branches of that stock. But the people of Little Kabarda, I am informed, were literally a colony from Great Kabarda; driven thence from their natural possessions by the more powerful tribes. Circassia might, in former times, have provided itself in the same way; and thus the stream of possession, emigration, and population, flows on. There are, also, numerous Tatar tribes, which extend themselves southward over the lower hills and flat lands, which reach from the foot of the mountains to the Kuban; and then possess the banks of that river, westward, till it terminates at the Black Sea. It is from amongst this wild people, and the Kabardians, bordering on the Malka and Kouma rivers, that Russia has formed its corps of Cossacks, known by the general name of *Cossacks of the Line of Caucasus.* Their principal duty is that of escorts to travellers, caravans, &c. But they are often sent into the interior of the Caucasus, where the Emperor has planted military posts: also into Georgia, with the same object; for they are the only soldiers who are able to attack the savage mountaineer on equal terms, with similar arms, and a similar mode of warfare. When thus serving, they are as faithful as brave, and defend their charge or their post with the most determined resolution.

On reaching the spot where we were to halt for the night, I found every thing there bearing the face of military watchfulness. The officer commanding the convoy had taken a good position, and already distributed his arms and people for the protection of

his charge. Our force consisted of one six-pounder, a hundred chasseurs, and forty Cossacks. The convoy it was to guard consisted of the post (or mail), fifty chariots of salt, and as many of European merchandise; travellers, about ten or twelve, mounted on horseback; half a dozen bristchkas; and my own, with another calêche, closed up the rear. I found the officer in command, and his subaltern, the only two persons under canvass. He received me, however, with the accustomed welcome of his nation; and ordered my equipage to be placed near the mail, behind his tent, as the most secure situation, from all chance of its being cut off. During the time we were together, I derived considerable information respecting the countries of our march from his conversation; for he was observing and intelligent, and for more than ten years had been in that line of duty, without one day's leave of absence, or once having repassed the Terek.

At day-break a drum gave the signal for the horses, cattle, &c. to be harnessed, and every one to prepare himself for marching. At the expiration of half-an-hour, all were in readiness; and the sounding of a second signal put the whole in motion. The gun, and a party of infantry, moved first. Several Cossacks were advanced in front, whilst others were thrown out to the left and right at various distances to prevent surprise. The merchandise brought up the rear, with an adequate number of chasseurs for its protection. We had this day, Monday, October the 1st (O. S.,) to march thirty wersts; but our pace was tediously slow, in order to enable the laden chariots to keep up with the lighter vehicles. Our way lay through steep hills and wide ravines, breaking into a thousand wild and abrupt ascents and descents, and winding away into depths whose precipitous obscurities, increased, by contrast, the picturesque animation of

the road. A line of troops, with other horsemen in different groups, were seen in the several openings of this mountain track, costumed in a hundred fashions; armed with daggers, sabres, carbines, pistols, in short the weapons of almost every country; while they had added a variety of odd contrivances hung about themselves and their horses, for carrying ammunition, and providing for any other want in their march. Our little army and its charge had advanced at a most funereal pace, nearly half its day's journey, when, suddenly, about thirty horsemen appeared on the hills, at no very great distance, making towards us. The sight made us halt. For, although our force far out-numbered that we saw, yet we could not be certain that hundreds were not in their rear, to follow under cover of the ground and make sure work of us. Accordingly, our experienced and alert captain lost not a moment in putting all in a posture of defence. The part of our convoy which consisted of travellers, numbered four or five Russian gentlemen, going to Tiflis to fill stations in the civil government; several Georgian and Armenian merchants, and about eight or ten women, belonging to one of the gentlemen. There were some servants also, who might be counted in our array. Every individual, civil and military, while the hostile group were drawing towards us, loaded his gun or pistol, or drew forth his sword or dagger; all, from necessity, seeming eager to begin the defence. Yet, notwithstanding this universal alacrity of preparation, as I rode along their line to join my new acquaintance in command, I could not but discern the most evident absence of blood in the pale faces of several of our men-at-arms. We were at that time passing through the Lesser Kabarda; and the nature of the country, rough and intricate, and on all sides leading to trackless hills, made it the more favourable for the at-

tack of these brigands, who come down in hordes to the plunder of a caravan. That effected, they can be out of sight in the turning of a hill; and a few minutes carries them from all danger, into depths or mountain-shelters, where no foot but those of their own practised mountaineers can reach, or pursue them.

We had stood prepared a considerable time, waiting the nearer approach of the horsemen, to ascertain exactly what they were, before we should open our means of defence offensively against them; when at about the distance of five hundred yards the troop halted. Our commanding officer and myself accompanied by ten or twelve Cossacks, then rode out towards them; they dispatched an answering body to meet us; and, when within pistol shot, one of this advance, held up a letter, calling out, "they came from General del Pozzo." This was verified immediately, by the man riding up alone, and delivering the paper to our officer. We were soon after joined by the whole troop, to the no small joy of our friends behind, who saw the amicable rencounter; and they speedily, one after the other, trotted out of the line of defence, to understand more clearly who and what they were, who had caused them all such unnecessary alarm. The letter which had been brought, was to hasten our convoy commander, and his military companions, in the fulfilment of their present duty; that they might assist in reinforcing the garrison of a lately erected fort in another pass of the mountains; the object of which was to prevent, if possible, the ruinous incursions of the Tchetchinzi tribe into the lower country. This tribe, which is very fierce and rapacious, inhabits that district of the mountains whence flows the River Soondscha.

The weather, thanks to kind Providence, continued fine; for its changes are often of tremendous consequence in these

regions of waste, and flood, and precipice : and, after a fatiguing, but far from uninteresting day's march, about four o'clock in the evening, we reached our quarters for the night; namely, Algovy Kabaki, otherwise, the fort of Constantine.

This post is one of the many Russian positions which maintain the passes of the mountains, and is situated on a rising ground, at the foot of a high hill, over which our next day's route would lie. These positions are mere field-forts, surrounded by a ditch. The inner face of the breast-work of the fort we were then in, was additionally strengthened by a thick lining of wicker-work. Of its commanding-officer, I can say little. My friend, the captain of the convoy, passed the greater part of the evening with me ; still augmenting, by the intelligence of his conversation, the regret with which I bade him adieu. His duty, as our protector, terminated there. He and his suite departed; and, next morning, the 2d of October (O. S.), we were to set forth again. Little danger being to be apprehended, it was supposed for the first part of the day, we were furnished with a very slender escort, — only twenty chasseurs, and ten Cossacks; but we were told, that after attaining the summit of the immense hill we had to mount, we should be joined there by an additional force.

About five o'clock in the morning, the whole convoy began to move; and the action was sufficiently demonstrative of its ponderous load. The hills were excessively steep, and the paths wet, slippery, and full of obstacles, from the thickness of the woods with which all these heights are covered. These inconveniences were become additionally annoying, from the tediousness and slow progress of the oxen in dragging their cumbrous burthens up such rugged roads. Having achieved seven wersts

of one continued ascent, we, in front, gained the summit of the highest hill of the range, which here runs parallel with that of the Caucasus, and appears to be divided from those cloud-capped mountains by a vast plain; but, on crossing it, we found it only flat by comparison.

On reaching the top of the hill, we were hailed by our promised reinforcement, — fifty soldiers, with a six-pounder, an officer, and about twenty Cossacks. The officer halted us for an hour, in order to let the tail of the waggon-column come up. As soon as the whole had closed in, we proceeded, beginning a gentle descent, on a fine road between rough heights, and a wild desolate looking country, without a tree. When we arrived at some little distance from the borders of the plain, the officer, who was a mere boy in years, made a stop, and announced his intention of resting the whole party there for several hours, the beasts being so fatigued by their exertions, as to be knocking up on all sides of us. He apprised me, that the post, however, must proceed to Gregoropolis without delay; and he left me to my own pleasure to accompany it, or remain for the marching of the convoy; which, he added, could not possibly reach that post before midnight. Dispatch being at present my first aim, I did not hesitate accepting the proposal, but requested as many Cossacks for an escort, as he could conveniently spare. Most of my fellow-travellers, who were independent of the merchandise, on hearing my determination, declared their dislike of halting so long in so bleak a situation, and decided at once to be my companions. We then set forth, marshalling our Cossacks, some in front, others on our flanks; and some in advance to prevent surprise: and, besides these, every individual else of the party was ready with his arms, in case of necessity.

Our precautions, happily, were not put to the test; and, after a trot of twenty wersts, over a low, uneven country, terminating in the more level plain, we at last reached the fort, or redoubt, of Gregoropolis.

This place was by far the most considerable of the kind I had yet seen; and, close to it, was a Cossack look-out, which, from its very elevated construction, commanded a great extent of view. The Major of the fort received us with every attention; and pressed me to remain a few hours at least behind the convoy, to meet General del Pozzo, who was expected next day at Gregoropolis, in his way to Mozdock. Having Count Platoff's letter to deliver to the General, and wishing particularly to make the acquaintance of a man, the circumstances of whose life were not more extraordinary, than his conduct has been admirable, I readily consented. The character of the country I was in, made all divisions of company a matter of increased risk; but the temptation was great; and none knew the danger better, by severe experience, than General del Pozzo himself.

Though an Italian by birth, he has passed the greatest part of his manhood in the Russian Imperial service; and no small portion of that time in these remote mountainous regions. Indeed, to his observation, promptitude, and effective action, Russia is chiefly indebted for the security with which she now holds the key of this part of Asia. He understands the whole country well; its bearings, and the people who inhabit it. He has selected the best stations for a commanding line, and established his posts accordingly. But it is to his intimate acquaintance with the different tribes, we must ascribe his fullest sufficiency; for, being in secret communication with certain native

individuals in each, he is enabled by their information to frustrate any scheme of intended warfare or depredation; and often to come at the knowledge of the existence and places of captivity of any unfortunate Christians who may have become their prisoners. These latter advantages beyond his compeers were dearly purchased by the General. He, himself, had the misfortune, several years ago, to fall into the hands of a party of the Tchetchinzi, who, carrying him away into their rocky fastnesses, treated him with every hardship their savage natures could devise; yet they preserved him alive because they knew something of his importance to his sovereign, and hoped to get a rich reward for his ransom. Besides, such are the strange inconsistencies amongst barbarians, while loading him with severities, they frequently applied to his acknowledged superior wisdom to decide not only disputes in their domestic relations, but often greater matters of discussion, implicating the general interests of the tribe. These circumstances, and the length of his captivity, enabled him to make considerable progress in the acquirement of the Tchetchinzi language, and to become minutely acquainted with their traditions, manners, customs, and the probable views of their depredatory way of life. He also formed connections amongst them which he hoped might, at some future day, (should he ever regain his liberty,) enable him yet farther to serve Russia in her most essential points on the line of the Caucasus. After having worn away twelve long months in this anxious state, between hope and fear, and the present evils of slavery, ten thousand roubles, I am informed, were offered, and accepted, for his ransom; and he returned to freedom, and the exercise of those talents which have increased

the power and territory of his government, and covered himself with honour.

These Tchetchinzi, whose temporary yoke was only schooling their prisoner how at some future day, a more lasting one might be laid upon themselves, are considered the most formidable of all the tribes which inhabit the innumerable rocky valleys of the eastern line of Caucasus. Their predatory excursions, whether in large or small bodies, are not only a dread to their own immediate neighbours, tribes like themselves though of less extent and power; but their sudden descents, ambuscades, and continued warfare, keep the disciplined Russians constantly on the alert. These lords of the mountains seem never to rest, day nor night. Unwearied in their watch for prey; like lightning in attack, for they strike, or are lost to sight as quickly; unsparing in plunder; and murderous to them they rob, none ever escape their merciless steel, except it may be Christians; whom they save, because they hope farther plunder in their ransoms. Surely, in effect, there is hardly more difference between man and a beast, than between savage men and men civilised; men, taught the humanities with the great capacities of their nature. The Tchetchinzi bring out their youth at a very early age to take part in marauding expeditions; and the more bold and sanguinary they show themselves, the higher they stand in the estimation of the tribe. Indeed, he who most frequently surpasses the rest in the execution of desperate and cruel enterprises, if they prove successful, commonly becomes the leader of his brethren, and consequently the chief of many families. He does not aim at this pre-eminence from ambition to govern his countrymen, or to hold a greater power amongst them than any other man, but solely to stand forth an object of peculiar

renown for his bravery; honoured by his own people, and a terror to all others who hear his name. At present this latter emulation particularly points to the Russians. The Tchetchinzi regard them as their most formidable enemy; and to attack and weaken their power by every open and covert way, in large parties and in small, by the destruction of convoys, the cutting off of detachments, and the surprisal of posts, to molest them in all, or in any of these ways, is the constant object of Tchetchinzi vigilance; and few are the soldiers here, who have not had some skirmish with the tribe. Besides the many chiefs, whom their valour has raised to distinction over their numerous brethren, the whole nation looks up to one, pre-eminent above the rest. His is a kind of hereditary claim; for he is always chosen from a family that has for ages been revered as the most ancient in all the tribes; in short, most likely, the great paternal house. He is their prince, and he alone commands or directs when the whole force is called upon to revenge any public insult. He has no jurisdiction whatever, in the civil way; nor can his mandate in any case, inflict punishment on one of the people. The various families have a sort of common law amongst themselves; certain usages of custom, which maintain property and peace with each other. Whenever this mutual confidence is violated, a certain number of elders take cognisance of the transaction, and pronounce judgment. Such occasions, however, seldom occur; but when they do, the offender, according to their only idea of satisfactory justice, is instantly put to death; his dwelling erased, and whatever he may have possessed, given to the party injured.

As the Mahometan was the last religion attempted to be introduced amongst these people, they suppose themselves to

be good Mussulmen. But, with respect to any knowledge they have of its doctrines, they are as ignorant as of any recollection of what that Christianity was, which was once professed by their ancestors. All that shows they have had any thing to do with the Arabian prophet, consists in a few domestic regulations. And the remnants of a better belief are only to be found in the strictness of their maintaining the Easter or Spring fast; and a sort of blind veneration, with which they hold, as sacred, the ruined remains of those churches at whose altars the Christian precepts were once delivered.

They have no priests of any kind; hence their marriages are mere domestic contracts, agreed on between the parents of the parties. The bride always brings a dower, consisting of cattle, &c. proportioned in value according to the wealth of her family. She is brought home to the house of her betrothed husband, and then the ceremony is completed by dancing, drinking, and carousal. From the custom of the sons never migrating from the paternal spot, families, from one stock, increase from single sheds to considerable villages. Each habitation of these people is separated into three divisions; one for the women, another for the men, and a third for the horses and other cattle. The whole little establishment is then encircled by a fence of wicker-work, or stones.

The women not only superintend every domestic arrangement, but attend the culture of the corn, and the growth of tobacco. The latter plant is raised in small portions, merely as an article of individual luxury for their husbands; and these gentlemen lose no opportunity of enjoying it in perfect selfish idleness. When not a-stir on plundering expeditions, or engaged in schemes of warfare, (for there are always some on the

look-out towards these objects,) these men, so active in the field, allow nothing to disturb their reposing indolence; or rather, we might say, the imbruting excess with which they indulge themselves in the misuse of spirituous liquors, to the temporary annihilation of all their faculties.

Their national dress and weapons, in general differ little from the costume of the Cossacks of the Caucasian line; but my military friend of our first convoy, told me he had seen several of the Tchetchinzi, carrying short spears and oval shields, with small iron scull-caps on their heads, and gauntlets of the same metal protecting their lower arm and hands. Those, thus habited, were, comparatively, few in number. The men are stout and robust in their persons, with fine countenances and dark complexions. The women are not to be described, being kept so close as not to be seen by strangers, even of their own tribe. Still it was not improbable that accident might have given General del Pozzo, in his captivity, a glimpse of some of them; and I anticipated some information of the sort, when I should converse with him; but I was yet to be deprived of the expected gratification.

The convoy, and my fellow-travellers set forth again, early in the morning of October 3d (O. S.), the day after we arrived; but it was under so heavy a rain, that I thought less of my imprudence in having decided to remain behind them. At noon, the weather began to clear; and almost at the same instant a courier appeared from the general, to inform the officer at the fort, that his Excellency's arrival there was uncertain; he being detained at the new redoubt, negociating with a party of the Tchetchinzi, for the recovery of an unfortunate European lady who had become their prisoner. The circumstances of her captivity were particularly distressing. Her husband, who was a Cossack officer

had left Kislar for this mountain journey, accompanied by his wife and a single servant, without any escort whatever. The too probable consequences of his rashness followed; he was attacked by a party of these brigands. His coachman and his servant were murdered; and, before the officer had time for any defence, the robbers fired into the carriage, and killed him by the side of his wife. They then plundered the equipage, leaving the dead bodies on the scene of murder, and carried the wretched lady into the mountains, where they sold her to a chief going further into the interior. From the unsuspected sources of communication which General del Pozzo has amongst these people, he soon arrived at the knowledge of who were the actors in this horrid tragedy; and, with admirable address, lost no time in possessing himself of their persons. He now holds them as hostages for the safety of the lady, and proclaims his intention to detain them till she is repurchased, and brought, unharmed, to his protection. This happy result of his humane exertions he expects daily to arrive; but, meanwhile, does not deem it proper to stir from the redoubt till she really shall appear; and so exchange the most horrible servitude, for those respectful consolations which every humane mind would be solicitous to administer to her wretched state. This poor lady's calamity, is one instance out of many of the barbarity with which these hereditary plunderers maltreat their unfortunate captives; and, indeed, the stories we are daily told, of the refined, or rather savage cruelties, practised on the defenceless human creature who falls in their way, are enough to shake the resolution of any young traveller commencing a journey through so perilous a country. At least, the apprehensive vigilance which must accompany him at every step, in crossing these awful mountains, cannot but cast a shade

over scenery, perhaps the sublimest in the world; obscuring the impressions of its grandeur, by a deeper, but less noble one, of fear.

From the now perfectly uncertain time of General del Pozzo's appearance at Gregoropolis, I gave up the idea of our meeting there; and proposed my immediate departure. The convoy had been gone many hours; but confiding my letter for His Excellency to the commanding-officer of the fort, I was furnished with an escort of twelve Cossacks, and set forth on my way to Wlady-Caucasus.

The road lay over a continuation of the extensive plain, part of which we had crossed the day before: it bore a direction due east. On our right rolled the Terek, breaking over its stony bed, and washing with a surge, rather than a flowing stream, the rocky bases of the mountains which rise in progressive acclivities from its bold shores. The day had begun to clear about noon; and the dark curtain of vapours, which had so long shut these stupendous hills from my sight, broke away into a thousand masses of fleecy clouds; and, as they gradually glided downwards, exhaled into ether, or separated across the brows of the mountains, the vast piles of Caucasus were presented to my view; a world of themselves; rocky, rugged, and capped with snow; stretching east and west beyond the reach of vision, and shooting far into the skies. — It was a sight to make the senses pause; to oppress even respiration, by the weight of the impression on the mind, of such vast overpowering sublimity.

The proud head of Elborus was yet far distant; but it rose in hoary majesty above all, the sovereign of these giant mountains; finely contrasting its silvery diadem, the snow of ages,

with the blue misty brows of its immediate subject range; and they, being yet partially shrouded in the dissolving masses of white cloud, derived increased beauty from comparisons with the bold and black forms of the lower mountains, nearer the plain, whose rude and towering tops, and almost perpendicular sides, sublimely carry the astonished eye along the awful picture; creating those feelings of terrific admiration, to which words can give no name.

After a ride of twenty-two wersts, we reached the key of the celebrated pass into Georgia, where I rejoined my companions.

Wlady-Caucasus is one of the most important, and strongest military posts the Russians possess along the foot of the Caucasus. It generally has a whole regiment in garrison; and is the principal depot for supplying the various minor forts of the neighbouring stations in the mountains. It stands on some high ground on the banks of the Terek, sufficiently elevated to command the approach to the pass, and not near enough to any other height, to be subject to the fire of the natives. The town increases rapidly, and so does the population in its vicinity; for here, as elsewhere along this frontier, the remark is verified, that wherever the Russians erect a fort, hundreds of Tatars draw near, and establish themselves in little villages. This voluntary proceeding, by bringing them in unsuspicious, and therefore amicable contact, with the Europeans, has tended greatly to the civilisation of this branch of the Tatar race; and hence, it is to be hoped, the influence of humane manners may gradually diffuse itself to more distant tribes. These establishments have already made considerable progress in domestic habits, and are become attentive to certain little comforts, regarded as necessaries in ordinary civilised life, but of which their still barba-

Engraved by Sidn Hall Bury Str Bloomsbry

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rous kindred tribes have not even an idea. The people, called Tatars, are remnants of the Huns, whose too-abundant population, centuries ago, overwhelmed Europe like a deluge. The ancient consequence of this nation may still be traced in the line of country they possessed, and which was yet too narrow to contain its people. Their dominion extended over the Crimea, and all the territory between the Don and Dnieper; stretching to the Black Sea, and looking towards the Caspian. They planted cities on the Terek and the Kuban; and that they were worthy of a great people, the ruins of Matschar, near the former river, nobly testify.

As from this point, Wlady-Caucasus, our road would be direct through the heart of the mountains, up and down acclivities which would be termed precipices, in the more tameable Alps or Appenines of Europe, we here abandoned our piece of artillery, as well as the heavy part of the convoy; and, lightened of these two loads, set forth, with a more volant motion, under an escort of about forty soldiers, an officer, and a few Cossacks. At starting, our good commander of the fort particularly enjoined us to keep close together. Indeed, on no account to let any one of the party stray away, or lag behind the main body; for the path was so beset with lurking banditti, hid in all quarters of the rocks, that any straggler might instantly become their prize; and his liberty, if not his blood, pay the forfeit of his negligence.

At six o'clock in the morning, we began our march; taking as much military precaution as the nature of our route would admit. We crossed the Terek, over a bridge close to the town. The river there, at this season of the year, is not usually wide, but it was extremely rapid; and, from its course being impeded

by numerous rocks in its channel, the noise with which it struggles for a passage, and rushes over them, may be heard at a great distance. Along the northern bank of the stream, the huts and little gardens of the settled Tatars, soften, with their forms of the gentler picturesque, the vast and terrible outlines of nature by which they are surrounded.

The valley, through which the Terek flows, was anciently denominated *Porta Caucausia*, from its being the great gate of communication between the nations on each side the mountains. Katherine the Second was the first European sovereign whose troops ever passed it from the north; a party of whom, under General Tottleben, penetrated into Georgia, and paved the way for those successes which afterwards determined the Empress to establish a high road direct from this pass to Tiflis. But this project, so pregnant with great consequences, was left to be begun and completed by her grandson, his present Imperial Majesty; who sent General Prince Tchitchianoff, to commence the undertaking, about the beginning of the year 1804; and, by the most indefatigable labour on the side of the workmen, and attentive zeal on his, it is now finished: no less an achievement of incalculable utility, than it is one to be wondered at, and to command the lasting gratitude of all who have experienced its securities.

As we travelled onward, along the right bank of the river, we found it in many places full a quarter of a mile broad; and in others, where the cliffs projected very much, it was hardly thirty yards. Indeed, I am informed, there are points, where the opposite rocks draw so near, as to narrow the stream to less than half that width. When this is the case, the turbulence and

rage of the waters increase with the difficulties, to a degree that covers the barrier rocks, and the stream itself, with foam.

For the first eight or ten wersts of our march from Wlady-Caucasus, the slopes of the mountains, on both sides the Terek, were clothed with trees and thick underwood; but, as we penetrated deeper into the valley, they gradually lost their verdure, becoming stony and barren. On reaching Balty, a small but strong fort about twelve wersts forward, the hills assumed bolder forms, presenting huge protruding masses of rock, with very few spots of shrub or tree. The road here wears rather a face of danger, and must have been made, even thus passable, by the severest labour, aided by gun-powder. It runs beneath pendant arch-ways of stone, which are merely high enough to allow the passage under them of a low carriage; but the path is so narrow as scarcely to admit two to move abreast, or pass each other, should they be so unlucky as to encounter; and on one side of the road is the edge of a precipice, which, in some places, is sixty feet deep; and in others, above one hundred. At the bottom of this abyss are the roaring waters of the Terek. In casting the eye upwards, still blacker, and terrible precipices are above us. We see large projections of rock, many thousand tons in weight, hanging from the beetling steep of the mountain, threatening destruction to all below: and it is not always a vain apprehension. Many of these huge masses have been launched downwards by the effect of a sudden thaw; and at various times, and various places, have so completely blocked up the regular road, as to compel the traveller to pass round them, often so near the brink of the precipice, as to be at the peril of his life.

At another military station, called Lars, where we were to change our escort, the scene becomes still wilder and more

stupendous. The valley narrows to the appearance of a frightful chasm; so steep, so rugged, so walled in with rocks, as if cleft by the waters of the deluge. Its granite sides are almost perpendicular, and are many hundred feet in height. They are surmounted by summits lost in the clouds, which sweep along their ridges, or, rolling down the gloomy face of the abyss, form a sea of vapours, mingling with the rocks above our heads, as extraordinary as it is sublime. But, in short, that undescribable emotion of the soul, which instinctively acknowledges the presence of such amazing grandeur in Nature's works, is almost always our companion in these regions.

Most of the Russian posts here, are on stations formerly occupied by the ancients, for the same purpose; and the remains of these old fortresses may frequently be found in digging foundations for the new. At Lars, and about a werst from it, walls and towers of a commanding height, still rise in frowning, though decayed majesty, over the abrupt points of rock which defend the passage of the valley. By some, it is said to be one of the spots, where the locks or barriers, so much in use in times of antiquity, were erected; and indeed this part of the defile is so shut by nature, little trouble would be necessary to throw piles across, and close the whole with gates.

Evening came on, while we were yet some distance from our halting-place. I regretted it the more, as the darkness would deprive us of every sense of the scenery we were passing through, except its probable danger. The increasing gloom and indistinctness of the surrounding objects; the history of the place, in which we now silently and apprehensively travelled; the hoarse murmurs of the rushing waters at the foot of the ravine; and the vague musings which possess a man journeying

in the blackness of night, through strange countries, desart and solitary; all, engendered sensations in the breast, more of terror than of fear, — an awe of something unknown.

Derial was our post for the night. As we drew near it, our road was rendered still more obscure, by its leading, for a considerable way, through a subterraneous passage cut in the solid rock. It is about a mile from the fort. We emerged on the side of the river, at the foot of a very steep precipice; thence crossed the stream on a wooden bridge; and, additionally guarded by a detachment from the fort, reached our quarters in safety. Thus closed our first day's advance into the Caucasus.

Information having been brought, that a marauding band of the natives were occupying a tract we must pass over next day; for the security of the convoy, the officer of the fort sent out a party of infantry, early in the morning, to dislodge them. Our march being therefore delayed, till news of the success of the expedition should arrive, I had time to observe some of the country through which we had passed the preceding night. The redoubt of the Russian post of Derial stands at the bottom of the gigantic chasm of that name, and is overhung by such enormous masses of rock as to make its situation terrible. On the summit of one of these promontories, impending over the left bank of the Terek, are to be seen the remains of a very ancient castle. With some difficulty I scrambled up to it, and found the ruins consisted of one strong square tower, with thick massive walls surrounding it, and encircling a space besides, sufficient to garrison several hundred soldiers. This seemed the citadel of the pass; but I observed, that on all the points where the rocks might have formed advantageous lodgements for any enemy who had been dexterous enough to gain them, the ruins

of subordinate out-works were visible. The face of the mountain behind the tower had been hewn, with manifest great labour, into a kind of aqueduct, to convey water to the garrison. And, when we consider that there would be ground within its lines to supply themselves and cattle with food, we could not suppose a place better adapted for the purposes of such a station. A subterraneous passage runs down from the castle to the bank of the river, communicating, probably, with other works which might be below, to bar more immediately, the ingress of the valley. The pass, at this place, is not more than thirty yards across; which facility of nature, agreeing with the vestiges along its borders, leaves no doubt in my mind that this, from earliest times, has been one of the main doors of communication with the nations of the north, direct from Iberia. Pliny thus describes these defiles of the Caucasus, and the mode of maintaining them: — "Each pass was closed by large beams of wood, pointed with iron. In the midst of the narrow valley flowed a a river. The southern extremity was protected by a castle built on a high rock. This defence was to prevent incursions from the people of the north." *

According to Ptolemy, there were three of these great passes. The *Pyle Sarmatæ*, the *Pyle Albanie*, and the *Via Caspia*. It is likely that the first, the *Pyle Sarmatæ*, is the same with the *Porta Ibericæ*, or *Porta Caucausia*, mentioned by Strabo, and the present pass, or valley of the Terek. The two latter, the *Pyle Albanie* and the *Via Caspia*, merely bestow two names on one place, which is the pass now called Derbent. But there was another, *Porta Cumana*, and that lay farther westward. Pliny

* Lib. vi. c. 11.

Pl. 3.

Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark Sc.

The Pass at Dariel on the River Terek.

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notices it particularly, describing its fortress by the name of Cumania. These defiles, as keys of the East, have always been vigilantly guarded by the possessors, who knew their value. But Leon the First, rather chose to incur an inroad from the Barbarians, than be at the smaller expense of keeping the gate that fixed their boundary. Justinian knew better; and concluded a treaty with Kobad King of Persia, (A. D. 532.,) agreeing, that this pass should be protected by both sovereigns in common; or, if totally confided to Kobad's troops, the Roman should pay the Persian monarch, one million and a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, in reward of the double service! *

The first syllable in the word Derial, as well as in that of Derbent, in the Asiatic languages, implies gate, door, or narrow pass; which confirms the other evidences, that here was the chief barrier of the valley, and that the castellated promontories of Lars, and other minor posts lower down, were probably the chain of communication from this great station, to others of different magnitude; but all to the same purport, ports of defence against the Barbarians.

I had time sufficient, before our detachment came in, to attempt making a sketch or two of the objects around me. † I took my views from the old fortified height; and from the Russian redoubt below: but no pencil can convey, nor pen describe, the grandeur of the scene. At this one tremendous point, the chasm rises from the river's brink, upwards of a thousand feet. Its sides are broken into clefts and projections, dark and frowning; so high, so close, so overhanging, that even at mid-day the whole is covered with a shadow bordering on twilight. According to the

* Procop. B. P. † Plate 3.

calculations of Dr. Renniggs, who visited the Caucasus in 1781, the elevation of the mountains directly opposite the castle of Derial, is not less than three thousand seven hundred and eighty-six feet. This measurement was the result of several observations; and it may be received as the common height of nearly the whole range, east and west, with the exception of Elborus and Kasibeck.

Our road from Derial lost nothing of its gloomy magnificence, all the way to the sort of gorge, whither the soldiers had been sent to dislodge its unwelcome guests; and there we found a spot peculiarly wild, and fitted to the uses of its late inhabitants. Vast quantities of low thick bushes, and brushwood, occupied a suspicious-looking hollow on our left; which natural trench, so well covered from the eye of observation, terminated at a point that communicated its egress with the accesses of the mountain. But so difficult did they seem, that only one was visible, by which it appeared possible to us for the boldest adventurers to descend. But, descend they do, and in no insufficient numbers; concealing themselves in the thickets till opportunity presents itself to spring upon their prey. Before the precaution was adopted, to send out a party of military, literally to beat the bushes, and clear the way, this road was one continued scene of bloodshed and robbery. These mountain-brigands being sure, from knowledge of their own paths and agility in gaining them, of always escaping pursuit, never failed to be in waiting on every approaching convoy; and keeping close behind their brush-wood, or broken rocks, fired on the unwary people as they passed; killing, or wounding numbers. The survivors, too often taking to flight, left the spoil to the leisurely collection of the victors.

Our escort was reinforced by those who had fulfilled the advance duty of the night before; and the whole moved on without molestation, though several times we could discern different parties of the banditti scrambling high amongst the rocks. Their desperate situations, and savage costume, heightened the Salvator-Rosa picture of the scene. But from the chance of the road not being quite free from them, I was always prevented, though often induced to halt alone for a few minutes, to snatch a hasty sketch. The officer of the convoy would not allow it, as any single straggler might be cut off in a moment, by the sudden spring of one of the undiscovered ambushes. But I could not resist the temptation entirely; and, once or twice I detained a chasseur or two with me, while I tried to catch some loose memorandums of those mighty mountains I might never see again.

As we advanced in the valley, we found testimonies of the most terrible convulsions of nature. Basaltic columns appeared in huge masses over the surface of the mountain, and taking various directions. Some shot horizontally into its side; some stood in erect piles against it; and others inclined, more or less, from the perpendicular. These might be taken, when viewed at a little distance, for the ruins of some vast antediluvian city. The shattered remains of extensive palaces, castles, temples, and embattled walls, seemed to spread every where; while, here and there, a space of scanty verdure, or a large fragment of pure granite, separated these more than semblances of awful change. There can be no doubt, that the alternate influences of heat and cold, have been prime agents in producing the present chaotic state of this valley. Anciently, subterraneous fires, and subsequently, the sun's effect upon its incumbent snows, acting also

upon the interior ice, which former thaws have insinuated into the fissures of the mountains. At the season of the year when the sun's power is greatest, the snow melts into floods, and penetrating still deeper into the clefts of the rocks, loosens those which project, from their grasp of the mountain, and sends them rolling down into the glen, sweeping all before them, with a noise like thunder; but so much louder, as to convulse the air to a degree that shakes the foundation of the neighbour cliffs, and, unriveting others, launches them also, to augment the scattered wreck below. Owing to similar accidents, the road was often obliged to wind round the obstructing masses; or when that could not be done, from the nearness of the precipice, it went over them; the ascents and descents being of course particularly steep and hazardous. In crossing one of these, the bolt which unites the front wheels of my calêche with its carriage, broke. The dilemma was great, on account of the loss of time that would be incurred in restoring the machine to a moveable state, and afterwards (until we could reach a place where it might be properly repaired,) keeping pace with its crippled movements. The village of Kasibeck, a distance of six wersts, was the point we had in view. And by the aid of ropes, good contrivance, and the good-natured alacrity of some of the escort, who literally put their shoulders to the wheel, it and ourselves arrived without further mishap, at the desired halting place, about two o'clock P. M.

The vale now began to open, presenting a prodigiously fine scene; an infinity of mountains, of every shape and aerial colour rising one above the other, and crowned with the pale head of the towering Kasibeck. The height of this mountain, which contests the palm of sublimity with Elborus, has been estimated

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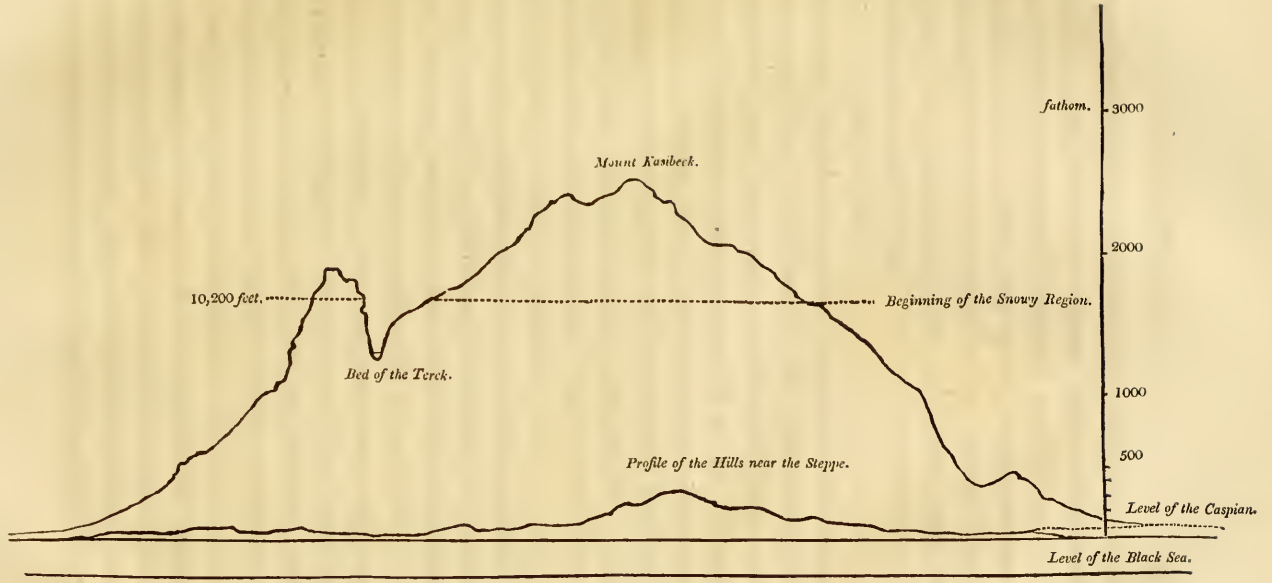


From Dr. Englehardt.

by Dr. Parrot at 14,400 feet, or 2,400 fathoms, above the level of the Black Sea. And indeed, in remote times, when these countries did not boast such regularly tracked paths, these two pre-eminent pillars of the Earth, must have formed excellent land-marks for the traveller, exploring his way through such untrodden wilds. The village which now bears the name of Kasibeck, was originally called Steppan Zminda, from the church of that Saint, which stands close to it.

The house where I halted, during the necessary repairs of my carriage, was the mansion of the widow of a native chief, to whom from his attachment and services to the Russians, they had given the rank of Major-general in the Imperial army. As surnames are unknown amongst these people, to accommodate himself to the usages of his new masters, he took that of Kasibeck, in reference to the hoary mountain, under whose shadow he and his ancestors had dwelt; and, by custom, from him the village itself gradually received the same appellation.

The natives in this neighbourhood are of the Ossi tribe; a people of mixed persuasions, christian, mahometan, and pagan. The village of Kasibeck, as well as a few others in its immediate vicinity, is inhabited by Christians professing the same faith and observances as the Georgians. Their lately deceased chief was eminent for setting an example to his people of strict attention to all religious ordinances, prayer, fasts, and holy festivals; and he exerted his power to the utmost in constraining all under his jurisdiction, not only to take part in these sacred duties, but to preserve with reverence the remains of those ancient but ruined edifices, in which their fathers had first offered prayers to the only true God. He, himself, erected a new and elegant church for his brother Christians, very near the spot where the old one

of former times is yet revered in its fallen towers. That venerable structure, together with one on the opposite hill, was the work of the renowned Princess Tamara, of Georgia, nearly six hundred years ago. Her zealous piety converted the people of her dominions to Christianity; and we still find, in the mouldering remains of the buildings she reared to its honour, in every part of this stupendous barrier, the most noble monuments to her memory.

It is said, that the present race of Ossi Christians are amongst the most civilised of the mountaineers. This may be: but, in spite of their better faith, and better laws, they are occasionally not less expert at robbery and murder, than their brethren of mahometan and heathen creeds. The men are strong, active, and well made; with dark complexions, and a peculiarly lowering look; an aspect, more accordant with the latter part of their character, than that of their pretensions to piety, and its consequent blameless life.

They are habited in the manner of the Circassians; and never appear without the common weapon of the country, a dagger, in their girdle. Its form is broad near the handle, tapering down to a long point; the whole being about eighteen inches in length. In short, there is a general appearance of offence and defence in every thing we see; which must always be the case as we retrograde nearer to man in a state of nature, where the law of force has not yet given place to the law of reason: every body is armed, every house is a sort of little fortress. The habitation of the late General Kasibeck is built of stone, of a quadrangular shape, somewhat like a square fort, being defended by a high parapeted wall, with loop-holes, and small watch-towers. There is only one entrance, and that is through a very

narrow door, which, when shut, completely closes up the whole. The family themselves inhabit one of the sides of the quadrangle, looking inwards; and in the opposite corner are a suite of excellent rooms, set apart for the reception of travellers of distinction. I had been honoured in being ushered into these apartments as soon as I arrived; and I was greeted by a little boy about twelve years old, the son and representative of the late General-chief, who performed the hospitable duties of the house with the grace of one twice his age. His mother, the mistress of the mansion, did not make her appearance, being unwell; but she had ordered refreshment to be spread for me, which consisted of dried fish, some small pieces of roast meat, excellent bread and butter, and, after all, some as excellent coffee. Two of my fellow-travellers partook of this repast, and were as amused as myself with the discordant aspects and devoirs of our attendants; their assassin-like looks and garb giving them more the appearance of banditti than that of serving-men, for they were all armed, and had their breast-pouches filled with cartridges. Indeed, it could not but cross me, once or twice, that they might eventually prove as savage as they seemed. For, it was not improbable that these very people, who were now so obsequiously providing for my wants, might, on our advance to Kobi, if I gave them opportunity, way-lay and rob, if not absolutely murder me: a mode of farewell, to recently welcomed guests, not very uncommon amongst these rapacious mountaineers. In their opinions, within the gate, and without it, makes all the difference in the rites of hospitality, and therefore in the bonds of faith, between host and traveller.

I was told the old General died rich, and that the greater part of his wealth was accumulated in the earlier part of his life, some

twenty-five or thirty years before his zeal for the ways of Christianity manifested itself, along with the first appearance of the Russian military posts along the valley; which about that time began to escort travellers, and merchandise, through its dangerous passes. Prior to this period, both merchant, and charge, depended on the good faith of the chiefs through whose possessions he must travel. To them he looked for protection, guides, and. not beasts of burthen, but men to transport his goods from Europe into Georgia; every article being then, from the trackless roads, of necessity carried on the backs of the natives. The hire of these was an immense expense; besides which, each independent chief exacted a large sum for the privilege of passing through his territory. Other tolls were also paid in the shape of cloth, linen, leather, &c. just as the will of the extortioners chose to demand. Indeed, the whole of these impositions being arbitrary, it depended entirely on the consciences of the demanders, at what charge the poor defenceless trafficker should convey away any part of his property; and it has often been found, that he purchased safety and the transport of one-half of his goods at the dear rate of relinquishing the other. And yet, that has not been the worst of it; for instances have occurred, when, after the proprietors of a rich convoy have paid this sort of price for the secure progress of the remainder, the chief himself, who had received the purchase for protection, has secretly dispatched parties of his own people to lie in wait; and, on the coming up of the unfortunate merchants, they have been attacked, plundered, and murdered. No wonder, then, that the governments of some of these merchants should take the safe conduct into their own hands; and literally show the old possessors of the pass, that their rapacity had cut up the bird with

golden eggs. Since the Russians have made the roads practicable for carriages and horses, and planted military stations at convenient distances, with post-houses and well-armed escorts, the assistance of these treacherous chiefs and their people is no longer needful. The government smoothed the way for an unimpeded establishing of these settlements, by purchasing, with certain sums of money, from these chiefs, the right of exacting toll from merchants, and merchandise. It is now collected at Wlady-Caucasus, (which words mean the key of the Caucasus,) not only by imposts on all chariots, laden with goods for traffic, but each individual whose business is mercantile, pays from ten to twenty-five roubles, as his own passport: all other travellers go free.

In hopes to expedite the refitting of my unlucky carriage, I walked to the habitation of the village Vulcan, who had its repairs under his forge; and so had an opportunity of observing, a little closer, the lower order of these people, and the style of their abodes. The man himself was a rough, savage-looking fellow, black as his business, and with a countenance whose gloomy ferocity harmonised well with the burning iron under his hammer. His habitation, like that of most of his neighbours, was built of mud, on a foundation of stones, very low, and flat-roofed. A sort of shed projected in front, supported by uprights of wood: under this, was the work-shop; and at each extremity of its roof hung the sculls of horses, while other bones of the same noble animal were scattered about near the door. At one end of this rude portico, the blacksmith was busied with his work; and, having inspected what he was about, I took the liberty of walking into the interior of the house. I found a rather large room, excessively dark and dirty, without

furniture. The only light it received was through the door, and a round hole in the roof, which latter served as a chimney: a few morsels of wood and dried dung lay smoking there, in the midst of this wretched apartment. Some earthen vessels, and a broken bowl or two, were placed round it, but no seats whatever. In one corner of the room, however, I at last discerned, through the gloom, an old wooden box, close to which stood a woman; but on the instant she was observed, she made her exit into some still darker recess than the one in which I was standing. If I might be allowed to form an opinion of the Ossitinian fair sex from this specimen, and those I had seen in the court-yard of General Kasibeck's house, besides two or three I had passed in my walk, I should say, they have no pretensions to beauty. Their stature is rather squat; their visages broad-cheeked, flat-nosed, dark, and otherwise ugly excepting their eyes, and they are certainly their best feature. Dirt, rags, and splaw naked feet, might comprise the far from agreeable description, only there is sometimes a little difference in the fashion of the rags. Two or three of the women I saw, wore a sort of sheet, not the cleanest, by way of a veil; but they did not draw it over their faces. Others were enveloped in a kind of bed-gown, with long Georgian sleeves. The lower extremities of all of them being clothed in loose trowsers. The garments of the men, by adding the badges of a wild species of warfare to their rough materials, gave something of the picturesque to what, in the women, spoke only of poverty and wretchedness. The group at the blacksmith's was particularly fitted for the sketch of a painter; indeed, it was altogether a curious spectacle. The man himself was surrounded by ten or twelve by-standers, during his employment; and the noise they made is not to be described. All

talking, bawling, and vociferating at once, accompanying the uproar with gesticulations so violent, (the subject too being the best way of repairing the fractured iron,) that I expected every moment they would end the dispute with blows upon themselves. A gentleman, who was then with me, (and who, from his situation as inspector of the roads, is well acquainted with the character of the natives,) told me this is their universal mode of conversation. They were now amicably discussing the subject in debate; but when argument really becomes hostile contention, then, my informant said, the tumult was beyond imagination: dreadful threats, drawn daggers, in short, every species of menace and uproar; but all, as generally, ending in mere noise and vapour; animosities on both sides being soon drowned in brandy. Though it is so seldom that blows or bloodshed terminate these differences, yet a law, or rather a custom, exists among them, which bears some evidence that disputes did not always end so peaceably. The same law is in use with the Kabardans, and most other mountain-tribes. Should any individual fall by the hand of his neighbour, the nearest relation of the deceased is to take vengeance on the perpetrator of the murder. Instances, however, have occurred, (and they are now more frequent,) where the injured party compounds with the other for a sum of money, or a matrimonial alliance with a good dower: the feud then terminates; and often, even closer friendship unites the two families.

In about two hours, the repairs of my carriage were completed; but, in the meanwhile, most of my fellow-travellers had proceeded, leaving me to follow at my own time; which I did, as speedily as possible, with an escort of twenty-five soldiers: fifteen were armed with muskets; the purpose of the others was

to assist in getting the carriage over the very steep hills, and the bad road, I was told I should encounter in my way to Kobi. This post might be rather more than sixteen wersts from the village of Kasibeck. It was now four o'clock in the afternoon, with a sky full of portentous clouds; so I had no prospect of reaching our night's lodging before the darkness and impending rain must fall about us. However, I had no alternative; and, taking leave of my little host at the deceased General's, mounted my horse, and set forward. The calêche and escort preceded me. We descended gradually into a wide valley, crossing the Terek over a wooden bridge, at no great distance from the village. Here the river totally lost its rapidity and violence, flowing gently through the vale, which its refreshing waters covered with the finest verdure. The bordering mountains, also, at this part, showed luxuriant green, clothing the numerous ravines which indented their sides, and gave shelter to clusters of picturesque huts, inhabited by Ossitinians, and usually drawn around the remains of some old stone tower, which, in ancient days, had commanded and protected these minor passes from the inroads of hostile tribes. Enlivening as these little establishments of domestic peace were in the scene below, what was above menaced us poor travellers with very different sensations. The heads of the mountains were totally swallowed up in black clouds, which were sinking heavily down their sides, and casting so dark a shadow over every object, that night was anticipated before we had travelled half our journey. The rain, which had so long threatened, came on in torrents; and, as may easily be conceived, increased the evils of the severe steeps which lay in our way, like a succession of furrows in a ploughed field; and up and down which the caleche was dragged with such often-

unavailing toil, by the spent horses, that had it not been for the unwearied exertions of the soldiers in extricating it from its numerous difficulties, and yoking themselves to the work, we must have passed the whole of that inclement night upon the road. Sleety snow was mingled with the rain, and a cutting wind, that carried the cold through us, as if pierced with arrows.

Though we had these ascents and descents, of sufficient magnitude to make our beasts feel the difference, yet the absolute line of the road was gradual ascending ever since we left Wlady-Caucasus; our next day's journey, therefore, from our anticipated night's resting-place, it was hoped would bring us to the highest point of our mountain route, — a circumstance I began most devoutly to wish, from apprehension that if much longer exposed to the stress of up-hill work, the bad repair of my calêche would entirely give way; a disaster of incalculable mischief to me, who had more essential calls for its use than the mere carriage of myself. But its trials, for this night, were not yet over. The darkness increased to such a degree, as did the thick falling snow, that it became impossible to see a yard before me: at length, after a tedious contest with various impediments, in the shape of heights, depths, and the darkness itself, we reached a bridge, and, for the last time, crossed the Terek, now become very narrow, and so quiet in its course, I judged all the broken rocks of the valley must be in our own path. From this spot our road lay across a plain, intersected with small shallow streams, but deep in water and snow, both of which completely drenched myself and people to the skin, so finishing what the fore-part of the evening had begun. It was not until eleven o'clock that we reached Kobi, almost chilled to death with wet and cold.

This post, like most of the others, consists of a square fort,

protected by earthen embankments, pallisadoes, and a shallow ditch. A few dirty rooms, totally devoid of furniture, are set apart for the reception of travellers. In one of these, thanks to the gentlemen of the convoy who had preceded me, I found an excellent fire; and, after drying and refreshing myself, I retired to my poor maimed vehicle to sleep; preferring its inconvenience to the vermin and damps of the quarters within. It grew excessively cold during the night; and on looking at the thermometer, I found it nine degrees below the freezing point, according to Reaumur. A severe frost had now succeeded the milder weather; and, on getting out of the caleche at day-dawn, I saw nothing on all sides but lofty mountains covered with snow. The same garb of winter reached to the very gates of Kobi, not a footstep having yet broken its pale surface; nor could I discern, by any guiding mark, in which direction the road lay, that was to commence the greatest difficulties we had yet surmounted, by taking us over the Kristawaja and Kaschour.

Not far beyond Kobi, our old companion, the Terek, is augmented by the waters of the Titri Dskali, and, immediately on this junction, makes a turn, and flows from the west for about thirty-five wersts, in a north-east direction. The source of this magnificent river, of which we now took our leave, — magnificent in the length of its course, and in the scenery through which it flows, — takes its rise in the upper valleys of the southern side of the Kasibeck, a fountain-head worthy the destination of the stream.

The many cheerful-looking villages scattered over this part of the country, which give a show of neighbourhood to Kobi, are inhabited by Ossi of Mahometan and Pagan tribes. But those who call themselves Mussulmen, like their brethren who arrogate

the name of Christians, scarcely differ from their idolatrous kinsmen, excepting in a few religious usages, or rather forms; for precept has little to do, as yet, with these barbarians. The memory of any thing that was taught by the holy personages established by the Georgian Princess, is now quickly sinking into oblivion, and the creed of Mahomet hangs by as slender a thread; for, since the sultans have ceased to pay the sums they had agreed to give for every child that was circumcised into the law of the Prophet, these people have gradually neglected his rites, and fallen back into the idolatrous ways of their ancestors. It is, however, rather curious to observe, that, whatever general religion these tribes may profess, they all assume to themselves (and individually too) a particular protecting divine spirit, or genius, to whom they in silence address themselves when in distress of mind or body; calling upon him for assistance, in the decision of any domestic feud, the prosecution of more general warfare, a marauding excursion, or even for success in the robbery of a caravan, or a single traveller! So much for the standard of their religious morality!

All being in readiness to move, we started at six o'clock, from Kobi, on the morning of October the 7th, O. S. Our soldiers and Cossacks knew well the hidden track, and trod it securely, though very winding and steep, in an easterly direction, up the side of the Kristawaja, or Mountain of the Cross. The road was improved by the frost, which, otherwise, from the late wet weather, would have been extremely slippery and dangerous. We moved steadily on; and the convoy, by degrees, but not without very laborious exertion, gained the summit of the great barrier. Both horses and men halted with infinite joy, to look around them, and, for a few minutes at least, to "rest, and be thankful."

Near the extremest height, is the source of a fine and clear chalybeate, which takes the form of a small lake on one of the projecting points, south-east of this alpine road ; whence it throws itself into the mountain-torrent of the Titri Dskali; the waters of which, at intervals, take their rapid course under high arches, worn through the never-thawing snows which countless winters have drifted into the valleys and ravines. On the side of one of these mountain-glens, sheltered like an eagle's nest in the bosom of its native rocks, (and not far from the desperate path which is called the high road,) we discerned a human habitation; a cottage, much superior to the usual hut of the country. On enquiry, we were told, it was occupied by an Ossitinian family, whose business there was to assist and to succour the winter traveller in his ascent up this terrific mountain. Should he be benighted, he finds food and a shelter. And when storms come on, like the *hospices* of Switzerland, these people most actively exert themselves to rescue any unfortunate passenger from the dangers and distress of such a region. The munificence of the Emperor Alexander provides for this useful establishment. The inhabitants are employed in cultivating a sufficient tract of ground near their habitation; its produce, with sheep and goats from the little flock consigned to their charge, and a large depôt of flour and brandy, are always ready for the purposes of the charity. I rode from our party, with one of my fellow-travellers, towards the cottage; being curious to see the good people, who, I was told, most conscientiously fulfilled the duty enjoined them ; and to ascertain from themselves, the particulars of their services.

We found the family consisted of an elderly man, two younger ones, and several boys, an old and a young woman, the mother

and wife of one of the men; but no dogs, which, like those of Saint Bernard, might assist the discovery of lost travellers amongst the snows. They informed me, it was only in the depths of winter, that occasions occurred for the exercise of their duty; and then, independent of their own personal exertions, it often happened that a far-wandered, or half-famished traveller was rescued from impending death, by the simple means of marks being set up as guides, at certain distances, on long poles; and, when the drift has nearly hidden their little habitation from view, some distinguishing signal, in the shape of a cloth banner, or the sculls of horses, hung out from a very high wooden post, has led many a poor perishing wretch to the rude but welcome refuge. Yet, I am sorry to add, notwithstanding all these precautions, whole companies of travellers have been overwhelmed, and smothered; by sudden snow storms; or, by losing their road in the darkness of night, have sunk in the ravine-beds of the spring-torrents, to rise no more.

On the very apex of the Kristawaja, and just before the descent is to take place into the Aragua valley, stands a large stone cross raised on a pedestal of the same lasting materials. A proper memorandum to those who reach that point, having escaped all the accumulated dangers by which they must inevitably be encountered in making this arduous and terrible journey. But thoughtless must he be, who needs such a monitor to stimulate his most fervent acknowledgments to that Supreme Being who has brought him in safety through so many perils. Indeed, it is not possible for the mind to be more powerfully excited to pour forth its sense of dependence and gratitude, than where this sacred stone is set up; such awful impulses present themselves on every side. The view to the south, spreads before

us the rich valleys of Thuillete, amongst whose luxuriant verdure wind a thousand streams. Their bright and various meanders terminate in the bosom of the Aragua, (the Aragus of the ancients,) which, with its augmented waters, flows majestically south-east, amid the high chains of the Kumlis Zighe mountains on the west, and that of the thickly-wooded Gheff and Mogheff (Gog and Magog) on the eastward. This Arcadian prospect formed a glowing and most inviting contrast to that of the north, cold, sterile, and tremendous, where nothing was seen but the pale and cloud-wrapped summits of Kasibeck, and its rocky supporters; which seemed now to frown upon the happy traveller, who was about to bid adieu to such unhospitable, though sublime regions.

We commenced our descent. The road was by far the steepest we had yet passed. The wheels of every carriage were locked; and, besides this precaution, ten or twelve soldiers were obliged to exert their personal strength, in holding each vehicle back with ropes, to prevent its pressing upon the horses, who could scarcely keep themselves from sliding the whole way down, upon their hinder legs. This difficulty being conquered, another presented itself of still more formidable magnitude. We were to re-ascend again, and over a mountain called the Good Gara. It had no snow on its surface, to betray the unwary foot into clefts or pitfalls; but the peculiar form of Good Gara rendered its passage tenfold more horrible than any we had yet beheld. We stood a few minutes gazing on it, with no small astonishment; for, on turning our backs on the winter-side of these immense barrier mountains, I had erroneously imagined, that, on reaching the holy cross at the top of Kristawaja, we had surmounted all our alpine difficulties. But we soon found that travellers

arriving there from Georgia, have equal occasion to make acknowledgments for safety past, as to beseech still further the Divine protection.

Nothing can paint the terrific situation of the road which opened before us at Good Gara. It seemed little better than a scramble along the perpendicular face of a rock, whence a fall must be instant destruction. The path itself was not in fact more than from ten to twelve feet wide, and this wound round the mountain during the whole circuit, with a precipice at its side of many hundred fathoms deep. While pursuing this perilous way, we saw the heads of high hills, villages, and spreading woods, at a depth so far beneath, the eye could not dwell on it for a moment without dizziness ensuing. At the bottom of the green abyss, the Aragua appeared like a fine silver line. I dared not trust myself to gaze long on a scene, at once so sublime and so painfully terrible. But leading my horse as near as I could to that side of the road whence the Good Gara towered to the sky, and therefore opposite to that which edged the precipice, I looked with anxiety on my fellow-travellers, who were clinging to the stony projections, in their advance up this horrid escalade. What we dreaded most was, that the horses which drew the carriages might make a false step, or get frightened; in either case, nothing could save them from rolling down the precipice. But my admiration was great as my surprise, on witnessing the steadiness and total absence of personal fear, with which the soldiers kept close to my calêche at scarcely a foot distance from the brink of the abyss, supporting the wheels with their hands, lest the loose or large stones which cumbered the path, might throw it off its balance. A length of full three English miles, we dragged on in this way,

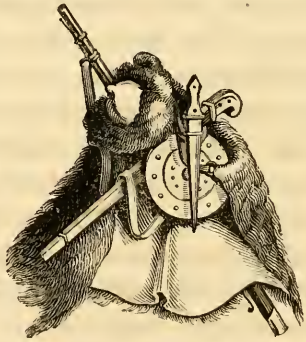
ere we durst lay aside our apprehensions, or feel that free respiration which our giddy elevation had repressed. But, perilous as we found this desperate ascent, it was nothing to the dangers of those who dare it in the winter. At that season, the whole, buried in snow, appears almost perpendicular with the side of the mountain. It can never, then, be attempted but on foot; and, on the arrival of travellers, soldiers or natives precede them, in order to find the road, and to form a path through the thick untrodden surface. They ascend in a string; the first advances with a rope round his waist, which is held, at different lengths, by his companions as they follow one after another. This is done to prevent the leader's destruction, should his foot slip in the uncertain track. But notwithstanding all this care, no winter passes, without numbers of soldiers, Cossacks, and natives, besides travellers, falling over this dreadful steep.

On enquiring of one of my companions, a resident in the country, what was done in the case of carriages meeting in this road, he informed me, such a circumstance had been rendered impossible. When convoys were to pass in either direction, people were sent forward at a sufficiently early hour, to detain the one till the passage of the other had left the road open. In going along it, I could not but wonder at finding this, the most dangerous part in our whole route, evidently the most neglected. Independent of the extreme narrowness, and therefore, thus situated, increased peril of the road; at every fifty yards we might stumble over large or loose stones, some half buried in the ground, and others just on the edge of the precipice. From the nature of the face of the mountains, which is a slaty kind of rock, the path could be widened and smoothed with little difficulty or labour.

When we arrived on the lower plain of mountains, (if I may be allowed the expression,) their character became less wild, taking rounder forms, finely wooded and covered with rich verdure, presenting but seldom those bold and savage rocks to which I had lately been so accustomed. At four o'clock (P. M.) we reached the fort of Kashour, which commands the valley and road leading towards Tiflis. It is built on part of the ruins of an ancient Georgian strong-hold; the lofty tower and moulder-ing walls of which, preserve majestic memorials of its former consequence. These silent testimonials of empires long sunk in the dust, may be seen crumbling into the same oblivion, on almost every point of the surrounding hills. They form inte-resting objects in this romantic scenery; an apparition in the wilderness, which tells of long-forgotten greatness.

At six o'clock in the morning of October 7th (O. S.), we left Kashour, attended by our usual escort of infantry and Cossacks; and, after a short descent, crossed the Aragua over a small but well-built stone bridge. The river at this point, is not more than from twenty to thirty feet wide, and flows with a gentle stream. The valley is richly wooded on both sides; its eastern bank being cleft into numerous glens, which run deep into the bosom of that part of the mountain, the shelters of an industrious as well as hardy race of Ossitinians. These little vales are co-vered every where with villages, whose lowly but cheerful abodes, are picturesquely opposed, to the dilapidated forms of the ruined turrets which are usually their neighbours. A rushing torrent, from the higher lands, commonly divides the village; adding to its beauty, and much increasing its comfort. The proofs of considerable cultivation were very observable. They grow mil-let, barley, onions, and tobacco; and breed sheep and goats, to

such an extent, the nearest heights are often covered with their flocks. The aspect of the people, whom we saw tending these herds, showed in their countenances at least, marks of such milder pursuits. They looked well fed, and peaceable. But the old insignia of assassination still hung at their girdle; and a gun was slung across their shoulders. We met others of the same establishments fording the river to gain the main road, whose garbs were yet more of the ancient warlike costume. They bore, besides the arms just mentioned, swords, somewhat curved; and close to the hilt of each was fastened a small round shield, covered with leather, and studded curiously with nails. In dimensions, it is less than the rondel of the days of our Elizabeth, and exactly resembles that which the English bowmen wore in the time of Henry the Fifth. These mountaineers, I am told, are very expert in its management when using the dagger. They are tribes of the Mahometan and Pagan Ossi.



We followed the course of the Aragua, the whole day; halting for a short time at another fortified post called Passanour, where we changed our horses and escort.

Between this and the next resting place, our travelling became slower; being retarded by intervening ascents and descents of several minor hills, and the rockiness of the road. The great valley, however, which was still our path, retained its pastoral character, as long as we followed the windings of the river. While we were leisurely proceeding, the evening closed upon us; but we did not regret the day. A beautiful moon, in a sky clearer than any that is seen in Europe at the same hour, shed its rays on every object. The effects on the vale, mountains, and river, are not to be imagined; they were so grand, so tranquil, reposing in so soft a light. With the advance of night, succeeded a severe, but brilliant frost; and the romantic scenery, with which we were surrounded, only became more animated by the change. Numerous fires appeared at various distances, under the shelter of trees, or beneath overhanging masses of rock. Around these, were seen groups of Cossacks, mingled with Georgians and Mountaineers, whose rude, athletic figures, marked countenances, and savage military garbs, formed pictures of the wildest character.

From the fresh air, interesting objects, and free movement of such a scene, did we pass, on our arrival at Annanour, at once into damp, darkness, and confinement. This is the place, appointed for travellers who enter Georgia by the Caucasus, to perform a quarantine of four days, before they are permitted to pursue their journey. The dirt and wretchedness of the hovels which opened to receive us, gave sad warning of our night's lodging. No better floor than — I wish I could say, the *bare* ground, damp and noisome; windows, with neither glass nor shutters; and the nooks, intended for fire-places, in so ruinous a state, that no hope could be entertained of putting them to their use. One specimen may be enough, of the comforts prepared for the un-

fortunate travellers, who were to find rest in the chamber myself and three companions were turned into. The floor was in many places overgrown with beds of mushrooms! In vain we requested a more suitable spot for that night's sleep, and the probation of four days. There was no person of authority on the spot, to give any such order. The commandant of the fort lived in the town of Annanour, nearly two miles off; and, as it was too late to send to him, we were obliged to make the best of our miserable quarters; stopping up the gaping windows (for the cold without was now extreme); lighting a fire in the mouldering chimney, and ridding the floor of its garden appearance, by the removal of the mushrooms, and other weedy nuisances in their neighbourhood. Our servants were even worse off than ourselves; having no hole whatever to put their heads in, they bivouacked for the night under the walls of our dungeon.

This, certainly, was a most woeful reception for persons compelled to halt, after a weary journey, under the supposition of having the plague; and much more dismal for those who came there in perfect health. In the first case, the exposures and misery of the place, would soon put an end to the troubles with the life of the poor infected wretch: while he who enters well, can hardly escape taking thence with him a severe cold at least; but more likely, the seeds of disorders, to remind him for many months of the sort of "care taken of travellers in the quarantine of Annanour!"

Next morning I dispatched a soldier betimes to the commanding officer, also to the medical professor in the town, earnestly requesting better accommodation for myself and companions. Both these persons of authority soon made their appearance; and they united in assuring me, that I was already in the best apartment of the whole range. And, by way of recon-

ciling me the more readily with my good fortune, they added, that several general officers had recently performed quarantine in the same; and, being so pre-eminently comfortable, it was always reserved for travellers of rank. My ideas of comfort being something different, I desired to have the windows stopped up; and that we might have something more commodious than the bare earth to sit on, lie on, and eat off. An old rotten bedstead had been visible in one corner of the room, but it was at the peril of any one who should have attempted to put it to any of its ancient uses. In a short time, paper was pasted over the windows, and a few of the articles sent, of which we stood in so much need.

The place of quarantine consists of a collection of low buildings, on a quadrangular piece of ground, which is pallisadoed. It has two entrances, strongly guarded: that leading to the town is the most vigilantly attended, no one under probation being suffered to pass that barrier; but, in the opposite direction we might issue forth and wander about at will over the open country. Notwithstanding the reformation in our apartment, I resumed my now common practice of passing the night in my carriage. Though a colder station than any where I might command a fire, it was at least clean and dry. But during my first attempt at sleeping there at Annanour, I was disturbed the whole night by the most hideous yellings and yelpings. Not being able to guess their cause, I enquired in the morning, and found they proceeded from vast droves of wolves and jackalls, which infest the circumjacent woods; and often, when pressed by hunger, break into the very square of the establishment. No pleasant visitors to its poor houseless inmates, who, like our servants, might then be lying defenceless on the open ground.

The town of Annanour stands at the foot of one of the mountains of the south-western branch of Kumlis Zighe, which range forms the right bank of the Aragua. It is a place of antiquity, and once was considerable for its population and military strength. It is now reduced to a few deplorable-looking huts, some of which are shops; and, at first view, this circumstance gave a strange, inconsistent show of animation to so miserable a remnant of departed life. But, on nearer communication, I found the inhabitants to be more civilised, to have more social intercourse amongst themselves, than in any place I had seen since I entered Asia; and, what is the best proof, here alone I found the people of a mountain-settlement who excluded rapine and plunder from their means of subsistence. Annanour still possesses the remains of a noble church, which stands within the walls of a castle, whose once proud towers are sinking as quickly to decay. The architectural decorations on the sacred structure, must have been a work of great skill and labour; crosses, and stone-work, carved in the most ingenious manner, ornamenting the whole exterior of the building. On each side of the semi-circular door-way, which leads to the interior, are various inscriptions, in the ancient Georgian character; this having been, in those times, a favourite strong-hold or sanctuary for Georgia. Whenever Tiflis was threatened with an attack from Persia, or the Turk, Annanour was commonly the spot, as most secure, whither the females of the reigning family were sent; and with them the most valuable of the sovereign's property. Amongst the latter, at one time the renowned relic of the Georgians, the Cross of St. Nunia was deposited. This highly-prized relic was formed of vine-branches, bound together by the long hair of the fair saint. At present it reposes in the great church of Tiflis.

On the third evening after our arrival at the quarantine, our servants and baggage were fumigated, preparatory to our release the ensuing day. This ordeal passed, we received certificates of health; and, having now liberty, I paid my visit to the town and the fortress. At six o'clock on the morning of October the 11th (O. S. 1817,) we re-commenced our march. We ascended the mountain to the southward of Annanour, crossing its woody summit almost directly over the town. About midway of our day's journey, we had a full view of Duschett, our next halting-place; a distance of nearly eleven wersts from our last. It is situated at the bottom of the hill we were then descending, in an extensive valley, rich with cultivation and villages, and seeming to promise a very different entertainment from that of Annanour. A great many of the natives were occupied in ploughing; but the machine they used was exceedingly heavy, its share very sparingly clothed with iron, and so inconveniently long, that it made a furrow full two feet in width, and as deep as any hedge-ditch in England. The soil was rich, black, and weighty; so much so, that fourteen oxen were yoked in pairs, to drag the plough through its furrows. Buffaloes are very numerous here; and are often used for these agricultural labours, as well as for business on the road, where they sometimes carry burthens on their backs; and at others, draw a clumsy sort of cart, with wheels of a solid piece of wood, like those of Portugal. Droves of these animals were grazing near the road, some of them of an enormous size, much larger than the largest of the English cattle I ever saw. Their cry is peculiar, for I cannot call it either lowing or bellowing: it is long and monotonous, resembling the hum of an insect; but as much louder, as the magnitude of the one animal exceeds that of the other. The comparison may seem a strange one, but it is true.

The peasants were preparing to sow wheat and barley, which, with millet, are the only sorts of grain they cultivate with diligence. From the latter, two liquors are extracted; one, an ardent spirit; the other, a milder drink, extremely sour and disagreeable. Wines are not in use in this part of Georgia; neither do we see a single vine for the benefit of its grapes as a food. By the degree in which we draw nearer to an admired object, we often find that it gradually loses the beauties which attracted at a distance. Thus a green vale, when viewed from a height, seems luxuriant in cultivation; but when come to the place itself, we may see a morass instead of a field. In like manner, as we approached Duschett, the appearance of the general culture we had hailed from the brow of the mountain, dispersed away into limited spots; and we still found the traces of savage desolation, the footsteps of a lagging, because still insecure, industry.

Duschett itself, is a pretty extensive town; with the remains of a fortress and a palace, which, in times past, were the summer-residence of the kings (or Tzars) of Georgia; and, I believe, a particular favourite with the last, the celebrated Heraclius: for his son could scarcely be said to have reigned. Being curious to have an idea of an Asiatic palace, I requested the officer commanding at this post, to be kind enough to accompany me to see it and the fortress. I found a very large square, inclosed by high stone walls, with strong towers at the angles. On one side of the interior of this square, near the wall, stands the royal edifice; a low, unpretending-looking building, consisting of a single story, which is divided into small rooms, without other ornament than some rough carved work, in the shape of lozenges, on the timbers of the ceiling. Neither gilding nor paint, of any kind, ever seems to have touched its plain stuccoed walls. A veranda surrounds the whole; and its flat roof formed a terrace,

whence only the tops of the hills might be seen. A circumscribed prospect, for a summer-palace. But the embattled sides of the fortress, which were its protection, would allow no ampler. In the centre of the square stands a small wooden church, almost falling to the ground. It is now in contemplation to turn the palace into quarters for officers in garrison; and to occupy the square with barracks and stables, for a new battalion destined to this important line of country.

This part of Georgia is now called the province of Kartelania, and was the ancient Iberia. Ptolemy describes it as bordered, on the north, by the Sarmatian mountains; to the south, by a part of Armenia; to the east, by Albania; and to the west, by Colchis, the present Immeretia. He mentions many of its towns and villages. But Strabo, who travelled in these countries, speaks yet more decidedly of this being a flourishing, and even luxurious state. A dreary and comfortless contrast it now exhibits! A once independent kingdom, reduced to the abject situation of a province; and not immediately to the sovereign power itself, which might dispense consequence, with near union; but through the double vassalage of a medium, being an appendage to another subject province, that of Georgia. Wars, and invasions from rival neighbours, gradually diminished the brave population of this little kingdom; but their most mortal blow, was given by the hands of those amongst them who possessed ambition, without the manliness to maintain it themselves. Like other powers, who, unwittingly, have committed the same sort of national suicide, themselves taught the Lesghees, (the people who were to be their destruction,) the passes of their country. During times of civil discords, the mutual jealousies of the Iberian chiefs subsidised bands of these warlike barbarians to fight their battles. The way once found, these conquering

allies trod it at pleasure; and, trampling on the great lords, their former pay-masters, soon reduced a people who had such inefficient leaders. From that time, the country sunk lower and lower, under the weight of oppression; till the peasantry, entirely giving themselves up to a kind of idle despair, the present possessors of the province found them in that mortal state of the human mind, from which it will require years of European knowledge, example, and patient energy, to rouse them into new life, social and political.

On quitting Duschett, the valley opens with a considerable expanse for a few wersts, crossing several tolerably cultivated low hills. A lake lies to the westward of the road, which, I was informed, contains a variety of good fish: one species is very large, shaped like a salmon, but when dressed it is not the same in colour, being white instead of yellow. Leaving the direction of this fine body of water, after an hour or two's march, we regained the banks of the Aragua, along which we pursued our way for the remainder of our day's journey. A valley on the opposite shore was pointed out to me as the only avenue still practicable, by which the Lesghees can repeat their inroads into the country. A Russian guard, consisting of a few infantry and Cossacks, keeps station there; and it is sufficient for the ordinary defence of the pass, the old invaders not attempting, now, descents of any power. They are seldom seen but in marauding parties, small enough to escape pursuit, as easily as they elude vigilance in making these incursions. It is only in time of war, when the Russian soldiers may be drawn to more distant duty, that they come down in hundreds, spreading rapine and misery in every direction.

Towards dusk, we reached a post called Artiskall, where we changed horses; and leaving our chasseurs, took an escort of

Cossacks only, having but a short distance to go before we should attain our proposed sojourn for the night. We had not proceeded more than a werst or two, ere it became quite dark; yet, the eye being used to it, I could distinguish that the increasing gloom, which deepened on us as we continued to advance, was occasioned by the closing in of the valley. At last its mountain walls drew so near each other, as totally to exclude all trace of the road; and we had nothing to guide us from stepping into the river, that was combating the rocks at our side, but the warning noise of its course; and, now and then, a sparkle of light on the water, shot from moon or stars through some friendly chasm in the stony canopy above us.

At nine o'clock we arrived at Mskett, once the capital of Georgia, now a wretched village. Such is the too probable consequence of a frequent change of masters; the ravages of war, the neglect of caprice, the miseries of delegated authority, of oppression and poverty. Nothing more resembles the turn of fortune in the destiny of such a place, once the residence of kings, now the abode of penury and wretchedness, than the fate of many a proud and frail fair one. One day, we hear of her lying in the bosom of princes, on a couch of luxury and indulgence; and ere long, perhaps, we shall be told, that she has perished on some bed of straw, without a human being to give her a drop of water, or a hand to close her eyes.

Having arrived at the forlorn remnant of the great city of Mskett, I took up my quarters amidst the ruins of its castle, where I was lodged for the night, in the cell of a priest, or proto-pope, belonging to the old cathedral, still existing within the walls of the fortress. We were only a short day's journey from Tiflis; and the venerable incumbent of my cell being as kindly hospitable as his means would allow, I determined to delay my

morning's march a few hours, that I might have time to view the many interesting objects of the place, and the magnificent country by which they are surrounded.

Long before Tiflis, the present capital of Georgia, had a stone laid of its foundations, or that it could have been even in contemplation to disturb the cattle which pastured on its ground, to fix the site of a new city, Mskett had been a place of importance, and of great antiquity. It was the residence of the sovereigns of the country, of large extent, and numerous population; and many marks of its ancient strength and spaciousness may still be found along the angular piece of land which was its foundation. The situation was commanding for a royal capital, being between the rivers Aragua and Kur (the Aragus and Cyrus of the classic ages), and immediately at their point of junction; the former river bounding the province of Kartelania (the ancient Iberia) to the south-east; and the latter stream, from the commencement of its course, forming a barrier to Armenia.

Pliny, while writing of Iberia, observes that its chief city was called Harmastis, and that it was situated near the river Neoris. Ptolemy mentions the same place, under the name of Artanissa; and then adds, that there is another town called Mestletta, not far from the Kur. We have no difficulty in recognising Mskett in Mestletta; and in Harmastis, or Artanissa, too, the topography of both being such as to show them to be one city; and the ruin on which I was quartered had originally been the strong-hold of that ancient capital. In the days of its greatness, this strong-hold inclosed the palace of the kings, as well as the metropolitan church. What remains of the former, are little more than bare and mouldering walls, excepting one small gloomy chamber, near the ground, in which a stone couch,

and an altar of the same rough materials, still show memorials of the pious Nunia, who there performed her vigils. In reverence of her memory, this melancholy cell bears the name of Saint Nunia's Chapel.

The cathedral, or patriarchal church, stands in the heart of the fortress. It is a large and stately building, with a turreted spire, faced with smooth stone. The rest of the exterior workmanship is of the same character as that of the church at Annanour, intricate and full of labour; but the interior would be very plain, were it not for the ill-painted legends of saints on the walls: and they are the less to be tolerated, since their gaudy colours disturb the fine shadowy solemnity of the grey tombs which cover the remains of departed patriarchs and deceased tzars. Amongst the latter, we were shown the place where the great and unfortunate Heraclius, the last king of Georgia reposes, with his sons, from all the troubles of his reign; — he sleeps at rest, unconscious that the foot of a foreign sentinel treads and retreads the earth near his grave!

The good father who accompanied me mentioned, as other objects usually interesting to travellers, several holy relics. Those of the greatest note he named, were the vest of our Saviour, and part of the mantle of Elias. The first, for many years back, had been consigned to the safe-keeping of a finely-wrought shrine, within the precincts of the high altar; and the latter, with other treasures of similar character, could not be shown to me, the archimandrite being absent, to whose charge the relics were committed.

On a desolate tract of ground, nearly half a mile northward of the walls of the fortress, stands another church, surrounded, not with tombs, but the melancholy silence of innumerable

ruins, the most dismal monuments of the dead. In fact, little else than the mouldering vestiges that this once was a city, are to be seen for several wersts around. On the eastern side of the river, directly opposite to the town, rises a pointed and rocky hill, covered at the top with very extensive ruins ; — part seem the remains of a church, and the rest, from the nature of the broken walls and towers, a place of military strength. This pyramidal hill, with its mural crown, must have had a very majestic aspect, in the days of its power; at present, it is noble even in ruins. The fortress on its height appears to have been in regular communication with the town: we may distinctly mark the track, in the remains of walled posts, which run down the slope to the very margin of the river, terminating just at the spot where it is in general fordable. The western bank is rather high, and gave a good station for a square tower which guarded the pass to the water. At a little distance, to the north, is seen a bold, projecting rock, perpendicular towards the river, which washes its foot. Its summit is spread with masses of ruin, fallen and erect; but every where evincing the grandeur of the fabric which had once commanded from its brow. When that fabric stood in its original, unimpaired form, it must have been a castle of much greater magnitude than any of the others; and, by its position, commanded not only its own immediate road, but the whole valley towards the Caucasus, and every approach from the mountains bordering, in that direction, on the Aragua. The situation is the best for a military post in that part of the country; and, from the peculiar method in which parts of the remaining structure are put together, I am led to suppose, that if it were first founded by Asiatic princes, it was enlarged and strengthened by their Roman conquerors. The

square tower, which I have mentioned a little above, as guarding the pass to the river, bears marks of the same military architects; and the fragments of an old wall, which has evidently run along the whole face of the northern bank of the Kur, resemble, in every part, the admirable workmanship, in that way, of the Roman soldier. This wall ceases at a ruined stone bridge which crosses the Kur, and is protected by two high quadrangular towers that stand on each bank of the river. On the other side of the bridge the wall re-commences, with additional marks of fortification wherever points appear vulnerable, and takes its course all the way up, till it joins the great northern castle, on the bold projecting rock I have described before.

Plutarch's account of Roman transactions, in this part of the world, corroborates my view of the subject; and it is to such evidence alone that we can refer as guides through the vestiges of past ages, scattered over these, now, half-barbarian wastes. He mentions, that after the subjugation of Tigranes, King of Armenia, Pompey, eager to follow his fortune, left Afranius with an adequate force, in charge of the conquered country, and set forth himself in pursuit of Mithridates. His line of march lay, of necessity, through the countries bordering on the Caucasus. The Albanians, at first, granted him a free passage; and calculating on the performance of their promise, he proceeded confidently towards their frontier. But he had scarcely cleared the mountain defiles which lead to the western shore of the Kur, when these hardy people, either repenting their acquiescence, or having granted it merely to throw the Roman general off his guard, appeared suddenly on the opposite bank of the river, advancing towards him with every show of determined hostility. It was then the month of December, and the

Roman troops celebrating the Saturnalia. But their general, who no sooner perceived his expected friends, than he saw them to be enemies, gave orders to allow the barbarians to pass the river, and then prepared his men to receive them as their broken faith deserved. The Albanians crossed in a body of forty thousand men, — so vast a multitude had they collected, to oppose their formidable foe; but it was in vain: the discipline of the Roman band of veterans was more than a match for the population of the whole country; and, utterly discomfited in the battle which ensued, the Albanians yielded absolute submission. The consequence was, Pompey placed his own keys in the locks of the country; and proceeded, without further opposition, towards Iberia. According to the writers of the period I refer to, Albania was then bounded to the south by the Cyrus (or Kur), from the shores of the Caspian, to the junction of the river with the Aragua. From the nature of Pompey's views in the country, and the difficult and dangerous passage of the Caucasus between Armenia and his next great object, — difficult from their unexplored intricacies, and dangerous from the inevitable harassing of the warlike natives, who had never known subjection, — though these mountains were his direct path, yet the more circuitous one of the eastern bank of the Kur, being altogether the most eligible, from its fewer natural obstacles, and being in part through the country of the Albanians, who had promised him a free passage, it appears that Pompey could not but take this line of march, and, accordingly, we have found his traces all along the path. The Kur is fordable in many places, particularly above Tiflis; and between that city and Mskett lies an extensive plain, the spot, most probably, where the Iberians made a desperate stand against the

formidable invader, who had already laid Albania at his feet. Indeed, that plain is the only space of ground in that district sufficiently extensive to have allowed two such opposing armies room to act; but the Roman's fortune still held the ascendant, and there the richest parts of Iberia too, became the spoil of the victor. Having now the liberties of this brave people in his hands, Pompey took up his winter-quarters in a position to command a ready communication with his posts in both his new conquests, Albania and Iberia; and I have little doubt that we have found those winter-quarters at Mskett. Besides its proximity to the objects just mentioned, it lay in the midst of a cultivated country, abundant in supplies for his troops, and at a point, whence he could issue at will, to pursue his plans against Mithridates, on the opening of the following spring.

Mskett is, in fact, a fortress by nature: we have only to look on it, to recognise these features; the nearly insular situation of its site, magnificently moated by the Kur and the Aragua, the natural towers and strong-holds of its cliffs and beetling rocks, and the position in which it stands, capable of blocking up the way at once, to the passes which lead to two kingdoms. The former sovereigns of Iberia had been aware of these advantages; and, when they seized the station for themselves, added those bulwarks of stone, which, now in ruins, cover the heights, but which, we also find to have been subsequently strengthened by the conquerors of Asia from Europe. Similar vestiges of occupation by Greeks and Romans, mingling with the old eastern fortifications erected by the native people, may be traced, not only in these parts, but in every pass of the mountains, to the inmost recesses of the Caucasus.

The styles of architecture, civil or military, of any particular

people, are silent but decisive evidences of where those people have been. But, more than this, with regard to the spot of my present argument, Dr. Reniggs mentions, that during his stay in Georgia, he was told, that in the northern castle at Mskett a stone had been found, bearing the Greek inscription, [ΑΚΡΟΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ] Acrostopolis. He adds, that all the Georgian historians, as well as other learned writers, speak of Mskett as the most ancient city of the kingdom; testifying that it was in a very flourishing state, even so far back as when these regions first embraced Christianity; and before that, we find it may have been a garrison of importance. According to D'Anville, the city of Harmozica (the Harmastis of Pliny, and the Artanissa of Ptolemy) was situated on the Kur, just at its junction with the Aragua; while the town of Teumara occupied the banks of the latter river, at no great distance from Harmozica.

About eleven o'clock on the morning of October the 12th, (O. S.), we left this interesting old capital; and, having proceeded along the northern bank of the Kur, for about a werst, crossed the river at the bridge I described before, as being situated between the two lofty Roman towers. Nothing of the ancient structure of this bridge remains, excepting the stonework from which sprung the arches. The arches gone, the massy pillars which supported them, are now connected by a sort of wood platform, over which travellers pass, and under which the river rolls in a dark and turbulent stream. On gaining its southern bank, we pursued our way in a parallel direction with the road we had just quitted, till reaching the foot of the hills where the confluence of the two rivers takes place, and then our course ran with the united stream due south. But it was a curious and a fine spectacle, to behold

these two celebrated floods at the moment of junction. The clear and green waters of the Aragua formed a brilliant contrast to the heavy and sombre wave of the Kur, as they dashed into its bosom. But the union was instantaneous. And the mightier flood of Cyrus rolled onward with its tributary stream unaltered in colour, with the same proud solemnity of course.

The source of this famous river has been supposed, in almost as many different places as there have been writers to discuss the question. Strabo, will have it to rise in Armenia; Pliny, in the Tartaric Scythian mountains; and Ptolemy, in Colchis, the modern Immeretia. Chardin would find its spring amongst the Caucasus; and subsequent observations have proved him so far right, that its source has been traced to the mountains that bound the province of Akiska westward, and which are a ramification of the Caucasus, though so distant from the great parent stem. From the recesses of this Akiskan branch, issue several small rivulets, which, uniting into one channel at some little distance from Agalzhicke, takes the name of Kur; and, flowing thence through part of the Turkish dominions, gradually augments its stream by the reception of minor rivers in its course. Although its windings are various, its main direction is generally to the eastward, passing through deep valleys, and one or two extensive plains, in its way to the town of Mskett. Having paid its tribute to those venerable towers, the progress of a few wersts brings it to other ruins; to the successor of the royal dignities, which once gave distinction to those towers; to what was the new capital of Georgia. Its once lofty battlements, now crumbling to decay, mix their superb fragments with the less ostentatious works of modern military art; and Tiflis, though no longer the magnificent residence of Asiatic princes, is yet the

capital of a government; and possesses a fortress, of more strength, than imposing appearance. From this point, the Kur takes a south-eastern direction, fertilizing a country of as much beauty as grandeur. The most considerable rivers which pour themselves into its channel, during this course, are, the Alazan, from the north-east; and the Aras, (or Araxes,) from the south, which discharges itself into the Kur at about seventy miles distance from the mouth of that river. When this junction has taken place, the breadth and the depth of the Kur are so encreased, it immediately becomes navigable for much larger boats than any which could have been attempted higher up. At fifty miles lower down, it divides itself into two noble branches; and so flows onward, through the province of Maghan, to the north-west coast of the Caspian; whence, by these double channels, it unites its waters with the sea.

Ancient writers would lead us to suppose, that in former times this celebrated river was navigable to a much higher reach, than it is at present. We can draw no other inference, from the accounts given by some of them, of the methods in use to convey goods from India, to the Black Sea. Pliny particularly describes the route: — "Having arrived at Bactra," (modern, Balk,) he observes, "the merchandise then descends the Icarus (Jehon river) as far as the Oxus; and thence are carried down to the Caspian. They then cross that sea, to the mouth of the Cyrus (the Kur), where they ascend that river; and, on going on shore, are transported *by land for five days*, to the banks of the Phasis (Rion), where they once more embark, and are conveyed down to the Euxine." Pliny, lib. vi. c. 4.

Ancient authors, all bearing the same testimony, that such was the great road by which Europe received the luxuries of the

East, we cannot but admit the fact; but, at the same time, ocular demonstration assures us that both rivers, the Kur and the Rion, must have sunk very low in their beds since so important a traffic, as that described, could be carried up their streams to such a height as would make the land-carriage across from one to the other, only a journey of five days. Mr. Gibbon, in his work on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and who generally wrote from collected evidence, mentions, that the Kur is navigable as high as Sarapona; a distance of one hundred miles from its mouth, forty only of which would admit large vessels. From my own observations, and information, on the spot, I should say, that the Kur will admit very small craft only, as far up as to the point of its junction with the Alazan; and not until it is augmented by the Aras do vessels of burthen find water. With regard to the Rion, it is not navigable even so high as Cotatis. Hence, from the present comparatively shallow state of these two rivers, instead of goods being landed, as of old time, at a point in the Kur, whence they might arrive, after a journey of only five days, at an answering navigable point on the Rion; they would, in our times, be put on shore so low in the line of the river, as to constrain them to traverse a distance of sixteen days travelling, over a difficult and dangerous mountain-country, before they could re-embark at the necessary depth of water in the Rion. That this was not always the case, we may gather another argument, from the accounts we have of Seleucus Nicator's project for connecting the Euxine and Caspian seas by a canal; which, being only to be effected by the union of the two rivers in question, the idea could not have been conceived at all, unless those rivers then possessed more extensive navigable channels than they do at present.

But, to return to our day's march.

As we followed the further progress of the Kur, the mountains gradually lost both their rocks and forest-scenery, presenting immense heights covered with beautiful verdure. The course of three or four wersts brought us to a fine level expanse of country, in high cultivation, and traversed by a thousand sparkling rivulets from the hills on the western side of the plain. The river also added its waters to the refreshing beauties of the view. Our eyes turned, with a sense of repose, from the rugged wilds they had so long been contemplating, to the soft green which covered these noble hills; but ere we had pursued our way, for quite ten wersts, over the luxuriant plain they bordered, we perceived the opening of a narrow, rocky valley. The river entered it, between two bold ranges of the mountains; and, at the extremity of the defile, we saw the capital of Georgia, the many towers of Tiflis, rising on the, then, precipitous and again sublime banks of the Kur. But the effect produced here, is of a deeper tinge. The town itself, stands at the foot of a line of dark and barren hills, whose high and caverned sides gloomily overshadow it. Every house, every building within its walls, seems to share the dismal hue of the surrounding heights; for a deep blackness, rests on all. The hoary battlements above, and the still majestic towers of the ancient citadel; the spires of Christian churches, and other marks of European residents; even their testimonies of past grandeur, and present consequence; and, what is more, present christian brotherhood; could not, for some time, erase the horrible dungeon-impression of Asiatic dirt and barbarism, received at first view of the town. On crossing a small stone bridge, we reached the guard-house of a quarantine, about three wersts from Tiflis; but, on delivering

our papers of health, we were allowed to proceed, without further detention, towards the gates of the city. Having entered them, (with the feeling of one going into the cave of Trophonius,) I took up my quarters at the house of Khoja Aratoon, an Armenian, whose father had served, as treasurer, several of our envoys and ambassadors, when resident at the court of Persia. I was well pleased to hear the first information communicated to me by my host, that the Governor of Georgia, General Yarmolloff, was returned to Tiflis, from his embassy to the Persian monarch; and, accordingly, next morning, I presented myself to His Excellency, and delivered my letters. His reception was in no respect like the gloom of his capital, and the sunshine within, soon spread its influence without doors.

Tiflis is distant from St. Petersburgh 2627 wersts, in 42° 45′ N. lat., and 62° 40½′ E. long. according to Russian calculation. Chardin has placed it in lat. 43° and long. 64°. But Captain Monteith, of the Madras engineers, from an observation, found its latitude to be 41° 43′. The city has no claim to an antiquity beyond the lapse of a few centuries; having been founded in the year 1063, by the Tzar Liewvang, who wished to derive personal benefit from certain warm springs in its neighbourhood. Till that period, it could boast no habitation in the form of a house; unless, perhaps, a few mud-hovels for the convenience of the occupiers of a small fortress, which stood on an adjacent height, and protected the valley. The remains of this ancient bulwark are still to be seen on a hill to the south of the town, at some distance from the station of the more modern citadel, of Turkish origin. The position of the old work of the native Tzars, completely commanded the road along the western bank of the Kur; and its dark and frowning towers, lonely as they

are, still seem to threaten the passenger below. A more intimate acquaintance with the town, gradually effaced the impression of the general dreariness of its aspect; but the effect of the circumjacent scenery always remained the same; a vast prison, if I may so express myself, of high and beetling rocks broken into deep clefts, black and bare, and projecting in a thousand rugged and savage forms! And on these bulwarks of nature, apparently sufficiently incarcerating of themselves, we see every where the time-destroyed additions of man: towers and battlements, lying in huge grey masses of ruin on every pointed steep; while old mouldering walls, track the declivities till their bases touch the town, or end in the bed of the Kur. From the situation of the town, at the bottom of a ravine like this, it cannot be supposed a very desirable abode for persons used to freer space, and wider prospect. Hence the Governor-general has chosen his place of residence at a short distance from the body of the city; on the gentle slope of a hill, fronting the river, and a fine view of the Caucasian mountains. When the house is finished, for it is now undergoing a repair, it will be distinguished by a large portico, and exterior ornamental figures sculptured in stone.

This building, with the arsenal, hospital, churches, and a few villas in the neighbourhood, are the only erections, in or near the place, that remind one at all of Europe. The rest is purely Asiatic; but very different from the idea, commonly received in Europe, of that term, — gay minarets, painted domes, and gilded trellice-work. Here was a collection of low, flat-roofed dwellings, built of dun brick, mingled with stones and mud; the doors and windows exceedingly small; the latter covered with paper, glass being in little use from its scarcity and dearness:

indeed, the natives have been so accustomed to live in a kind of half-darkness, from the overshadowing of their mountain, and the closeness of their abodes, that light seems no way necessary to their vocations. As a proof, they hardly ever apply to the effects of a little oil on the opacity of the paper. The streets are, without exception, narrow; and, from the primitive state of the pathways, intolerably filthy in wet weather, and dusty in dry. However, His Excellency, the Governor, is endeavouring to obviate this inconvenience, by ordering them to be paved; which good work is already begun. He is also establishing other improvements, by directing all ruinous houses to be either repaired, or entirely pulled down, to make way for the erection of new ones, according to handsome and more salubrious plans. Amongst other works of this nature, carried on during his late absence in Persia, are alterations in the bazar, or great market-place for merchants. This has been totally roofed in, but with open circles left in the rafters, for the admission of air and light. Long colonnades unite it to the square of the city-guard; which place is also lined with shops, covered from the weather with a fine range of pillared arcades; and the natives themselves, thus sheltered in their own persons, and in that of their merchandise, from the injurious effects of rain or scorching heat, begin, though languidly, to acknowledge that these changes are improvements. The bazar is a narrow street, of a very long and winding extent. On each side of it are lines of shops of every description, such as fruiterers, grocers, barbers, cooks, mercers, sadlers, armourers, &c. &c. all open, whose various articles are spread and displayed to the best advantage. Notwithstanding the value of some of the merchandise they thus lay forth, subject to accident as well as purchase, the place is a free thoroughfare;

not merely to pedestrians, but to horsemen, to asses with burthens, and even droves of buffaloes are not excluded. Hence it is often both disagreeable and dangerous to the foot-passenger; yet we never find it but full of people and bustle from morning until dusk. Not far from the bazar is the public caravansary, where merchant-travellers take up their quarters. Here you see, exposed on the stone or earthen floors, of dark and vaulted apartments, whatever goods the merchants who inhabit them may possess. The owner of each heap, sits cross-legged, in grave attendance, waiting the appearance of customers, or bargaining with those who arrive; and in one of them, I discovered an old fellow-traveller, an Armenian merchant, who had passed the Caucasus with me. He was pleased with the encounter, and treated me with a kaleon, sweetmeats, and some brandy, made at Erivan. This building is circular, three stories in height with a sort of gallery running in front of each range of doors, from whence stone steps descend, to conduct passengers above or below. The centre of the court is filled with the horses and mules of the merchants in the caravansary.

At one extremity of the bazar we find a small bridge over a deep ravine, at the bottom of which flows a mountain-stream; pure and cold at its fountain-head, but mingling here with the hot-springs, which take their rise in the adjacent heights, it becomes warm, and derives all the medicinal properties, whose fame gave birth to Tiflis. Over this steaming flood we find the public baths erected. They form not only a resource in sickness, to the natives, and to travellers visiting them with the same object, but they are the daily resort of both sexes, as places of luxury and amusement. On one side of the bridge stand those appropriated to the men; and on the other, immediately below

the gloomy walls of the citadel, the range intended for the women. The water which supplies these distinct bath-houses is strongly impregnated with sulphur, having the usual offensive smell of such springs. Its degree of heat may be reckoned at from 15 to 36 degrees of Reaumur in the several basons. At the source of the hot stream it is about 42. The basons are excavated in the solid rock, over whose surface the water had originally flowed; and these are divided, under one immense vaulted roof, into different apartments, whence even the smallest egress of day-light is excluded; and which are merely rescued from total darkness by the faint glimmerings of a few twinkling lamps struggling with the vapours from the stream. The stench of the place, and the disorder and filth which this meagre illumination rendered visible, showed sufficient argument for the whole having been left in shade. I did not see a spot in any one of the apartments, where it was possible for a bather to lay his clothes down without the certainty of taking them up again drenched in wet and dirt. When, however, I considered that these baths are free to the entrance of all who will, and that they crowd, indiscriminately, into every chamber alike, I ceased some of my wonder at so great a dearth of order or cleanliness; though I did not the less mark the inconveniences of their absence, as we journeyed farther through the successive boiling caverns, and felt, at every remove, a more intense heat, a denser atmosphere of steam, and an increased accumulation of all that can disgust the senses of a man used to the retirement and comfort of European baths. All sorts of people were here huddled together, scrubbing, scraping, rubbing, shaving, &c.; the offices of each act being done, either by the companions of the bather, or the persons of the bath, who are always in attendance

with the various requisites for these extraordinary modes of purifying the human frame. But to proceed would be as offensive to my reader, as it was then to myself; so I hasten to recross the bridge. There, however, I was urged by the gentleman who accompanied me, to try if we could not get a glimpse into the baths dedicated to the fair sex. The attempt seemed wild; but, to please him, I turned towards the building, and, to our astonishment, found no difficulty in entering. An old woman was standing at the door; and she, without the least scruple, not only showed us the way, but played our sybil the whole while. In one of the bathing-rooms nearest to the door we found a great number of naked children, of different infantine ages, immersed in a circular bath in the middle of the chamber, where their mothers were occupied in washing and rubbing them. The forms of children are always lovely; and, altogether, there being a regularity, and its consequent cleanliness, attending the adjustment of their little persons, we looked on, without receiving any of those disagreeable impressions which had disgusted us in the baths of their fathers. Passing through this apartment, without any remark of surprise or displeasure from the mothers of the children, we entered a much larger chamber, well lighted, and higher vaulted in the roof. No water was seen here; but a stone divan, spread with carpets and mattrasses, was placed round the room, and on it lay, or sat, women in every attitude and occupation consequent on an Asiatic bath. Some were half-dressed, and others hardly had a covering. They were attended by servants, employed in rubbing the fair forms of these ladies with dry cloths, or dyeing their hair and eye-brows, or finally painting, or rather enamelling, their faces. On quitting this apartment, (which we did as easily as we entered it,

without creating the least alarm or astonishment at our audacity ;) we passed into the place whence they had just emerged from the water. Here we found a vast cavern-like chamber, gloomily lighted, and smelling most potently of sulphuric evaporations, which ascended from nearly twenty deep excavations. Through these filmy vapours, wreathing like smoke over the surface of a boiling cauldron, we could distinguish the figures of women, in every posture, perhaps, which the fancy of man could devise for the sculpture of bathing goddesses. But, I confess, we were as much shocked as surprised, at the unblushing coolness with which the Georgian Venuses continued their ablutions, after they had observed our entrance; they seemed to have as little modest covering on their minds, as on their bodies; and the whole scene became so unpleasant, that, declining our conductress's offer to show us farther, we made good our retreat, fully satisfied with the extent of our gratified curiosity.

Persons who bathe for health do not remain longer than a few minutes, or whatever time may be prescribed, in the water; but when the bath is taken for pleasure, these people are so fond of it, that, like the Turks in the case of opium, they prolong its application to such an extent, as ultimately to be equally injurious to their strength and personal appearance, Some pass many hours every day in this debilitating atmosphere, independent of one whole day in each week; great part of which, however, is spared from the water, to be spent in making up their faces, blackening the hair, eye-brows, and eye-lashes, so as to render only occasional repairs necessary during the ensuing week. Thus occupied in the vaulted room, these Eastern goddesses, growing in renewed beauty under the hands of their attendant graces, meet each other in social conference;

discussing family anecdotes, or little scandals of their acquaintance; and, not unfrequently, laying as entertaining grounds of retaliation, by the arrangement of some little intrigue of their own. For, I am told, there are days in the week when any lady may engage the bath for herself alone, or with any other party she may choose to introduce as her companion. The good dame who was our conductress, I understood, is never backward in preparing such accommodation.

Within these twenty years, the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Tiflis have gradually lost much of their Asiatic manners; and it was a change to be expected, from their constant intercourse with the civil and military officers of the European empire, to which they had become a people. Such changes are not always at their earliest stage properly understood by the persons who adopt them; hence, nations who have been long in a state of vassalage, when they first break from their chains, usually mistake licence for liberty; and, in like manner, the fair inmates of an Eastern harem, when first allowed to show their faces to other men than their husbands, may, perhaps, be excused, if they think that the veil of modesty can no longer be of any use. Amongst the lower orders in Tiflis, the effect of European companionship has been yet more decided. Owing to the numbers of Russian soldiers, who, from time to time, have been quartered in their houses, the customary lines of separation in those houses could no longer be preserved; and their owners were obliged to submit to the necessity of their wives being seen by their stranger guests. The morals of a soldier, with regard to women, are seldom rigid; and these gentlemen, not making an exception to the rule, made the best of the opportunities afforded them by the occasional absence of

the husbands, to eradicate all remains of female reserve, and its sacred domestic consequences, from the characters of their ignorant, but pretty wives. When the women walk abroad, they still so far retain the old custom of concealment, as to wear its costume; and we see them tripping along, enveloped from head to foot in the large Asiatic veil, called a *chadre;* and, when any of these females happen to be standing at the doors, without this safeguard, I must do them the justice to say, that I have seen more than one retreat hastily into the house, on observing herself to be attentively looked at by a man. The beauty of the Georgian women cannot be disputed; having fine dark large eyes, very regular features, and a pleasing mild expression of countenance; and, from these characteristics being general, if there be any thing in physiognomy, we must conclude that they are naturally sweet-tempered and amiable. The dress of the higher ranks is splendid, and carefully adjusted; but the lower order of females, notwithstanding they share the same taste for the ceremonies of the bath, and regularly go through them all, wear clothes which seldom make acquaintance with soap or water; consequently they appear often in rags, and always in dirt.

In going towards the citadel, through the bazar, I saw several women of different degrees, flitting about under shelter of the impenetrable *chadre*, and it was not easy then to find out whether it covered riches or poverty. While passing along, my attention was arrested at a baker's shop, by the singular way in which the owner was forming and baking his bread. He first rolled it out, to the length and breadth of a common chamber-towel, and not much thicker; then taking it up over the palms of his hands, threw it with admirable dexterity against the side

of the oven, where it stuck. The wall of the oven being kept continually hot, by a constant supply of burning wood beneath, in a couple of minutes the cake was baked, and removed by the point of a stick. This kind of bread is in use over most part of Asia, and serves, not merely as food, but for plate and napkin during the whole meal.

On arriving at the old citadel, I found it well worth the labour of ascending the many hazardous declivities which lead to its base. It exhibited a mass of ruins, but they were grand and imposing, and the situation in which they stood, increased the wild majesty of these Eastern towers. When the Turks took possession of Georgia in the year 1576, they erected this fortress, to awe the province from its capital; and when the Persians over-ran the same, about two centuries after, they dismantled the venerable structure, and left it gradually to sink into the dark heaps of ruins which now mingle with the natural cliffs of the rock. Its site was well chosen, on the summit of a very high promontory, which forms the termination of the mountain that overshadows the town on its south-western side. Within the old battlements may still be found the remains of the mosque mentioned by Chardin, and which is now used as a prison for malefactors, under an officer and guard. Besides this main fortress, the Turks of the same period strengthened their hold of the town by a range of towers and walls, which enclosed it on every side; but all are gradually disappearing, (except the wall facing the river, which still stands;) and the spoliation of hands at home, by taking materials from these ruins, as well as from those of the citadel above, to assist in building or repairing places in the city, has done more than even the ravages of war, to level these ancient bulwarks.

Besides the peculiar pleasure, to a military taste, in viewing the remains and situation of the citadel and other works, the valley behind the public baths, which leads to the most considerable of the ruins, possesses picturesque and interesting objects in itself. In following the windings of this wide mountain cleft, for some distance, we were imperceptibly led into a deep chasm, whose dark granite sides were broken into abrupt shelves, over which rush the waters of a lofty cascade, tumbling, with great noise, into a bed of rocks beneath. Thence it flows, murmuring along, by the base of the fortress, till it unites with the broader stream of the Kur. The immediately-surrounding objects mingle more beauty with the sublime, than the first approach to Tiflis had given us to expect in any part of its adjacent scenery. Many of the cliffs are richly covered with trees and shrubs, and carry the delighted eye through rocky and umbrageous intricacies, to the shining promontory, over which shoot the waters of the fall. Still we look upward, and see the mountain of the citadel, crowned with its mouldering towers. Near to the more southern side of the mountain, we found a small spot of rising ground, covered with graves and other funeral monuments. They were those of the Turks, who possessed this province some centuries ago, and were crumbling into dust, in awful sympathy with the prouder relics of departed life and greatness, in those of their ancient fortress on the heights above. Amongst these decaying mansions of the dead, five tombs, eminently distinguished by their dimensions and architecture, still stand quite entire. They are square buildings of brick, curiously put together, and ornamented on the outside with chequered and lozenged fretwork, in various compartments and projecting friezes, cut in the brick. Each tomb has

an arched door-way, which conducts into a vaulted room. This chamber, which is the only one in the building, has no ornaments on its walls; they are simply stuccoed, and were, probably, the place of prayer for the Moullahs (or priests) over the dead body, entombed below, of some illustrious Turkish chief. This sort of expiatory rite is religiously performed by Mahometans, on certain days, at the graves of their deceased brethren in the faith. The pavement of one of these monuments was broken up, and, in looking into the aperture, a long and narrow stone coffin became visible, wherein I could discern a scull, and other human bones. Every one of these tombs bore marks of having been frequently opened, probably in search of hidden treasure. I could not discover an inscription on, or near any of them.

There are several fine churches, of different Christian persuasions, in Tiflis; and that which is dedicated to the Roman Catholic mode of worship is one of the most beautiful. The cathedral of Holy Sion, the great Armenian church, is more extensive, but does not equal its tolerated rival in richness and grace of architecture; yet it has an advantage in situation, which, adding the majesty of nature to the holy sanctity of the place, seems fully to answer the character of its name. The noble waters of the Kur roll near its base, increasing in rapidity and sound, as they pour onward amongst the thickening rocks of the suddenly closing in of the bold cliffs, which embank the stream. At this narrowed point, a bridge of one single arch connects the town with a considerable suburb, called Avlabar. It is chiefly inhabited by a colony of Armenians, who fled from the neighbourhood of Erivan, during the late wars between Russia and the Persian government. Here, also, we saw the

ruins of an ancient fort, church, and houses; and about two miles further from this side of the city, stand the remains of another sacred edifice of old times, on the summit of a hill so high, that it commands the most extensive view to be found any where in the environs of Tiflis. From one side it embraces the city, with its citadel, churches, and gardens; on the other to the north, the windings of the Kur, through the varied shores of the valley and plain; and takes, also into the same wide landscape, not only the whole chain of mountains from the province of Kahetia to Kasibeck, but their tremendous summits, pile above pile, as far as the eye can reach to the north-west, till all are crowned by the pale and cloud-encircled head of Elborus. A Russian officer, who measured this last-named mountain, calculates it to be sixteen thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea.

There is a tradition here, that, during the subsiding of the deluge, the ark of Noah, while floating over these mountains in the direction of Ararat its place of final rest, it smote the head of Elborus with its keel, and the cleft it made in the mountain has remained ever since. To give any colour of feasibility to the legend, it had better have represented that the ark struck off the top of the one mountain in its passage to the other; for, otherwise, Elborus, towering as it is, being at present much lower than Ararat, it could not have been touched at all by the sacred vessel floating towards so much higher a region. But this oral remembrance of some junction having taken place between Elborus and the earliest personages of Holy Writ, is not the only honour of the kind attached to the history of this celebrated mountain. Heathen traditions, and classical writers affirm, that Elborus was the huge and savage rock of the

Caucasus to which Prometheus was chained. And who, but Eschylus, has drawn its picture? In his pages alone, we find the magnitude, sublimity, and terrors, of that "stony girdle of the world," that quarry of the globe, whence all its other mountains may seem to have been chiselled; such are its wondrous abysms, its vast and caverned sides, and summits of every form and altitude, mingling with the clouds. There is still a tradition amongst the natives, who reside in the valleys of Elborus, that the bones of an enormous giant, exposed there by Divine wrath, are yet to be seen on its smaller summit. Indeed the story is so much a matter of firm belief with the rude tribes in that quarter of the Caucasus, that people are to be found amongst them, who will swear they have seen these huge remains. Marvellous as the story is, it seemed so well attested that, some time ago, an European general officer thought he might make it a ground for penetrating farther than had yet been attempted, into the interior of the mountains; and, accordingly, I was told, he set forth on this expedition, with a party of two hundred men and a light piece of artillery, to ascertain the truth of so extraordinary a tale. However. the moment was not yet arrived for a European eye to behold the remains of this dead Colossus; for scarcely had he penetrated any distance into the recesses of the mountain, when a dreadful avalanche rolled in fury down its side, and overwhelmed the whole party, excepting its leader, and two or three soldiers. There was now no doubt amongst the natives, that the intention of the expedition was to have given charitable sepulture to the unburied corpse, and that the accident happened in consequence of the vengeance of the spirits of the mountain, who had the mysterious relics in charge; thus to show that the

doom of their being left to bleach on that unsheltered rock for ever, should never be reversed. So far, the judgment of the spirits of the mountain! But it is more credibly believed by the persons who told me the story, that the real object of the expedition, which set forth under this mask, was to reconnoitre ground for the establishment of some good positions in the mountains.

This quarter of the globe has justly been styled the cradle of mankind; and the long recollections of the land of their origin, to be found amongst the people of countries the most distant, even in their nursery tales, might be one minor proof, of all the dispersed families of the earth having sprung from this patriarchal home. From the earliest times, we find the regions between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, to be the noted theatre of the most heroic and marvellous actions. Events are recorded, in which not men only, but preternatural and supernatural beings played conspicuous parts. In the east, and in the west, we hear and read of the mountains of Caucasus, and their surrounding countries; in history, in fable, and in poets' dreams. Medea prepared her magic spells in their vicinity; and, aided by ethereal agents, renewed the decayed forms of age to all the freshness of youth and beauty. Even now the most romantic and extravagant tales are told by the natives of the country, of these airy inhabitants of the heights. Powerful genii or demons, with their attendant benign or evil spirits, they say, still hold their courts amongst the ices of Kasibeck, the snows of Elborus, and the caverned summits of the less-towering Caucasus; and so great is the terror amongst some of the people of the valleys, no bribe could induce them, by attempting to ascend,

to incur the cruel torments denounced by these spirits on any rash mortal who should dare to explore their haunts.

During my stay at Tiflis, the weather, which was almost one continued rain, proved very unfavourable to my wish of penetrating any depth into the fine province of Kahetia, the celebrated Albania of the ancients. However, what I did see, more than answered the images impressed on my imagination, by the representations I had received of the abundant beauties of its valleys. The hills, and even mountains are clothed with the finest woods, consisting of oak, ash, chestnut, beech, and elm, intermixed with a thousand peculiarly favoured spots, (as if the benign spirits of these more genial regions had here planted their own little secret gardens,) producing the most delicious grapes, though wild, and fruits of the choicest flavour. The wines, both red and white, which are made from these natural vineyards, have always been esteemed for softness, lightness and delicacy of taste, beyond those of any other district in the province of Georgia. The valleys of Kahetia are abundant in hemp, flax, rice, millet, barley, and wheat; and with so little trouble to the occupier of the soil, it might almost be said, they grow spontaneously. Pheasants, wild fowl of every kind, antelopes, and deer, sheep, and all sorts of domestic cattle, enrich these luxuriantly-pastured vales. The rivers, too, add their tribute of plenty to the ample stores of nature. And, to wind up the climax of such a prodigality of blessings, (for all the treasures of the mineral world may be found in the hearts of its mountains,) the climate is delightful. Indeed, heaven seems to have drawn to this happy spot the essence of all that is necessary to the wants of man. But, alas! the man which has been placed in this earthly paradise, to keep, to dress, and to enjoy it, has neither the will

to separate the weed from the good herb, nor the taste to feel that it is sweeter than his neighbour's. Sunk in apathy, he cares not whether rain or sunshine descend on the ground; abandoned to indolence, it is all one to him, whether his food be the bramble or the grape; and, for personal comfort, the stye would afford as pleasant a pillow as a bed of flowers: such is the present Kahetian! But, that so strange a contrast between the man and the soil, is not always the effect of any natural cause, such as climate, &c. may be affirmed, from what was the character of the Albanian inhabitant of this very same district.

Dr. Reniggs, who resided for a considerable time in Georgia during the reign of the unfortunate Heraclius, writes thus of the general Georgian character at that time, which, of course, includes the Kahetians, their country being a province of Georgia. And in the reasons he gives for the moral defects he describes, we find the cause why the later natives of Kahetia differ so essentially from its earlier people, when the same country bore the name of Albania.

He observes, "that both the nobles and peasantry of Georgia are given up to a wretched degree of sloth, appearing to despise all laudable pursuits which require attention or labour; and amongst others, the cultivation of the earth. But this stubborn indolence is not the natural bias of the Georgian. He is fully aware of his wants, of his miserable poverty, and of the usual means of relieving such a state; but he has no hope, in applying to the resources apparently open to his industry. Oppression is at the door to weigh down his efforts, or rapacity at hand to seize the product of his labours. He is under the eye, and the hand, and the double yoke, first of his own chiefs, and then of the powers beyond them, till the burthen becomes too heavy to

be borne erect, and the man falls prostrate, — a wretched, useless slave. Thus avarice set bounds to its own extortion, by damming up the sources whence it flows." Constant feuds amongst the chiefs themselves, rendered desperate by the total absence of all law or justice; the inroads of the Lesghees, and bloody wars with the Turks and Persians; all combined to drive the great mass of the people into that state of utter despair, which gradually subsides into the sullen contentedness of sloth, ignorance, and poverty. This must be the universal situation of every country which has been, for any time, under the subjection, or rather mis-rule, of a ceaseless change of masters; some absolutely barbarians, and others, who have yet to learn the science of government from Christian laws: and this was the situation of Georgia for a sad succession of times. But, about twenty years ago, it was received within the lines of the Russian empire; and the happy effects on the minds of the people, in feeling themselves under a regular government, secure in its natural strength, and dispensing that security to its appendages, are already become very apparent. Every encouragement to industry is held out to them; and none has more persuasion than the laws, which protect men in the possession of the fruits of their labours. The different European governors, who have been put at the head of affairs here, since the junction of the province with Russia, have done all in their power to conciliate both nobles and people, by the administration of an equal justice, and a gradual amelioration of all those circumstances which had so long disorganised, and rendered poor, savage, and miserable, all ranks of persons. Being now effectually guarded from the inroads of the Lesghees, or the more overwhelming incursions of Turks and Persians, the higher orders begin to

feel again that they hold a station in their country; and to establish the re-awakened sense in their own minds, and in the respect of the people at large, His Imperial Majesty has conferred orders and medals of distinction on many of the native nobility, with titles and commissions of military rank; and, in short, every other excitement to the restoration, or rather civilisation, of the country, that can be offered by a generous sovereign to a brave and confiding people. That they are still brave, when they have any thing beyond mere animal existence to defend, has been made manifest during the last twelve or fourteen years. In the wars of that period, they engaged heart and hand under the banners of Russia; and their chiefs so distinguished themselves, that many rose to the rank of generals; still continuing the brave acts by which their new honours were won. Indeed, it is very evident how much easier their new government finds it to arouse the old spirit of Iberian and Albanian courage, in the bosoms of their Georgian descendants, than to inspire them with one for traffic and agriculture. But all will succeed in good time; and their neighbours, the Armenians, set a stimulating example of the ways and means of industry, and show many persuasive advantages, resulting from their extensive exercise. The high reputation as a soldier, which is attached to the character of His Excellency General Yarmolloff, and the noble style of his government, not in parade, but in principle, suits well with the naturally independent minds of the people, so long chained to the soil. The marks of those evil days, now passed away, are yet upon the countenances of most of the men: a sort of cloud hangs over their brows, habitual from the gloom that once possessed their souls; but with the growing perceptions of happier times, these shades will disappear, and the brave Geor-

gian look as brightly to the sun, as any of his free-born brothers of the mountains.

One evening, at an entertainment given by His Excellency the Governor-general, I had an opportunity of seeing, not only a great many of the native nobility of both sexes, but also persons of consequence from other of the Caucasian countries. The Georgian noble is particularly distinguishable by the sombre cast of visage, above described; but though so stern, it is of a fine contour, and harmonises with the manliness of his figure and style of dress. The latter is admirably calculated for freedom of motion, and therefore cannot but show the person to advantage. It chiefly consists, first of an under garment of fine pink cloth, worn as a shirt, and discoverable by the opening of the vest at the bosom, but only as far up as the bottom of the throat, the neck being entirely bare. The vest, which is cloth also, of a different colour from the shirt, has sleeves to it, sitting easy to the arm; and over this is the tunic or upper garment, coming down as low as the knees, but opening before; and bound round the waist with a cloth sash, universally white, to which is attached the wearer's sword. The skirt of the tunic meets the termination of the full short trowser or breeches, which descend no lower than the knees; the leg being covered with a stort of stocking, and a close-laced half-boot, usually black or scarlet, with a very pointed toe. All these various garments are of cloth, of as various hues; and, frequently, very handsomely ornamented with gold lace or embroidery. Mustachios on the upper lip, with some appearance of dark curling hair in the pole of the neck, from under the high black sheepskin cap on his head, complete the dress of a Georgian gentleman. This cap is, in form and materials, the same with that in

use all over Persia; only, the Georgian "wears his, with a difference;" not striking it down into a sort of biforked shape at the top, when putting it on, but keeping it quite erect, in its original rounded pyramidal form. The costume of the lower ranks, is marked by long trowsers, reaching to the ancles, made of an inferior kind of silk; a dagger (or kanjar) in place of a sword, hanging to the girdle; but the rest of the raiment, being of the same fashion with the chief's, is also of the same materials; cloth, though of a coarser quality, and without decoration.

The dresses of the Georgian ladies bear a full proportion, in point of cumbersomeness and ornament, to the beauty they overload, in attempting to adorn it. A bandeau, round the forehead, richly set with brilliants and other costly stones, confines a couple of black tresses, which hang down on each side of a face, beautiful by nature, as its features testify, but so cased in enamel, that not a trace of its original texture can be seen; and, what is worse, the surface is rendered so stiff, by its painted exterior, that not a line shows a particle of animation, excepting the eyes; which are large, dark, liquid, and full of a mild lustre, rendered in the highest degree lovely, by the shade of long black lashes, and the regularity of the arched eye-brow. A silken shawl-like veil depends from the bandeau, flowing, off the shoulders, down the back; while a thin gauze handkerchief, is fastened beneath the chin, binding the lower part of the face, and descending as low as the bosom, where it ties over the rest of the garments; showing, through its light medium, the golden necklaces and other jewellery which decorate the vest. This latter piece of raiment is usually made of velvet, or silk richly embroidered, covering the bosom and entire waist. A close gown of brocade, with sleeves to the wrist, and an exceedingly long skirt, devolving

on the ground all round, is put over the vest; but left open in front, as far as the bottom of the waist. The whole is then confined, with a fine Kashmere shawl. The sleeves of the gown are open in front of the arm, but closed at pleasure by little pine-apple-shaped gold buttons and loops. Over all this, in cold weather (which was the season in which I saw these ladies) is added the oimah, or short pelisse, of gold brocade lined with fur: it flows loose to the figure, with wide sleeves; is open in front, reaching only a little below the knees; and has a superb, as well as comfortable appearance. However, when the fair Georgians sit or stand together, in this gorgeous apparel, the inflexible stiffness of their position, and total absence of motion in features or complexion, give them the effect, rather of large waxen images, which open and shut their eyes by mechanical ingenuity, than that of living, breathing, lovely women.

In the course of the evening, at His Excellency's, some of the Georgian young men of rank were prevailed on to show us a specimen of their national dance; but none of the ladies could be induced to take a part in it. Some noble Circassians who were present, very readily went through the evolutions of theirs; and the scene was far from uninteresting. It was not merely the amusement of an hour, but a spectacle which connects the histories of ages; of one aboriginal people, with that of another; which exhibited the athletic, unconstrained limbs of natural man, in every attitude of vigour and agility. We might rather call it a game of exercise, than dancing. Though such are the dances of almost all barbarous, or half-civilised nations; partaking, more or less, of the characteristics of a chivalric, savage, or brutal people, according to their progress towards that point of refinement when the dance, ceasing to be an exercise of strength, or a

manual display of the passions in moments of triumph or festivity, becomes a mere pastime of polished society, and a vehicle for female grace.

The Georgian dance, to which I was then a spectator, consisted of feats of activity, and many strange, and far from elegant, contortions of the limbs; such as twisting one leg over the other, knocking the knees together, and hopping along on their *hunkers*: but, I fear, the generality of my readers will not understand that provincial word of the north of England; it is, however, the only one which occurs to me, descriptive of the grotesque action, which happens to be, also, a sport amongst children of the lower orders, in our northern counties; and it is done, by sitting down on their heels, and hopping about in that position. The Georgians, after several other bodily freaks of the kind, completed their exploits by capering on their toes. To give a proper spirit to the performers, the national music had been procured, which bore an equal rank, in points of civilisation and elegance, with the graces it was to inspire. However, it seemed to animate the motions of the brave inhabitants of Caucasus, in like manner with the influence of the bag-pipe on the vigorous limbs of our own gallant Highlanders; for feet, hands, and head, all moved in active response to the strains of their native Orpheuses. The instruments, and the strains, are difficult to describe; but I make the attempt, in saying, that the first consisted of an assemblage of small double-drums, in shape and size not much larger than a couple of slop-basons united; these were beat continually, in concert with five or six instruments in the form of guitars, played upon with a bow. Their harsh scrapings, mingling incessantly with the monotonous thumping of the drums, sent forth a noise, I could only compare to that of a water-mill, without its

harmony. In short, it was wild and savage; — a sort of oral, as the kind of dance is an ocular, testimony, of the antiquity of any particular people in the country where we find such traces of the earliest states of social man. The like strains, though often uttered by very differently constructed instruments, with a similar style of dance, are yet common in the Russian peasant, and with the Cossack; and are also to be found in Africa, and amongst the Indian nations of Asia; likewise in America, both north and south, wherever the aboriginal people have been suffered to exist. Hence any great and polished nation, has as little to be ashamed of, in the remains of these proofs of the former infancy of its state; as any personage, of modern times, would think he had for blushing, when showing a long pedigree, to find the names of a Caractacus, or Arminius, or any other illustrious barbarian, in the line of his ancestry.

The Circassians, six in number, whom I mentioned as being present at this festivity, had been in the suite of His Excellency General Yarmolloff, during his late embassy to Persia. One of them was a prince, a man of eminent merit, and consequent weight amongst his people: and, if we may judge of the personal advantages, in point of figure and noble mien, of his compatriots at home, by those of his own person, and of his five companions, the hardier sex in Circassia are no way inferior in beauty to the long celebrated charms of their fair countrywomen. These men were tall, robust, and finely proportioned; of bright complexions, with dark eyes and hair, wearing their beards short, with an expression of frank good-humour all over their countenances; which makes them appear a very different race, indeed, from what is marked in the fierce physiognomies of their neighbours the ferocious Tchitchinzees and Ossitinians; and even as distinct

from the lowering eye of the dark-visaged Georgian. The costume of this people suits well with the superior order of their figures. It is martial and graceful. They wear on the head a low cap, a little pointed at top, bound with fur; on this they place a bright steel helmet, terminating in a spiked crest: from the casque, depends a chain-mail, hanging a little over the forehead, but completely covering the ears, and, from thence, closing under the chin, falls down the breast; and, by being attached to the hinder part of the helmet, hangs a short way down the back also; thus skirting the whole bust of the figure, but leaving the face perfectly open. A shirt of this chain-mail, covers the body also, to a little beneath the hips; and likewise defends the arms, as low down as the elbow, where it meets a kind of iron plate fitted to the arm, and reaching from the elbow to the wrist; here a gauntlet of mail, attached to a glove, falls loosely over the hand. A kind of gambeson, usually of red cloth embroidered with gold, comes up as high as the knee; and a short boot of brown or red leather protects the foot. Over the shirt of mail they put a surcoat of cloth or velvet, according to the quality of the wearer. A pistol, sword, and dagger, together with a light gun, are their usual weapons; bows and arrows being, now, seldom resorted to in war, though in common times they are often seen about their persons. In short, their whole appearance, excepting that of the fire-arms, differs nothing from the garb of the English baron, in the reign of King John. To show how expert they have become in the use of the fusil, as well as what dexterous horsemen they are, I shall merely mention one instance. One morning, while riding with the Circassian Prince, and Colonel Yarmolloff, the Governor's nephew, the former put his horse off at speed; and, while going the distance of a werst,

he loaded and discharged his gun six times, taking, at the same time, very deliberate aim in various directions.

The country to which this prince belongs, is of considerable extent along the northern face of the Caucasus; and its name (Circassia for Tcherkass) is familiar to every European ear. But it owes such celebrity rather to the long-established fame of the peculiar beauty of its women, than to any other circumstance, however note-worthy, attached to so distant a region. An unfortunate fame, to the unhappy beauties who sent it forth; since it has, for so many ages, made the successive generations of Circassian female youth an object of constant incursions into their country. The adjoining hostile tribes steal them away either by open violence or secret surprise, and sell them at a great price to the Mahometan harems of the East. But the Circassian nation deserves attention on other grounds than this romantic fate, or rather hereditary calamity, attached to the daughters of its people. It is one of the most independent nations of the Caucasus; and consists of many tribes, of various appearance, and in some respects of various dignity; at least in their own estimation, which they tacitly proportion to their ideas of the relative antiquity of their seat in those renowned mountains. Compared with the rest, I believe the lineal descendants of the very ancient people of Circassia are few; but the unpolluted stream is sufficiently distinguishable, by the unvarying superiority of its offspring, over the degenerated appearance of the tribes, whose ancestors mingled their blood with the Tatars of Dchingis (Gengis, or Zingis) Khan; the posterity of whom continued the same inattention to the purity of their race, when subsequent events brought other stranger hordes amongst them. The generality, therefore, of the Circassian tribes differ little in man-

ners from their mountain-neighbours of altogether different origin and names; but the tribe of the prince I before mentioned, and his five companions, being unquestionably that of the old race, retain marks of civilisation not to be found in the others. They state their origin to be Arab; and are proud of asserting that the stream of their blood has passed, from its first patriarchal source until now, uncontaminated by any foreign mixture. They divide themselves into three classes, — princes, nobles, and vassals; the latter, like the clans of Scotland, being faithfully attached to their chieftains. The person of the Prince, or Chief, is held sacred; and, during his feasts, he is waited on by his nobles. But all is done rather with the air of a patriarch served by his sons, than of slaves, or even servants, attending the nod of a master; and the fact is so. Although the noble serves, with the greatest awe, his chief; yet his freedom and his property are totally independent of that chief's arbitrary will: neither can the noble appropriate to himself any part of the property of his dependents, nor even the chief, invade the right of the meanest. They have nothing like a written law amongst them, but are governed by a sort of common right, or by what has become an established custom from ancient usage. The great bulk of the tribe (which, from its clear descent, and superior civilisation, alone deserves the name of the Circassian nation) meet, on momentous occasions, in a sort of convocation; where, whatever may be the cause of their assembling, the Prince always opens the business, and proposes the measure he thinks best adapted to the circumstances of the meeting. The whole body of the nobles then deliberate on what he has brought forward; and the result is referred to a certain number of grave personages from amongst the people at large,

who, by their eminent wisdom and patriarchal consequence, have acquired the title of Elders; and are chosen on these occasions by the people, or vassals, to be their representatives. These venerable men, in their turn, discuss the matter in debate, and give in their opinion. If the three consultations are then found to agree for the measure proposed, it is adopted; and if it be a question of social right, the decision henceforth becomes a precedent, and acts as a sort of national decree. These assemblings, like the great meetings, or wittenagemots, of our ancestors, are held in an open space, near the habitation of the prince. And, indeed, it is curious to observe how much the form and spirit, as well as place, of this simple parliament, resemble that which was the foundation-stone of our present most glorious, and, I trust, adamantine constitution.

The prince and his nobles have much the same sort of education that was bestowed on the great men amongst our Saxon ancestors; manly exercises, and the use of arms. The prince alone is regularly taught to read and write. In all but this distinction, (which is a real superiority, as its tendency is to enlarge the knowledge where most power resides,) he is trained, from his earliest youth, along with the younger chieftains, to the management of the horse, and the mastery of every weapon in use amongst them; and at a certain age, he accompanies his instructors and their followers in occasional excursions against the neighbouring predatory tribes, to enure him to brave danger, to rescue plunder, or retaliate rapine; and to make him acquainted alike with the passes, which will most readily conduct him into the territories of his enemies, and the avenues that might easiest lead them to his own.

The women, who are so often the only spoil sought after by the marauding tribes about Circassia, are brought up in simple and domestic habits by their mothers; a mode of education that must make the act of being torn from their parents and country doubly distressing to the youthful victims. They are taught by their mothers, not merely the use of the needle in decorative works, but to make their own clothes, and those of the men of their family. Soon after a female infant is born, her waist is encircled by a leathern bandage, sewn tight, and which only gives way afterwards to the natural growth of the child. It is then replaced by another; and so on, till the shape is completely formed, according to the taste of the country. The first night of her nuptials, the husband cuts the cincture with his poignard; a custom something dangerous, and certainly terrific, to the blushing bride. After marriage the women are kept very close, not even their husbands' own relations being suffered to visit them; but, what seems an extraordinary inconsistency, a man has no objection to allow that privilege to a stranger, whom he permits to enter the sacred precincts of his home, without himself to be a guard over its decorum. For it is a rule with the Circassians, never to be seen by a third person in the presence of their wives; and they observe it strictly to their latest years.

On the morning of the celebration of a marriage, the bride presents her intended husband with a coat of mail, helmet, and all other articles necessary to a full equipment for war. Her father, on the same day, gives her a small portion of her dowry; while he, at the same time, receives from his son-in-law an exchange of genealogies; a punctilio, on which they all pique themselves with as great a nicety, as on any point of personal honour; every man being more or less esteemed, according to

the purity, and illustrious names, of his descent. When the first child of the marriage is born, the father of the bride pays up the residue of her fortune to the husband; presenting her, at the same auspicious moment, with the distinguishing badges of a married woman, (never put on with this tribe, until offspring is the fruit of union,) which honourable marks are, a long white veil, over a sort of red coif; all the rest of the dress being white also. Indeed, white is universal with the women, married and single; but the men always wear colours. The wife has the care of her husband's arms and armour; and she is so habitually anxious he should not disgrace them, that if she have the most distant idea he has used them with less bravery, in any particular action, than his brethren, she never ceases assailing him with reproach and derision, till he washes away the stain of imputed cowardice, either in the blood of his enemies or his own. At present, the professed religion of these people is Mahometan; but this sort of female heroism, speaks more like the high mind of a Spartan virgin, or a Roman matron, than one of the soulless daughters of the Arabian prophet. Formerly, the Christian faith had made some progress amongst them, but not a vestige of its ordinances is now to be found. Hospitality, however, is an eminent virtue with the tribe of the true Circassians; and it is a no inconsequential one, in these remote regions of savage men, and more savage hostility. One of the courtesies peculiarly reserved by this tribe, to do honour to strangers, I have already mentioned; that of admitting them to the sacredness of their domestic hearths: but this sort of welcome goes still farther, and even to a preposterous length (to say the least of it) amongst other tribes of the Caucasus, and particularly that of the Kisty. When a traveller arrives at one of their abodes, the

host orders one of his daughters to do the honours of his reception, to take care of his horse and baggage, to prepare his meals, and, when night comes on, to share his bed. The refusal of the latter part of the entertainment, would be considered as a great affront to the young lady and her father. The natives of a part of Lapland, not very far from Torneo, have a similar custom; but then it is the wife of the host, whom he delivers into the bosom of his guest; and she remains with the stranger, as his exclusive property, during the whole of his sojourn under her husband's roof. This fact I learnt while I was in that part of the world, during the months of December and January, in the severe winter of 1812-13.

Some other circumstances, besides these curious anomalies in domestic arrangements, reminded me, here, in the East, of that winter in the North, where the common inclemencies of that dreary season, were augmented to a fury and a terror, which swept the armies of the South before them, like the waves of the sea under a tempest. But here, amongst the mountains, and the valleys of Caucasus, in the winter of 1817, there were no armies of a second Xerxes to level with the dust; only a few wandering travellers, and the villages where they lodged, were fated to fall under the weight of the present calamities of the season. The news of one of these disasters, arrived at Tiflis a short time before I left it. The Governor-general had already intimated some alarm, while remarking on the more than ordinary heavy rains, which continued to impede my excursions round the city, lest their effects should be of still more mischievous consequence to the country at large. He told me that, whenever the wet season sets in early, and with violence, at Tiflis, the snow is at the same time falling deeply on the higher regions of the Caucasus; and

the inhabitants of the upland valleys, begin to dread the too probable devastation that may ensue. But, as the pending evil does not always fall, the fluctuations of hope and fear generally prevent them seeking a more secure temporary refuge; and they wait in terrible anxiety, watching the awfully accumulating promontory of snow, till it bursts in a moment, and all beneath are buried in the ruin. It has been an old observation, that, in the course of every seven or nine years, one of these overwhelming avalanches takes place. And, they are not always confined to the winter season, but happen at any time, when either the power of the sun, or the weight of the snows, may disengage the preponderating load from its hold on the mountain. In June 1776, the course of the Terek was stopped by one of these ice torrents; when its impeded waters rose to the height of 258 feet, and suddenly tearing a passage through the rocky barrier of that tremendous defile, with a noise louder than thunder resounded by a thousand echoes, rushed onward in a devastating flood.

Similar was the horrid scene, report brought to us in the month of November, 1817. The pale summit of the mountain Kasibeck, on the side which shelves down into the dark valley between Derial and the village which bears the mountain's name, had been seen abruptly to move. In an instant it was launched forward; and nothing was now beheld for the shaken snow, and dreadful over-shadowing of the falling destruction. The noise that accompanied it, was the most stunning, bursting, and rolling onward, of all that must make death certain. As the avalanche rushed on, huge masses of rock, rifted from the mountain's side, were driving before it; and the snows, and ice of centuries, pouring down in immense shattered forms, and rending heaps, fell, like the fall of an earthquake; covering,

from human eye, villages, valleys, and people! What an awful moment, when all was still! — when the dreadful cries of man and beast were heard no more; and the tremendous avalanche lay a vast, motionless, white shroud on all around.

The magnitude of the destruction will readily be comprehended, when it is understood that the depth of the snow, which thus rolled downwards in sight of the appalled inhabitants of the valley, was full twenty-eight fathoms, that is, 186 feet; and its extent more than six wersts, or four miles, English. It immediately blocked up the course of the Terek, whose obstructed waters, beating up, in immense billows, foaming and raging against this strange impediment, seemed, at times, ready to over-top it; but, still repelled by the firmness and height of the snow, it fell back on its bed with a roaring that proclaimed the dreadful scene to a vast distance. The overcharged waters then formed themselves into a lake, which spread down the whole valley, on the river-side of its tremendous barrier; thus completely barring all communication with Wlady Caucasus. Nearly twelve days elapsed before the river had sapped its way through so immense a body of consolidated snow; but when it did make an opening, its flood, and fury, and devastating consequences, fell not far short of the dreadful ruin occasioned by the cause of its obstruction. Bridges, forts, every thing contiguous to its path, were washed away in the torrent.

Indeed, the traveller is scarcely ever secure, while passing through some particular defiles of these mountains. The disasters of a winter avalanche have just been described. And in summer, the rocks which project from the steep face of the precipices, frequently become loosened by the melting snows or heavy rains; when, some sudden increase of either, severs

them at once; and they come headlong down, knocking off others in their fall, and crushing all they find beneath. The road then becomes impassable, till labourers are sent to clear the path by, perhaps, launching the broken rocks over some adjoining steep; for, in these tracks of Caucasus, precipices are on every side, above and below. Sometimes, when the mass is too big for such an operation, they have to make a new road round the fallen rocks; and that often brings the foot of the next traveller close to the edge of an abyss.

My opportune arrival at Tiflis had spared me experiencing the effects of these worst of mountain horrors; but the bad weather had yet made itself to be felt by me, in more ways than one. I was prevented exploring many interesting spots in the neighbourhood, lest some of these very floods, though in a minor degree, might have crossed me; and I was confined in a city, where the depth of the mud in the streets would hardly suffer a man to stir without-doors. But here, I must beg leave to remark, that the mud inside of most houses, nearly equalled the quantity without; so I was the sooner reconciled to being shut up in my own more comfortable quarters. The ordinary style of habitation in Tiflis being purely Asiatic, as I said before, is flat-roofed, covered in with hard-beaten earth. After any continued rain the water soaks through this ineffectual defence as if it were some huge filtering machine; and, running down the inside of the walls, nay, pouring through the extended surface of the roof itself, the whole house becomes inundated. But the evil stops not there; the earth of the floor is broken up by the flood from above; and what was at first only a thorough drenching of water, is then little better than an actual morass. The poor inhabitants, without a dry spot to sit or lie down on, are

reduced to the most wretched expedients of personal discomfort and misery. As it may be supposed, the most serious maladies are engendered during the prevalence of these floods; and the damps which remain when the waters have long passed away, hardly ever leave the saturated walls and flooring till the warm season has very far advanced. At such moments as this I have been describing, well might travellers call it the black and dreary valley.

Such was Tiflis in the year 1817. But if the plans of the present Governor-general, for rectifying the construction of houses, be carried fully into effect, such will not be Tiflis, a few years hence. What His Excellency has already accomplished in the improvements of the public buildings, give a good specimen of the future fairer aspect of the place; and even those alterations have rendered the Georgian capital so superior to what it was a dozen years ago, that the travelling merchant can hardly recognise its bazars and caravansary to be the same.

The skies were beginning to clear towards the 7th of November (O. S.), the time when I intended proceeding on my journey; and I began making preparations for leaving a place where I had become acquainted with many objects of interest, and enjoyed much social pleasure, from the kindness of the Governor-general, and the attentions of his suite. Rough and hazardous as the road had been, over which I had passed, more rugged and dangerous were the ways which lay before me; hence, it was necessary I should dispose of my carriage at Tiflis, and arrange my baggage so as to convey it on the backs of horses. The General of Cossacks, to whose charge my venerable friend the Attaman had most particularly commended my safety, provided a non-commissioned officer's escort to attend me to the utmost

limit of the Russian frontier. Beyond that I must look for other guards; and, I doubted not, for paths of still more untamed wildness; tracks, not roads, begirt with banditti, savage as their mountain fastnesses.

Travellers are certainly indebted to Russia's possession of Georgia for the means which leads them in comparative security from the banks of the Don to the farthest shores of the Kur. And, indeed, all speculative minds, who are curious in the great labyrinths of nature, must date to his Imperial Majesty's military posts and other establishments in that province, the daily accumulating knowledge respecting Caucasus and its numberless tribes, which every succeeding traveller brings from that remote part of the world to the learned in Europe. It is from the result of such speculations, and such facilities, that the anatomy, (if I may be allowed the term,) of this colossus of nature has been made known to us. Though so illustrious a subject in ancient history, from the importance of its passes, and the battles fought to maintain them, by Greek, and Roman, with the native princes; yet the ancient historians had but a very confused, and therefore imperfect knowledge of the Caucasus; sometimes tracing their lines in the visions of poesy, and, at others, confounding those which the accounts of military or other travellers had rendered more distinct, with the widely spreading branches of Mount Taurus.

But I shall here sketch a general idea of the whole body of this stupendous mountain-world, to which the name of Caucasus properly belongs. It is collected from authorities that made their observations on the spot, and verified to my complete satisfaction, by the opportunities afforded me to go over much of the ground myself, where I derived nearly the same result

from my own investigations; and also some new information on the subject, arising from the natural changes of time and incidental circumstances.

We may consider the numerous ranges of Caucasus, as taking their rise from one immense body, or root of mountains, which stretches itself diagonally across that vast tract of land which lies between the Euxine and Caspian seas. This parent stem rises boldly to the westward, in the neighbourhood of the Turkish post of Anapa, then takes a sweep nearly in the form of the eastern shore of the Euxine, though considerably to its rear, and runs along as far as the confines of ancient Colchis, now called Immeretia. Thence it suddenly stretches in a line almost directly east, for upwards of 300 wersts; then it shoots off to the south-east, taking the shape of the western shore of the Caspian, and terminating amidst the sublime ruins of the Guebre altars at Badku. This principal range boasts the gigantic Elborus and Kasibeck, towering over the loftiest summits of its other mountains, as the main bulwarks of a great fortress stand higher than its battlements. The heads of these two celebrated mountains are almost always obscured with clouds; and when they are partially discerned by the exhalation, or rolling away of their fleecy covering, winter or summer, still we see an eternal snow upon their peaks. But the effects produced by the action of light, on this pure and elevated surface, at the rising or setting sun; or in the beam of the moon, while the shadows of the clouds are passing away; or when quite gone, have left the mountain's head like a pyramid of silver, or tinged with a thousand aerial colours; are not to be described, for beauty and sublimity. Beneath these two mountains, rise the glittering peaks of others, still far above the line denominated the region of snow, and

shooting over the heads of alps subordinate to them. But these, subordinate there, would be stupendous in any other situation. It is comparison that makes the great and greater, though it cannot alter the positive quality of the thing. This then, is the first, and noblest range of the Caucasus.

The second branch, is distinguished by the name of the Mossian Hills, and was the *Mooschici montes* of Ptolemy. It stretches along, from the vicinity of a Turkish fort called Battoumi, (in a nearly parallel direction with the first range, though at a great distance,) till it reaches the banks of the Araxes, and is lost in the plains of Mogan. This branch is again connected with the primary chain, by a series of mutual ramifications, forming rich valleys; and spreading out into the fertile plains of Akhiska, Immeretia, Kartelania, and Georgia, reaching down to Shirvan. The most considerable line of the connecting mountains, is that called the Tchildirr range, and is to the east of the Black Sea; whence, stretching in all directions, it mingles its widely diverging branches with those of the first and second leading chains; and, running onward to the third, whose wild steeps embank the shores of the Euphrates, it thus connects the whole.

This third range, (known to Ptolemy by the name of the *Mons Paryardes*,) in some respects vaster, and, perhaps, more interesting than the other two, takes a direction, along with the Euphrates, to the south-west; forming a third parallel chain of the Caucasus, till it terminates that answering line in Armenia: and that at the point, where stupendous Ararat towers above every other mountain. Thence, the chain makes an abrupt angle; and, diverging suddenly due south, shoots out into all those various branches which spread themselves over Persia, and Asia Minor.

My route from Tiflis to Tabreez leading through both these latter chains, I shall defer mentioning the particular features of each, till they present themselves in the further details of my journey. The time arrived, for its recommencement. On the same day, the 7th of November, the gentlemen who had composed the recent embassy from Russia to Persia, were to set forth on their return to St. Petersburgh; and, as the usual northern passage over the Caucasus was still impassable, from the effects of the late avalanche, it was decided they should take the road through Derbent and Kislar. As this route lay, for one day's march, in the same direction with my own, I joined their party, for that short distance. We set out from the Governor-general's house, about three o'clock in the day. It was a fine afternoon; and His Excellency followed up his other kindnesses, by seeing us some part of the way. The road, which is indebted to him for its freedom from many old impediments, takes the sweep of the western bank of the Kur; running along the foot of a range of hills, till they break off abruptly, near Saganlook, our projected halting-place. On looking back to Tiflis, that city wears a very different appearance, on this side, from that which intimidates the traveller on his advance from the Mskett road. Here, the view is more open; and its hills, and rocks, seem to lose their blackness and sterility, as they turn their backs on the north. Gardens and vineyards, shaded with tall poplar-trees, shelve down to the river, brightening the stream with their waving reflections; and giving, by such cheerfulness, a sort of stirrup-cup to the spirits of the departing traveller, which makes full amends for the dolorous impressions that damped his approach.

About five wersts from the city, its hospitable Governor-

general took leave of his countrymen, and myself. We looked after him, till the turning of the road shut him from our view, with those feelings of gratitude, and lively personal regard, the full extent of which can only be experienced in circumstances like these; in countries, far from a man's natural friends; where services are offered, and accepted; and those bestowed, not with the cold and niggard hand of formal office, but with the open and the kindly heart: the disposition, that receives a countryman, like a friend; and a stranger, like a countryman. Such was the man, to whom we had just bidden farewell. And being, in every other respect, liberal in his views, no one can be better adapted to the high station he holds in this country. His graciousness secures to him gratitude, and confidence, from the persons of all nations, to whom he is kind and serviceable; for this talent of gaining the heart is the first step to opening it. A churlish and penurious representative, abroad, of any great empire, may, therefore, be regarded rather as an enemy, who, by such vices, undermines the interests he was sent to promote, than as a faithful minister, whose first object should be the service, and extended influence, of the state which employs him. General Yarmolloff is, in every respect, what such a representative ought to be. And, by perfectly understanding the people he is delegated to govern; their originally natural dispositions, and the contrary habits they have acquired, under contradictory oppressions; he manages both, with a greatness of aim, a gentleness in the means, and, at the same time, so unswerving a steadiness, that the proud and gloomy Georgians are daily becoming more sensible to the advantage of their own laws being exercised by such a foreign hand. It is natural that the mind should linger after old associations; should, in remembering times of past distinction, under brave and generous

princes, be reluctant to part with any existing memorial of such national consequence, be it no more than a name! But the Georgians, for several generations preceding their union with Russia, had, in retaining this name — that of an independent kingdom — been actually suffering the utmost miseries of subjugation; from the feebleness of their native rulers, and the terrible evils which poured into their undefended country, from the Mahometan powers, and the barbarous hordes of the mountains. In becoming part of Russia, the doors were shut against these oppressors; and the rescued people soon found the substantial superiority of living in prosperity and peace, under the name, and with the rights, of a province attached to so great an empire, to all the vain glories of being called a kingdom; — to the shade, rather than the substance, of majesty, seated in the throne of their past monarchs; while real tyrants, in the shapes of Lesghees and other invaders, ravaged the country, and usurped the authorities of the state.

During our advance to Saganlook, which is about twelve wersts from Tiflis, we observed many picturesque objects; and, amongst them, other time-worn memorials of the extinct dynasty of the last Georgian kings, and their yet more famous predecessors. On the eastern shore of the river, at a short distance from our proposed quarters, we saw the remains of one of the old fortresses, on the nearest heights; and, subjacent to them, two as ancient towers, with the ruins of a bridge at their foot, which had formerly been connected with the line of the present road. On arriving at Saganlook, the place marked out for the termination of our first day's march, we found tents pitched for our reception, and an excellent supper, prepared by the Governor-general's orders. The village was about half a mile from the

spot of our little encampment, but is no regular post, and therefore seldom, but when self-provided as we were, made a halting-place for travellers. We slept that night in our tents; and, next morning, our two parties were to separate.

After taking leave of my Russian friends, whose route was then directly contrary to mine, myself and my own little band set our faces to the south-west; gladly turning our backs on the bitter cold wind of the morning, which was blowing strongly and keenly from the north. When the line of mountains stopped at Saganlook, it did not terminate, but made an acute angle direct south; and thence continued, stretching along the magnificent acclivities which formed, as usual, an Alpine wall to our road. On quitting Saganlook, we bade adieu to the banks of the Kur, leaving that river far to the East of our future march. Having travelled about ten wersts onward, we descended a narrow and rocky ravine, into a fertile little vale, bounded, to the rising sun, by an inconsiderable, but romantically situated lake. The hills to the westward, on our right, presented old crumbling towers; and here and therea few clusters of mud-huts, the habitations of the peasantry, who were occupied on the low grounds, ploughing and sowing, for the early harvest. Each plough was drawn by a couple of oxen, or buffaloes.

On leaving the valley, a steep ascent brought us to an extensive plain, and to Kodi, our first post, where we took fresh horses for the baggage. It is a small place, but delightfully situated, on a fine open tract of country, which spreads eastward, almost to the shores of the Kur. After an hour's halt, we moved forward; our point being Shoulavar, then distant nearly twenty-six wersts. The road would have been pretty good, but for the numerous little channels, which the natives had cut in

every direction, for the purposes of irrigation. Having travelled fifteen wersts more, we left the fort and post of Koulagar to our right, and forded the Alget. The waters of this river were at that time no higher than our horses' bellies ; but at the seasons of thaw and rain, like other streams in this part of the world, they swell to a torrent. Two miles farther, we crossed the Gramm or Ktzia river, to which the Tabate is tributary ; and, near their junction, is the bridge mentioned by Chardin. The waters of the Ktzia were at this time rather shallow, though their rapidity reminded us of their descent from sources too capable of filling such channels to overflow.

We reached Shoulavar, our long looked-for quarters, just as night drew round us. The hour, and the situation of the post, where all was in perfect silence, gave a peculiar solemnity to its aspect. It lay in the dark gorge of a range of mountains, running due east, amongst whose deep defiles we were to pursue our journey in the morning. On entering this gorge, we found ourselves in that part of Georgia, which is called the province of Somhetie. An old stone fortress, black with time, and the shadows of the night, stood in frowning solitude, on a height near the mouth of the defile, and in a position to have commanded the pass in earlier ages. At its base, is the station of the Russian guard, which consists of a few Cossacks, and a small detachment of infantry. The ruins of some ancient religious structure, added, something more, to the dark solemnity of the scene.

At eight in the morning, we ascended the mountains, which day-light had discovered to be sufficiently rugged, though not of the most formidable altitude. The road, up which we toiled for an hour, was scarcely so wide as an ordinary foot-path, and very rough all the way to the top. We then descended the opposite

side, by a track of much the same difficulty; but it gradually opened to our view a luxuriant valley, which lay at the foot of the hills, rich in cultivation, and traversed by the Bambek; a noble river, winding its fertilising way to the north-east, while in that course, it is augmented by the united waters of the Tabate and Ktzia. This vale, so eminent in rural beauties, stretches east and west, and every where displays the bounties of the full and tranquil Bambek. The banks of the river are verdant with pastures, and shaded with trees; and the several villages, which stand amidst its abundant fields, present to the eye the fairest proofs of prosperity and comfort. In the middle of the plain, nearly ten wersts from its entrance, some striking remains still exist, of what must have been a very strong fortress. After crossing the bed of a dry river, we reached the large and populous village of Sadakloo, on the western shore of the Bambek. The inhabitants were employed separating their barley from its straw; and this they effected by means of a sort of wooden sledge, to which were yoked a couple of oxen. Its lower surface was armed with sharp projecting stones, set closely in rows. A man stood on its upper surface, guiding the oxen, as they drew the machine hither and thither over the heaps of the unseparated grain. A woman attended, furnished with a long wooden shovel, throwing the sheaves under the sledge, as it moved round.

Our road led to the south-west, which now gradually carried us away from the margin of this beautiful river. At about three wersts from it, we left the vale, and beginning to climb again, lost sight of the Bambek. Our path across the first height, in this new ascent, was narrow and closely wooded; and employed us nearly the whole of the remainder of the day, in surmounting

its mingled steeps and thickets. Towards sun-set, we attained the summit, and reached our halting-place, the post of Tshuskar, which stands on the brow of a small conical hill. Here a grand view of the river, whose absence we had regretted in the morning, broke upon us, as it wound amongst rocks, at the bottom of a deep ravine, between two immense piles of perpendicular cliffs. About thirty or forty Cossacks inhabited the post; a numerous body, in very narrow dimensions; and, consequently, not finding sufficient accommodation for myself, and the many persons I had with me, I was obliged to go a mile further into the mountains, to a rather considerable village, where lodgings might be provided me. Though the dusk had pretty far advanced, we were rewarded for this prolonged march, as we went along, by the sight of one of those happy-spots of the Caucasus I have before described: beautiful little glens, smiling with the successful labours of man; while the brows of the acclivities above showed a rich and fragrant herbage. At the village, we found warm and ample quarters. The good people set before us a plentiful regale of milk, eggs, butter, &c., with exquisite honey. This latter luxury I might have anticipated, from the propitious aspect of the country, for maintaining whole colonies of the little manufacturers; and, I understand, it is an article of great profit to the inhabitants. Indeed, every thing I saw, spoke the fertility of the soil, and the hospitality of its possessors. They have numerous herds of cattle, with abundance of wheat, barley, millet, &c.; and, what is better than all, their content seems to equal their blessings.

At eight o'clock in the morning, we left our village friends; and retreading our steps towards the post, soon regained the brink of the precipice, which forms one side of the high and

perpendicular chasm, through which the river flows. The mountains shoot up, beyond these abrupt walls of rock, to a great height; and, both in outline and surface, resemble those of Derbyshire; not in altitude, for ours are but hillocks when compared with these giants of the earth. All along the valley, I observed the same variety of hue, and projection, amongst the rocks, as in the vales of that celebrated spot in my native land. Large masses of red, and grey granite, present themselves from the sides of the mountains, in a thousand romantic shapes; ruins, castles, churches, mingling their embattled and Gothic spires with the thick foliage of the woods, which hang from steep to steep, and clothe the mountains to a vast extent.

As we travelled on to the south-east, the tracts were pointed out to me, where the silver mines were formerly worked; the mouths of the shafts of several being still to be seen. The rocks which form them are of a yellowish sandy hue. Indeed the whole of this part of Georgia is rich in ores of different kinds, and particularly in copper, a very fine sort of which is produced near Lori. Leaving these vestiges of exhausted wealth, or rather traces where it may yet be found, at about four miles from the precipice of the Bambek, we crossed that river through a deep and rapid ford, the water dashing and roaring so as to try the mettle of both men and horses. On gaining the shore, we followed its winding line, with the river, through the whole of the rocky chasm; sometimes, almost encaved by the projecting cliffs; at others, as completely over-shaded by the fine trees, which bent forwards, from both sides of this really beautiful dell. High over our heads, to the southward, rose a succession of heights; and, on the summit of one of the boldest, we saw the monastery of Akpet, an extensive building, dedicated

to the brethren of the holy order of Dominicans. A village stands near it, thriving and populous, I was told; and to the activity and industry of its peasantry, the adjoining little plain, with its neighbouring hills and glens, owed their fine state of cultivation. Of course, these villagers are under the cognisance, or charge at least, of the good fathers above them. The monastery of Akpet, and another at Sennany, are the two monastic establishments, of the greatest consequence in Georgia.

After proceeding some wersts, we re-crossed the river, in front of a most terribly precipitous mountain, over which our road lay; but this time, we crossed by a bridge: it was built of stone, and consisted of one arch; the work, unquestionably, of the Armenian sovereigns, when this part of Georgia was under their jurisdiction, civil and religious. The architecture of the bridge is curious, and the style of the Christian emblems, which are sculptured on it, sufficiently testify its origin. Both ends are so abrupt in ascent, they would hardly be practicable at all, were it not for flights of steps by which they are faced. At one side of the western extremity of these steps, where they clasp the bank of the river, I observed a high upright, hewn, stone; which, on examination, proved to be covered with Christian insignia, worked in the stone. The most eminent was the cross; and round it, fretwork, with other figures, carved in a very masterly manner. Before we passed over the bridge, I had remarked two similar stones, on that side: one was raised on a pile of large stones, and had, in addition to an engraved cross, some inscriptions, in the old Armenian character; the other stone, sculptured in the same way, lay on the ground, not far from it.

We rode on, about a mile, upon the immediate bank, or rather rocky dyke, of the river, at the base of the mountain, before the road turned to its ascent; but when it did, the prospect was terrible. We saw one continued narrow, tortuous line, twisting amongst naked and broken cliffs, close to a nearly perpendicular precipice, at the bottom of which flowed the deep and rapid waters of the Bambek, black with the shadow of the mountain before us. When we began the ascent, we found it even more arduous than it seemed; the road being of the solid rock, craggy and broken, and often becoming so exceedingly narrowed by the effects of winter-fractures, that a straw's breadth hardly divided the foot from the edge of the most horrible abyss I had ever seen. As we mounted steep after steep, of course this abyss deepened, showing a succession of precipices, one over the other, till we no longer heard the river at their base. Those in my party, who were acquainted with the country, declared it as desperate a passage as any in the Caucasus. Indeed, it was a subject of admiration, no less than of anxiety, in observing the difficulties, to watch the persevering steadiness with which they were breasted and overcome. The men could not help, at times, showing fatigue, but never apprehension. And the Cossack horses, who were charged with the baggage, scrambled up the dangerous zig-zags, with a labour and a care, so like the calculation of intellect, that I could not but, again and again, marvel at such appearances of reason, in mere instinct. It is, perhaps, only in expeditions like the present, that we learn the full value of these noble animals. And, as I now and then gained a higher angle of the road, and gazed down upon them, working so zealously and perilously in my service, I could not help

sometimes trembling, lest any one of them should make a false step. Nothing could then save the poor animal from falling over the cliff, and precipitating those immediately behind him to the same fate — inevitable destruction. At one of these points, the chasm was several hundred feet beneath; and, as I said before, every fatiguing step increased its depth and terrors. After incredible toil, we at last gained the top of the mountain, and saw winter before us. A vast plain stretched along the summit, bounded on one side by another pile of mountains, overtopping that we had just surmounted. They are called the Algat range; and, with the whole country around them, from its elevation, were covered with snow: a very different picture from the green and smiling valleys I had so recently left. A short ride, through a piercing cold wind, brought us in good time to Usumlar, our halting-place for the night. We had travelled thirty-five wersts, this day.

Usumlar was once a town of consequence, but is now a mere village, or rather a combination of wretched huts; whose low mud-walls, and black entrances, scarcely a yard above the surface of the ground, give the whole more the appearance of a rabbit-warren, than of habitations for men. Most of the villages I had seen, since leaving the Terek, have more or less of the like semblance, according to the degree of civilisation and industry of the occupiers. The vestiges of Usumlar's better days consist, chiefly, of the shattered walls of a large church, formerly the seat of a bishop. Its architecture bears some similitude to the remains of the like sacred edifices in Tiflis; indeed, there is a general resemblance amongst all this class of ruins, on the southern side of the great chain of the Caucasus. The most considerable difference that struck me, between the Usumlar

cathedral, and the other ancient churches of the province, was a sort of piazza or cloister, which surrounded the building on the outside. The arches of this highly convenient, but uncommon appendage to a structure of the kind, were of the pointed order; but much less so, than in any species of the Gothic. This rather flattened form prevailed in the windows, doors, and throughout the body of the church, wherever it was necessary the arch shape should be introduced. The workmanship of the friezes, and other ornaments, was much inferior in taste, and execution, to that I had observed on the three stones of the old Armenian bridge.

We quitted our quarters, at the usual travelling hour of the morning, with a clear sky, and six degrees of frost. Our track lay south-west, over the plain; turning our backs on the northern blast, which blew the keener, as it cut along by the snowy sides of the mountains; and also on the frightful precipices to the east, which overlooked the still deeper dell of rocks that formed the channel of the Bambek. After traversing the plain, for nearly six wersts, we began a gentle ascent, up a hill to the south; and, passing over its brow, descended, on the opposite side, by a narrow, uneven, but romantic path, towards the Bambek; which, by a turn or two of its winding waters, met us here on the south, though we had so recently left it in the east. Soon after we regained sight of the river, a new object augmented the picturesque of the scene; some particularly fine ruins, monuments still of ancient piety, appearing on the summit of a high rock, which stood near the spot where the Lori river unites with the nobler Bambek.

Descending towards the river, or rather to the edge of the steep moat of rocks, dug by nature's self in the side of the

mountain, we followed its windings for near a mile; and then, passing over it once more, entered a very deep wood. The ground, or low thicket, through which we plunged, to reach a new ascent, was covered to the depth of two feet with snow; and the difficulties our horses encountered, by such treacherous footing, increased at every movement. The path up the height itself, did not afford a more secure one; and when the ascent was achieved, similar impediments presented themselves. We had to keep along the ridge of a chain of rugged hills, whose situation exposed us to every blast, while the road itself, over which we travelled some hours, was slippery and dangerous. At the extent of eighteen wersts, we reached the Cossack post of Vaganz; where we were to change our tired baggage-horses for fresh ones. That done, we recommenced our day's march, over the same sort of rough track, for six wersts farther, till we joined the river again. We re-crossed it, and took a western direction, along its northern bank, to the great military station of Karaklissa. This place is situated in the heart of a narrow valley, about seven wersts from its entrance, and close to the bed of the Bambek, where a mountain-torrent, bearing the name of the town, falls into the river. Winter had laid his "cold and shrouded hand" on every object. Besides the thick snow, which spread over all things, the smaller streams from the hills were arrested in their course; and even the impetuous motion of the river was staid in places, and frozen to the depth of several inches.

Karaklissa, besides being honoured with a battalion of infantry, is the head-quarters of the general, commanding the troops on the frontier; but the place itself is in a poor state of fortification, though the commandant is doing his best to set the works in order.

My next day's journey spread a whole region of snow before me; hill, valley, and plain, all one dreary waste; with a heavy, burthened sky, threatening a still more deepening fall. My halting-place, for the night, was to be Amamloo; another military post, about twenty wersts from the preceding, lying up the valley in a direction north-west. The road was good, therefore we reached our quarters early in the evening. The village attached to the fort was of the same burrow-looking character as most others I had lately passed through. However, I must do the natives of these wild hamlets the justice to say, that, notwithstanding the unpromising exteriors of their habitations, they evince a prompt kindness within, to be remembered with grateful recollection, by every way-worn traveller of the Caucasus. The description of one of their abodes, may be received as a pretty accurate picture of them all. The form, like a large rabbit-hole, I have already mentioned: within, is a room, which fills the whole compass of the house, being from sixteen to eighteen feet wide, and often of still greater length; a size we might deem ill-proportioned to the outward lowness of the dwelling, but it is dug three or four feet below the surface of the earth, which gives a height to the apartment, not to be anticipated from without. At one end, commonly near the door, a space is always left, untouched by the spade, sufficient to form a sort of distinct chamber; but no otherwise divided from the sunken part, than by the more elevated floor. At one side of this superior quarter, we find the hearth, with its chimney; and opposite to them, a small hole in the roof, to admit light. The floor is the bare earth, beaten very hard; but coarse carpets are spread along the sides, for the people to sit and sleep on. No table, or stools, are visible. The walls are merely dried mud,

with something like cupboards left in them, to hold the little property of the family. Directly over the fire-place, we find a small hollow of the same kind, for the reception of a hand-lamp; and this they never failed lighting up, whenever I happened to be their guest, though I always, on such occasions, burnt my own candles. So much for the human-habitable part of this sepulchral-like abode: the rest of it, that is, the pit, was assigned to the pigs, sheep, horses, &c. of the family. There is something particularly savage in this account; yet, I fear we need not go many miles on the other side of the Irish Sea, to find similar inhabitants in one apartment, even in the British dominions.

We left Amamloo, November 13th, (O. S.), under a heavy snow; and, quitting the now-compressed channel of the Bambek, crossed some hills, which form a sort of minor branch of the great chain of Mosschian mountains; one ramification, to the south, being called the Karaklissa hills; while another, lower down to the north, takes the name of the Bambek. Having descended the connecting range, from our last quarters, we arrived at the redoubt, and village of Beckant. The latter is built on the side of a hill, and the military station occupies the summit. At the bottom, runs the little river Tchitchiana. Our route, this day, had been south-west.

Next morning, we resumed our march, with the cold at eight degrees of Reaumur, and taking a north-west direction, up the valley, but under a clear and beautiful sky. At a distance of seven wersts from our starting-point, we began to ascend a mountain, which shuts up the valley at that extremity. The wind was very keen, and became more so, as we mounted into the higher regions; yet there was a bracing tone in the air, very different from its incumbent relaxing influence, while surcharged

with the snows which had now fallen. However, we trod the deep and untracked paths of the mountain, with as much haste, as exhilaration, to get into a more temperate atmosphere. Two hours, carried us over the pass; and, as we had anticipated, the mere change of position, from heighth to depth, brought us to something like a warm climate; at least, comparison made us feel it so. The sky was equally brilliant, as when we had seen it from above; while the plain, on which we entered at the foot of the hills, reflected a double brightness, from the dazzling white with which it was covered. The excessive cold, and all this glitter, were rather trying to our eyes; but they were repaid, by the grandeur of a winter mountain-scene, which might have reminded one, who had navigated the arctic seas, of regions near the pole.

Our road led to the south-west; and an hour's more travel brought us to the town of Goumri, a strong Russian post, opposite the Turkish frontier. It stands on some rising ground, in a good position, has a considerable garrison, and is rapidly extending its works. The plain stretches round it for several miles, and then is sublimely encircled with mountains. The range, to the south-east, is surmounted by the Alleguz, a vast pile in itself, which, in part, bounds the district of Shuragyll; and, from the rocks and caverns in its sides, pours down numerous torrents to the deeper channels at its base; where they soon collect into one wide bed, and become a river, which takes the name of Ashtarick, or Arpasou. Thence, flowing along, it enters Armenia; and, passing near the venerable structure of Eitch-mai-adzen, waters the plain, till it falls into the Aras, or Araxes.

At Goumri I was to exchange my European or Cossack escort,

for one consisting of natives entirely. That it should be sufficient for my purpose, General Yarmolloff had taken care; having sent orders, not only for an adequate number of men and horses, but for every provision to be made that could render my journey, as far as his influence went, as little subject to inconvenience as possible.

Aware that Anni, one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, lay not far within the Turkish frontier, my curiosity was roused to visit it; and I could not refrain from expressing my wish to the commanding officer at the fort, and consulting with him how it might be done without the protection of a Turkish passport. So far from damping my ardour, he entered warmly into all the objects of my curiosity; and telling me, Anni was only forty wersts beyond the barrier, he assured me, if I liked to attempt it, I should have those with me who should be passport sufficient. Accordingly, next morning, at a very early hour, I took leave of my kind host, and found the promised guard already in waiting. It consisted of ten horsemen, who were to be at my orders all the way to Erivan. We were to take Anni in our march. These men were all well-armed, and capitally mounted; and, I doubted not, could be desperate fellows, should occasions call them forth. At least, so I might gather, from their garb and faces; for, never since I set foot amongst the Caucasus, had I beheld a more murderous-looking band of villains. Their chief was a brawny, determined-visaged man, and wore round his neck a medal of the Emperor Alexander, which had been hung there, with a ribband of St. George, as a badge of his superior bravery, during the late war between Persia and the Russian empire. A pair of long Turkish pistols were stuck at his girdle, from which were suspended his sabre, and a

large knife. These, with a carabine slung across his shoulders, completed his arms. His dress was a mixture of Georgian and Turkish; and his horse, which was as wildly and efficiently caparisoned, seemed to possess equal fire with his master. The whole of my escort, under his command, were armed in much the same way; and each carried four or five pouches, filled with balls, cartridges, &c. The morning being cold, several of them were wrapped in their bourkas, which greatly increased the savage air of their appearance. At parting from the friendly commandant, he told me, that, with these men as my guards, I might consider myself as safe on the other side of the Turkish lines, as in the fort of Goumri; they being too well known all over the country we were to pass through, to admit of any apprehension on our side. I might calculate on their making all fly before them, unless opposed by very superior numbers; and that the officer did not think probable in the present case; for, though both the remains of Anni and the neighbouring districts bore a very bad reputation, as the haunts of banditti, yet their depredations had lately been made in such inconsiderable bodies, they might rather be expected to hide themselves from our sight, than to rush out to attack us.

We set forth. The cold was at 12 degrees of Reaumur; but the animation of my pursuit was, perhaps, a warmer defence than the bourkas of my companions; and riding along the wide valley to the south, towards the opposite frontier, kept the chain of hills, with their cloud-capped Alleguz, to my left. About five wersts onward, we passed the Arpatchai, and so entered the Turkish lines. This river rises not far from Kars, and falls into the Araxes near Hadjy-baramloo; marking, there, the Persian and Turkish frontier to the westward. The boundary once

crossed, we pricked on at a pretty round pace, and soon reached a Turkish village, whose situation was rendered picturesque by the tower-crowned heights in its neighbourhood. These, like those in Georgia, were the remains of ancient strongholds, and of religious buildings erected, in old times, by the Christian sovereigns of the country. At this point the valley narrowed considerably; and, as we proceeded, I observed more ruins. They were towers also; and, probably, had belonged to a chain of posts, formerly established, to close the pass. A few wersts farther, we forded the Kars, a stream which afterwards takes the name of Arpatchai; here it is neither wide nor deep; but on its approach to the monastery of Kotchivan, it is joined by another little river, called the Akhoor, and become by the union a considerable body of waters, takes a course through several fine valleys, till it pours its tributary urn into the Araxes, long before that river reaches the plain of Ararat.

The mountains, on all sides of us, appeared of a rounded form; not a rock even, nor a single tree, broke the smooth surface of the snow, nor interrupted the regularly-flowing lines of the hills. We passed, however, through a very close ravine, where we found rock enough in our path, and had to ascend a rough and steep side of a mountain. During our course over it, we came to the ruins of a deserted village; a sight to which my attendants seemed, in all ways, to be perfectly familiar. But such ruins, thanks to civilization, are almost as strange to a European's eye, as discordant to his taste. The tale they tell, is of too unqualified a misery, to give any pleasing feeling of interest, while passing their trampled remains. The delapidations of time or of war, on great cities, or on buildings of national consequence, derive grandeur from the magnitude, and not unfrequently

from the obscurity of the events which had occasioned their decay; events, which assailing generally, do not strike so deeply on individual happiness. But, in the ruins of a poor little village, we see nothing but poverty robbed of its pittance; murder bursting the doors of the hovel; and the defenceless inmates put to death, or turned out on the waste to perish. Such was the spectacle these silent and bare walls conjured up; and I gladly passed on from so sad a memento of human ruthlessness and misery.

On rising the hill, we entered a wide upland valley, across which we took a westward line, while my baggage-horses pursued their way in another direction to the monastery of Kotchivan, where we were to quarter for the night. When I made this division, my escort told me we had then about ten wersts to ride before we should arrive at Anni. The day was far advanced, and being eager to reach the place time enough to allow some hours of examination, we set off at a very rapid pace. The road was exceedingly rough, over low hills, where often a track was scarcely visible; but at length the towers of the ancient city appeared at the extremity of an uneven plain, spreading to a vast extent along the horizon. Impatient, I spurred on; and, at a nearer view, found its southern and eastern faces protected by a deep and impassable ravine, through which flows the Arpatchai. The western and northern fronts have been defended by a double range of high walls and towers of the finest masonry. Three great entrances present themselves to the north. Over the center gate was sculptured a leopard or lion-passant; and near it, on the flanking towers, several large crosses were carved in the stone, and richly decorated with exquisite fretwork. On entering the city, I found the whole surface of the ground covered with hewn stones, broken capitals, columns, shattered,

but highly ornamented friezes; and other remains of ancient magnificence. Several churches, still existing in different parts of the place, retain something more than ruins of their former dignity; but they are as solitary as all the other structures, on which time and devastation have left more heavy strokes. In the western extremity of this great town, in which no living beings, except ourselves, seemed breathing, we saw the palace, once of the kings of Armenia; and it is a building worthy the fame of this old capital. Its length stretches nearly the whole breadth, between the walls of the city on one side, and the ravine on the other. Indeed, it seems a town in itself; and so superbly decorated within and without, that no description can give an adequate idea of the variety and richness of the highly wrought carvings on the stone, which are all over the building; or of the finely-executed mosaic patterns, which beautify the floors of its countless halls. Near the centre of the city, rise two enormous octagon towers of an immense height, surmounted by turrets. They command all around them, even to the citadel, which stands to the south-west on a high rock, and at the edge of a precipice. The farther I went, and the closer I examined the remains of this vast capital, the greater was my admiration of its firm and finished masonry. In short, the masterly workmanship of the capitals of pillars, the nice carvings of the intricate ornaments, and arabesque friezes, surpassed any thing of the kind I had ever seen, whether abroad, or in the most celebrated cathedrals of England. I particularly observed a religious edifice, of less dimensions than some of the others, but of exquisite architecture. It stood very near the octagon towers; and its high arched roof was a beautiful specimen of mosaic work, enriched with borders of the pure Etruscan, formed in red, black, and yellow stone.

The pillars, and all ornamental parts of the building, were as sharp and fresh, as if but the erection of yesterday. Indeed, every where, time seemed to have dealt more mercifully with this city, than the hand of man. War had broken down its bulwarks; made its palaces, churches, and dwelling places, tenantless; and, in a thousand ways, left its desolating marks. But where time alone might be expected to act, or with its destroying auxiliaries, the influences of weather, there we found few symptoms of decay. Fine, and even brilliant mosaic, executed with more or less precision, spreads itself over the city; and, in general, the form of the cross appears to be the root whence all the various patterns spring. Houses, churches, towers, embattled walls, every structure, high or low, partake the prevailing taste; and, on all, we see the holy insignia carved, large or small, in black stone. Besides these emblems, I found long inscriptions, cut in the old Armenian character, over the principal entrances of the churches; and some of them I should have transmitted to paper, had not the evening been drawing on, and with it a cold so intense as to disable me from holding my pencil. But, had it been otherwise, the impatience of my escort to be gone, would not have allowed me to trace a line. Notwithstanding their numbers, and their courage, it was probable that, under dusk, they might be surprised by a greater force, of equal determination; banditti, issuing from the dark and tomb-like heaps of the city, where, in the daylight, appeared only silence and desolation. The disposition of many of the ruins, by their closeness and gloom, rendered them apt places for the lurking-holes of these sanguinary freebooters; like most Asiatic cities, the streets appearing to have been not more than from twelve to fourteen feet wide. The generality of

the houses along these narrow, but widely scattered lines, were divided into a variety of small apartments, which are easily traced in the divisions of the roofless walls. As I passed by them, and over the almost formless masses of yet more extensive ruins, I could not but think of the interesting stores of antiquity, which might be lying hid beneath those mighty fragments of columns, walls, and heaps of stones. Even a few days' gathering on the surface, would furnish a traveller, (could it be attempted with any degree of security,) with very fine specimens of the most beautiful ornaments of architecture. The military power of the city, as far as fortifications could render it formidable, must have been very great; for the ravine which I mentioned before, as one means of defence, was additionally strengthened with walls, and towers of different heights. The remains of a noble stone bridge are yet visible over the river which flows at the bottom of the ravine. When the sun had quite sunk behind the mountains, it was no time to linger longer in such a place; and, with infinite regret, I obeyed the summons of my guides, and took a last look of the majestic relics of Anni, lying, a vast solitude, on the grey and wintry plain; for no living creature appeared, even as a single looker-out, from the murderous bands reported to infest the city.

The monastery, which was to be our night's lodging, stood five miles to the eastward; and, to that point, now a bitterly blowing one, we turned our faces. As we rode along, I observed low foundations of old walls, and other buildings, stretching to a considerable distance from the immediate neighbourhood of the city. At one part, two small churches were yet standing, of the same character with those in Anni; and on another spot, I observed a couple of prodigious-sized pedestals, supporting

square blocks of stone, which were covered with Armenian inscriptions. These pedestals, and the materials with which the ancient capital was built, have all been dug from immense quarries in the vicinity of Kotchivan. They consist of a beautiful kind of rock, which bears the three colours described before as forming the walls and ornamental architecture of Anni. It is very close-grained, and susceptible of being cut into the most delicate combinations without difficulty or splintering, till it is exposed to the air; and then, while it becomes too hard for such work, it acquires a solidity and a surface which resists every destroying effect from the changes of the weather.

Before we reached the convent, night had quite overtaken us; but, dark as it was, I yet discerned much of the interesting scenery of the road; and amongst the rest, a high octagon watch-tower, resembling the two I had seen in Anni. It stood on a height, close to the pathway of the defile through which we were to pass to the monastery. When arrived, its venerable gates opened on no rusted hinge. I found my baggage-horses, with their attendants, had been comfortably housed some hours; and the holy brotherhood welcomed the master, and his train of no very promising aspects, with the most cordial hospitality. Besides these attentions from my Christian brethren, the Turkish chief of the village honoured me with a visit.

As soon as morning dawned through the little window of my cell, I was a-stir again; and, going out amongst my people, with difficulty got those of my escort together. That achieved, I bade farewell to my pious hosts, with sentiments of gratitude, not to them only, for the services I had received, but to the spirit of a religion which makes those establishments, whenever needful, in all lands, the refuge of the traveller. We find these

hospitable convents in almost every country of Christian Europe; amongst forests, mountains, and all lonely places where temporary asylums might be necessary; and here, amid the savage hordes of infidel Asia, still the same sacred roof is extended to shelter and to succour the way-faring stranger. The numerous public inns to be found almost every where in protestant countries, supersede there the necessity of these religious *hospices*.

It was nine o'clock before I was able to start; and in taking our course through the glen of the monastery, I was struck with the romantic situation of its secluded towers. It stands on the sloping side of a deep valley, or rather chasm, at the bottom of which dashes the river Akhoor; the rocks in its channel, and the rapidity of the stream, occasioning such a violence in the current as to give it the effect of a water-fall. The village of Kotchivan is near the monastery; and its low-roofed cottages form picturesque groups under the other's loftier walls. Their architecture is of the same style and period as the churches in Anni; and it is curious to observe, that though its palaces are sunk in the dust, or abandoned by their conquerors, a remnant of the faith of its ancient kings still exists where it was planted. According to our present route, we crossed the Akhoor near a spot where a boiling spring issues from the ground, accompanied by volumes of steam. They wreathed about like white clouds through the thin and clear air of so cold a morning; the frost being at 14 degrees of Reaumur, when we left the monastery. In passing this river, we entered the Persian lines. We then kept along its northern bank, which soon curved to the south-east; conducting us by an abrupt ascent, to a part of the mountain-valley we had left the day before; and, on looking to the north-west, I again saw the old capital of Armenia, with its magnificent

boundary of mountains. They are connected with the range of Alleguz; and stretched away, in noble forms, to the end of the boldly undulating line, where we find that towering fountain of many floods.

Our road continued south-east, over trackless snows, through narrow glens, and occasionally over low hills, without a tree or shrub. Having travelled in this way for fifteen wersts, we arrived at the vicinity of another ancient city called Talys, and as totally deserted of all appearance of inhabitants as we had found its former capital. I did not go out of the road to view it particularly; but from the distance we were at, I could distinguish too very large churches, the remains of houses, and other buildings, and a great extent of walls. At the same time, I first beheld the double-head of Ararat. From the elevation of the spot where I stood, and the numerous mountains, though inferior to it, which obstructed my view, its appearance did not strike me in the way I had expected. But the true effect, like that on my perfect sight of the Caucasus, after a similar disappointment, was only postponed.

Proceeding south-east for nearly forty wersts, at the extremity of a very long valley, we arrived at the ruins of a caravansary, where we halted an hour to rest our horses. At this place, a pleasant change presented itself, both in the face of nature and the state of the atmosphere. The universality of the snow had been gradually disappearing during our last day's journey; and the unincumbered heights began to shoot out a little grass. Here the opening of the valley shewed still less of white, and more of green; and the air, though cold, had something of a spring-like elasticity; a no unnecessary cordial to the traveller who reaches this point, from the cheerless tract we had just

passed over. In fact, during our whole march from the valley of Kotchivan till we arrived at the caravansary, we had seen neither man nor beast out of our own little band; and the dead aspect of all objects around, assisted the impression of our being in some vast depopulated wilderness. Comparing the tenantless vestiges, every where scattered over the country, of a former numerous people, with the present utter solitariness of every place, I could not but feel it the most dreary way I had ever passed over. The wildest steppes of Russia were nothing to its desolation. Those desarts are yet to be taken into the use of man; but these have been rifled from him, and, from populous countries, have become desarts. Almost the whole of the tract I had just travelled, was of this painful description; proofs standing every where, of a once flourishing people, now swept from the face of the earth; the remains of great cities, of towns, of villages, all over the plains and valleys; with the lines of their wide communication, marked by numerous watch-towers, still existing on the spots whence they had dispensed protection. All this was reduced, as we now see it, by the overwhelming irruptions of the Tatars; which, literally, passed as "the besom of destruction" over the whole country. This calamity fell upon it nearly five hundred years ago; when Anni, and the other cities, were sacked and devasted, the towns and villages trampled under foot, and the inhabitants either murdered or torn from their homes. Some dispersed into Turkey; others fled across the Caucasus, and, establishing themselves on the Don, founded the present city of Nackchivan. A succession of disastrous circumstances, tended to annihilate the small remains of the ancient people, which had been left in its huts and caves. All was then abandoned to the waste; and, until the Russians

drive the Turks further to the south and west, and extend their empire to the foot of Ararat, these districts, being little better than a border-land, or a high-road through which the several Asiatic powers pass in open war, or marauding hostility, it must continue the resort of banditti, and a frightful wilderness.

On leaving our halting-place, a fuller view of the great plain of Ararat gradually expanded before us, and the mountain itself began to tower in all its majesty to the very canopy of heaven. It bore south-east from the line of our caravansary. We now took a descending position, due east, over a stoney and difficult road; which carried us, for more than ten wersts, through several close and rocky defiles, and over as many frozen streams, till we reached a small Mahometan village on the side of the Mosschian hills. We halted there for the night; and, for the first time, I slept under the roof of a Mussulman. My goodly escort had already made themselves acquainted with the substance of the honest people; for, in our way to the village, some of them spied a flock of sheep, with their shepherd, at a little distance on the plain, and, starting away, scoured off immediately towards them. Not guessing their intentions, I supposed they were aware of the approach of some hostile band, and were charging to meet them. My surprise, therefore, was rather excited, when I saw them plunge into the mass of the flock, the shepherd run for his life, and in a few minutes the troop return with their spoil; two or three sheep, with their throats cut, which were soon skinned, dressed, and eaten. This was nothing more, in their opinions, than a mere exercise of their horses; a chappow, (or foray,) as much their right as the air they breathe; and as little to be complained against by the owner of the sheep, as the gathering of a few turnips, in a neighbour's field, might

be by some of us; though it, certainly, was something new to an Englishman of the 19th century, to find himself thus at the head of a band with such habits.

On the morning of the 17th November (O.S.), we left our hospitable Mussulmans: for, whether they were so inclined, or over-awed by the fierce looks and glittering arms of my attendants, I will not pretend to say, but I had no reason to complain of their want of civility. We set forth over a road as bad as that of the day before, in a direction south-east, and gradually descending from a great height, through a very extended sloping country, towards the immense plain of Ararat. In our way we passed the relics of a considerable town, called Talish. A little farther, we saw the ruins of what had been a fine caravansary, on the side of a mountain stream; and, from amidst the mouldering walls, we observed a few half-starved wretches creeping to the air, as if that were their only aliment. Indeed, sterility seemed to have been the curse of this immediate spot. Not a trace of verdure was discoverable on the ground; all parts were covered with volcanic stones, or rather masses of cinders, as if thrown from an iron-forge, black, heavy, and honey-combed. Lower down, upon this long declivity, rises a mound of earth and rock, which, in any neighbourhood but that of Ararat, would be called a mountain. Here, it appears scarcely a hill. Its form and substance are evidently those of an extinguished volcano; but in what ages it has been at work, we have not means to guess; no authors of established verity, ancient or modern, having said one word of any known volcanic eruption in the regions of Ararat. Besides the cinders above-mentioned, I observed in several places, during our downward march, large portions of

rock, of a soft red stone, bearing likewise the marks of calcination.

As the vale opened beneath us in our descent, my whole attention became absorbed in the view before me. A vast plain, peopled with countless villages; the towers and spires of the churches of Eitch-mai-adzen, arising from amidst them; the glittering waters of the Araxes, flowing through the fresh green of the vale; and the subordinate range of mountains skirting the base of the awful monument of the antediluvian world. It seemed to stand, a stupendous link in the history of man, uniting the two races of men before and after the flood. But it was not until we had arrived upon the flat plain, that I beheld Ararat in all its amplitude of grandeur. From the spot on which I stood, it appeared as if the hugest mountains of the world, had been piled upon each other to form this one sublime immensity of earth, and rock, and snow. The icy peaks of its double heads rose majestically into the clear and cloudless heavens; the sun blazed bright upon them; and the reflection sent forth a dazzling radiance, equal to other suns. This point of the view united the utmost grandeur of plain and height. But the feelings I experienced, while looking on the mountain, are hardly to be described. My eye, not able to rest for any length of time upon the blinding glory of its summits, wandered down the apparently interminable sides, till I could no longer trace their vast lines in the mists of the horizon; when an irrepressible impulse, immediately carrying my eye upwards again, refixed my gaze upon the awful glare of Ararat; and this bewildered sensibility of sight being answered by a similar feeling in the mind, for some moments I was lost in a strange suspension of the powers of thought.

Agridagh is the name given to this sublime mountain by the Turks; and the Armenians call it Macis: but all unite in revering it as the haven of the great ship which preserved the father of mankind from the waters of the deluge. The height of Ararat, has never yet been measured with any satisfactory degree of accuracy; though Captain Monteith, of the Madras Engineers, has gone nearer to the mark, perhaps, than any other traveller. The following are the results of several trigonomical observations, which he made at Erivan, and was so kind as to communicate to me. From that place, to the highest point of the loftiest head, he found fifty-two thousand yards; and from the same spot, to the minor head, fifty-five thousand yards. This head (which is distinguished by the appellation, Little Ararat, while the higher part is called Great Ararat) is distant from the other, from peak to peak, twelve thousand yards. Little Ararat bearing from Great Ararat, S. 60 E. Great Ararat bears from the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen, S. 5 W.; and Little Ararat, S. 6 E.

These inaccessible summits have never been trodden by the foot of man since the days of Noah, if even then; for my idea is, that the ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either. Various attempts have been made, in different ages, to ascend these tremendous mountain-pyramids, but in vain. Their form, snows, and glaciers, are insurmountable obstacles: the distance being so great, from the commencement of the icy region, to the highest points, cold alone would be the destruction of any person who should have the hardihood to persevere. On viewing mount Ararat from the northern side of the plain, its two heads are separated by a wide cleft, or rather glen, in the body of the mountain. The rocky side of the

greater head runs almost perpendicularly down to the north-east, while the lesser head rises from the sloping bosom of the cleft, in a perfectly conical shape. Both heads are covered with snow. The form of the greater is similar to the less, only broader and rounder at the top; and shows, to the north-west, a broken and abrupt front; opening, about half-way down, into a stupendous chasm, deep, rocky, and peculiarly black. At that part of the mountain, the hollow of the chasm receives an interruption from the projections of minor mountains, which start from the sides of Ararat, like branches from the root of a tree, and run along in undulating progression, till lost in the distant vapours of the plain.

The dark chasm which I have mentioned as being in the side of the great head of the mountain, is supposed, by some travellers, to have been the exhausted crater of Ararat. Dr. Reniggs even affirms it, by stating, that, in the year 1783, during certain days in the month of January and February, an eruption took place in that mountain; and he suggests the probability of the burning ashes, ejected thence at that time, reaching to the southern side of the Caucasus, (a distance, in a direct line, of two hundred and twenty wersts;) and so depositing the volcanic productions which are found there. The reason he gives for this latter supposition is, that the trapp seen there did not originate in those mountains, and must, consequently, have been sent thither by volcanic explosions elsewhere. And that this elsewhere, which he concludes to be Ararat, may have been that mountain, I do not pretend to dispute; but those events must have taken place many centuries ago, even before history took note of the spot; for, since that period, we have no intimation whatever, of any part of Ararat having been seen in

a burning state. This part of Asia was well known to the ancient historians, from being the seat of certain wars they describe; and it cannot be supposed, that had so conspicuous a mountain been often, or ever (within the knowledge of man), in a state of volcanic eruption, we should not have heard of it, from Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, or others; but on the contrary, all these writers are silent on such a subject with regard to Ararat; while every one who wrote in the vicinities of Etna, or of Vesuvius, had something to say of the thunders and molten fires of those mountains. That there are volcanic remains, to a vast extent, around Ararat, every person who visits its neighbourhood must testify; and, giving credit to Doctor Renigg's assertion, that an explosion of the mountain had happened in his time, I determined to support so interesting a fact, with the evidence of every observation on my part, when I should reach the spot. But on arriving at the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen, where my remarks must chiefly be made, and discoursing with the fathers on the idea of Ararat having been a volcano, I found that a register of the general appearances of the mountain, had been regularly kept by their predecessors and themselves, for upwards of eight hundred years; and that nothing of an eruption, or any thing tending to such an event, was to be found in any one of those notices. When I spoke of an explosion of the mountain having taken place in the year 1783, and which had been made known to Europe, by a traveller declaring himself to have been an eye-witness, they were all in surprise; and, besides the written documents to the contrary, I was assured by several of the holy brethren, who had been resident in the plain for upwards of forty years, that during the whole of that period they had never seen even a smoke from the mountain. There-

fore, how the author in question fell into so very erroneous a mis-statement, I can form no guess.

I had reached the monastery, about three o'clock, P. M., it being about twenty wersts from our Turkish lodging of the night before. Having had letters for the Patriarch, from the Armenian bishop at Tiflis, I was prepared for a polite reception; but that I received was the kindest possible. From the moment of my entering the walls, I ceased to be a stranger, and might have commanded, as in my own home, had orders from myself been necessary for the comfortable adjustment of my party. But every thing was anticipated; and I had only to enjoy my own good quarters, after a fatiguing march of eight days; with the additional zest, afforded by the society of the intelligent, and amiable brotherhood of the Three Churches: Eitch-mai-adzen, or Utchkilissia, which latter appellation means the Three Churches, being the names of this extensive establishment.

The patriarch Epheme is a venerable man, about seventy years of age; but unimpaired health, and a serene countenance, give him a much younger appearance. He has a high reputation for learning and piety; and enhances the value of both, by much of the useful sort of knowledge which can only be gained in the world at large. He has travelled over the chief countries of Asia; and passed some time at Calcutta, during the government of Earl Cornwallis. The situation he fills, is that of head over all the religious institutions of the Armenian church, in whatever parts of the globe they may be found. He is elected by a convocation of monks from the different monasteries: their assembly is called the Synod of Cardinals; and they select the demanded patriarch, from amongst the most venerated bishops of the church. He holds this supreme dignity, till death, the

intrigues of envy, or his own misconduct, displaces him: the two latter modes of translation, I trust, seldom happen. The monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen was founded, A. D. 304., by St. Gregory, as, likewise, were the churches in its vicinity. But the monastery, in particular, was established on the very spot, where, it is said, he had a vision of our Saviour's presence, and held with him a divine discourse. The excited zeal of the saint, in consequence, extended the knowledge of Christianity all over Armenia; and as guardian of its numerous churches, he soon became a sort of episcopal sovereign. Eitch-mai-adzen is now the sole habitable remains of an enormous city, called Valarsapat, which, in old times, surrounded this great metropolitan establishment, for many miles. Vestiges of its magnitude may yet be traced in various spots, at a considerable distance from the convent, and particularly towards the north-east; but round its immediate walls, a few low mud-houses are all the neighbourhood we find; and they are the residences of a little remnant of poor Armenian Christians, who, under the protection of the holy towers, or, more likely, that of their own unpretending appearance, live a life of humble industry and content. Their children are educated in a school established by the church, and attended by one of the order.

The morning after my arrival, His Eminence the Patriarch ordered his secretary to attend me to see the cathedral, which has been accurately described by Chardin. The architecture is of a rude character, when compared with even the roughest styles of Gothic churches that may be seen in England. A three-arched gateway, surmounted by a heavy and pointed tower, leads to the main door. Much labour, in the shape of fretted and carved ornaments, in a bad taste, has been wasted on

this ponderous vestibule, which is evidently of a later date than the cathedral itself. On entering the sacred building, I found it exceedingly dark and gloomy; with ill-drawn, and worse-coloured, legends of saints painted on the walls; black transcripts of devout Armenian sentences; and dingy fresco, in imitation of arabesque decorations: all adding to the gloom, without increasing the solemnity.

The altar still blazed with gold and jewels; although, some twenty years ago, great part of its riches was purloined by one of the brethren; whose previous misconduct, in other respects, had been charitably borne with for some time, under the hope of penitence and amendment; but he completed his train of errors by the crimes of murder and sacrilege. Finding it necessary to remove out of his way more than one individual, before he could get possession of the treasure in the sacristy, he did it by poison; and having accomplished his object, the holy vessels were secretly dispatched to Astrachan, and sold. But the theft and the perpetrator being immediately discovered, he was consigned to a punishment, worthy the wisdom and mercy of his judges: to be immured for life in a solitary cell. If ever repentance be to visit a hardened wretch, it certainly must be in such a situation; where, for years, he has no other companion than his own conscience, and the recollections of a religion he had so obstinately despised. This man is now very old; and was still alive in his confinement when I was at the monastery. The holy relics, being no longer profitable merchandise, remained untouched; and they exist much in the same state as when Chardin described them: he gives the catalogue so minutely, I need not repeat it here; and shall notice two or three only of the most celebrated. The stone on which Saint Gregory sat, or,

perhaps, more properly slept, during his celestial vision; and the spear-head, with which the soldier pierced the side of our Lord. The known antiquity of this weapon renders it an object of some interest, without any reference to its alleged sanctity; for were there no other reasons against the latter pretension, the total improbability, would be sufficient, of the early Christians finding any consolation in collecting from the murderers of their Divine Master, the instruments of his sufferings; and if the disciples did not appropriate these reputed relics at that time, in the natural course of disuse and change they would be cast aside, and no more heard of. Yet old authors having affixed historical, as well as ideal, legends, to these things; and some of them being yet preserved, even through the course of so many centuries, we cannot but feel interest in their curious details, and the associations connected with them. For however false may be the pretensions of certain pieces of wood, to having been the cross of Calvary; or of the crown of thorns, or the spear-head, to their similar assumptions; still, when we look on them, we know them to have been the very supposed-relics, which were the objects of veneration to a train of heroes, and elevated on standards, were often carried before the greatest characters of the crusades, as the insignia of their faith and promised victories. But with regard to the identity of the spear of Pilate's soldier, these ancient writers are not at all agreed; for they give us notice of a weapon, claiming that distinction, being in two, if not in three places, at the same time. In the eleventh century, they tell us, the real spear-head was dug up at Antioch; and, after gaining a memorable battle before that city, for the renowned Raymond of Thoulouse, remained in the possession of that hero. Two hundred years after, we hear of another spear-

head, which had been for ages in the possession of the emperors of Constantinople, and was sold by Baldwin II. as the true weapon to St. Louis, and so dispatched to France. But to our further astonishment, though such a relic was actually sent, and seen at Paris, another author virtually denies the facts, by asserting the presence of the holy spear at Constantinople, after the period of its alleged journey to the west. Besides the testimony of graver writers on these mysterious subjects, Sir John Maundeville may not be a very improper authority to quote in the case of a legend; and in his right-wonderful account of his Asiatic Travels, between the years 1322 and 1371, he speaks of the holy spear being in France in his time, in these words: —

"A partie of the crowne of oure lord, where-with he was crowned, and one of the nayles, and the spere-head, and many other relikes, be in France, in the kinges chapelle. For a king of France boughte theise relikes sometyme of the Jewes, to whom the Emperour Baldwin had leyde hem to wedde, for a grete summe of sylore." But he adds, in another page, — "And the spere schaft hathe the Emperor of Almayne; but the heed is at Parys. And natheless, the Emperor of Constantynople scythe that he hathe the spere-heed; and I have oftentyme seen it, but it is grettere than that at Parys."

With regard to the spear-head that is preserved at Eitchmai-adzen, I could gather little of the particulars of its descent from past times to the present; the persons who have it in charge being delicate of communicating on the subject with strangers; but, as Armenia used to be included by the emperors of Constantinople, within the pale of their empire, it is not unlikely, that on the subversion of that state and capital by the

Turks, the holy deposits of its temples would be dispatched to the safe-keeping of the remoter walls of Eitch-mai-adzen. The spear-head which they show here, is very large, and has a Greek cross cut in its centre; a testimony that may be received of its former lodging at Constantinople, but a direct contradiction to the pretended evidence of its having belonged to a heathen soldier: so much for transmitted relics. But one is also produced, which might have been expected as the growth of the place itself. A fragment of the ark, which had havened in the mountain under whose shadow this venerable monastery has continued for so many centuries in perfect safety. The circumstances which brought the relic into the possession of the fathers is thus related: — Many hundred years ago, a certain pious monk of the order undertook the hitherto unattempted task, of ascending to the top of the mountain, to find the remains of the sacred vessel, and to bring away some part of it, to receive a due shrine in the church at the foot of Ararat. But ere he had gone far over the snows of the last terrible regions of ice and cold, he fell asleep, and an angel appearing to him in a vision, told him, that beyond such a point no mortal, since the descent of Noah, was permitted to pass; but that in reward to the singular piety of the convent, a heavenly messenger had been commanded to bring to this, its devout brother, a plank of the holy ship; which at his awaking he would find at his side. When the monk arose, he found it was as the angel had said, and the remainder of the long story may easily be guessed at.

Notwithstanding the time of the year, I found the weather at this place mild and delightful. Every object bore the appearance of spring, rather than of the approach of winter. The air

was clear, the sky cloudless; so that the whole panorama of mountains was visible; and with a beauty, and a splendour, which spread them in one part with the softest roseate hues, in others flooded them with gold, or hung over their aerial brows a glittering veil of silver. As the sun set, or the sun rose, all this mighty magic of ethereal colours, passed on or off in his train. But in the midst of every change, still Ararat stood alone, unparalleled in majesty, and robed in every light of heaven. Absolute winter does not take place here till January, and then it is not uncommon to have the cold from 16 to 18 degrees of Reaumur. Little snow falls on the plain. The rainy season follows in the months of March and April, and immediately after, comes the summer, rich, balmy, and serene; the heat of which, though intense during some of its months, is never so oppressive as at Erivan.

Here, for the first time, I saw a caravan of camels. They were crossing the plain, and their form and groups, with their bearded drivers, being so peculiar to Asia, completed the picture to my eye. There was nothing in view that could remind me of Europe, excepting the sublime mount itself, which recalled the scenes where I had first read of its existence, and imbibed a veneration for its name. The peasantry of the plain, use buffaloes for all the purposes of agriculture to which we apply the steer or the horse. They are of a larger species than those of Georgia, very patient of toil, and strong in its exercise. Towards sun-set, while I was standing in the gate of the monastery, I had an opportunity of observing the care that is taken of these useful animals, by being spectator to the operation of washing them. These purifications prevent a cutaneous disease, to which the creature when neglected is

very subject; the ablution, therefore, is frequently repeated during the hot weather; and the effects sufficiently prove how essential, even in brutes, cleanliness is to health. The ceremony was performed in a running stream, in the midst of which the cattle were quietly standing, whilst two or three persons were throwing the water on them by means of hollow wooden shovels. When the animals were thoroughly wetted, each man took a good-sized rough stone in his hand, with which he and his companions scrubbed them in succession in every part of their bodies. The buffaloes seemed highly delighted with this part of the operation; for they sniffed and snorted, and stood immoveable, as if made of marble. The skin, which relishes so well this rugged kind of currycomb, is something of the colour and texture of our black hogs, with rather more of the rough hide of the elephant. On the whole, they are a very hideous-looking animal, but perfectly tractable and obedient, excepting in hot weather when fording a river, and then the cool element is so grateful, they frequently stop in the midst, and nothing can move them for hours. Their strange appearance, when caparisoned to be ridden, and that of the wild shaggy figures of the natives who mount them, form a sort of savage troop, of an aspect perhaps more uncouth than terrible. It might recall the wild imagery of Spenser's Faery Queene, when describing one of the "beastlie" groups issuing from some enchanted forest in his allegorical tale.

If I may judge of the general plenty on the plain of Ararat, by the hospitality myself and my party enjoyed within the walls of its monastery, every necessary of life is there in abundance; even luxuries were not spared, during the three days I had the honour of passing with its patriarch; and he told me, the

country around abounds in game, free to every man's gun; while the lake of Erivan (a fine expanse of water, not far distant to the north-east) furnishes them with excellent trout, carp, barbel, and other fish.

After taking leave of my venerable host, and the friendly brethren of Eitch-mai-adzen, I turned my course due east, towards the province of Erivan, one of the most fertile districts of the Persian empire. My road lay over the plain, having a fine view of the windings of the Araxes on the right: Ararat bore due south; the lesser head south-east. For several wersts, the country continued rich and well-cultivated. At one part, we passed a small picturesque convent, an appendage to the patriarchal seat of Eitch-mai-adzen, and was there shown the gardens and vineyards, which supply the whole fraternity with fruits and wine. On setting forth, an ample store of the latter had been lodged on the backs of my cattle by the patriarch's orders; and, in consequence, so long as it lasted during my journey, I could not taste its refreshment without some grateful remembrance of the fair and bounteous plains of Ararat. Turning our backs on all this verdure, and generous fare, we began an ascent, which gradually left all fertility behind us; travelling over an arid high country, covered with fragments of rocks and stones, of the same nature with those which had strewed the road in our descent to the plain. Here I could not but think, how much more would have been in character this rugged scene with my late wild escort, than the rural objects and occupations, amongst which I had seen them grouped at Eitch-mai-adzen. Such men would rather gather grapes at the point of their kanjar, or sickle corn with their swords, than sit down at the most sumptuous orderly board in Christendom.

Like our own keen huntsmen, no food is so sweet to their palate, as that which themselves have run down. Being within the Persian frontier, and having only twenty wersts to travel from the monastery to the capital of Erivan, I had dismissed these heroes at Eitch-mai-adzen; not, however, without a due reward for their service, and a message of thanks to the Russian commandant at Goumri.

Proceeding with no other guard than my own personal servants, for in this immediate district banditti are now never heard of, I journeyed quietly on; with nothing to disturb my attention, from observing the ever-changing effects of light and shade on the heights and depths of Ararat, (which mountain bore due south at our side,) as the day waned, and we drew towards Erivan.

Erivan has been a province of Persia, ever since the conquests of Nadir Shah. It once formed a part of the kingdom of Armenia; and, hence, its native inhabitants are commonly called Armenians. To the north, and to the eastward as far as Karadagh, it bounds the present line of frontier occupied by the Russians; and is governed by a Persian nobleman, having the title of Sardar, which means General. He resides in the capital city, which bears the same name with the province. I arrived there just before sun-set, on the evening of November 21st, (O. S.) It lies in latitude 40° 9′ 30″; and is situated in an angle of a great plain, at the foot of the Mossian hills. Like most of the ancient cities in this part of the world, its origin is obscured by the clouds of time. But in consequence of its proximity to Ararat, it shares the claims of others in the same vicinity, to having been founded by the antediluvian patriarch. Such may have been its high descent; but I am rather inclined

to give it a shorter pedigree, and to suppose from its present name, that it owes its dignity as a city to one of the Armenian kings, called Ervandus, who lived sixty-five years before the Christian era; and who in all probability gave his name to the province, and founded the city. The country possesses every natural beauty which a fine assemblage of mountain, vale, and water can bestow; and the town of Erivan shares all these advantages in an ample degree. The river Zengay, which flows originally from the great lake of the province, appears only a narrow, though rapid stream, near the city; but after being augmented by several minor rivers, it occupies a more considerable channel, and winds away in a south-east direction through a long rocky chasm; whence it issues on the plain, and continues in a serpentine course till it joins the Araxes, nearly opposite to Ararat, and at about twenty miles from the town of Erivan. Another smaller river called the Querk-boolak, which also has its source in the great lake, runs thence to the north-east; but on arriving at the city, it is soon totally lost, by being divided into numberless little canals, to supply the streets with water, to irrigate the surrounding gardens, and to fill any other office by which that element may be either used or wasted.

The city of Erivan bears no exception to the other places of the same quality which I had visited in my way from Wlady Caucasus to this point; ruins mingle every where with the habitable parts of the town. It is of considerable extent; with open spaces, as well as the lost-ground of old mouldering buildings, within its modern circuit. Part of it covers the hill of Chool Mitchy, which was the particular site of the more ancient city; and from its commanding one of the most expanded views of Ararat, from that spot I made the sketch

which will appear in my second volume. The fortress, described by Chardin, spreads over a great deal of ground. It is fortified in the mixed ancient and modern Asiatic manner, and has lately been strengthened by European engineers. But nothing can render it a station of importance; since it is commanded on every side by hills, at scarcely six hundred yards distance. The front, to the north-west, is on the summit of a perpendicular rock seventy feet deep, at the foot of which flows the Zengay; forming by its waters a natural fosse, which in old times must have been a great protection. Nothing can exceed the grandeur of these bulwarks of nature, which so frequently present themselves around fortified places, in these precipitous countries; — their vastness, simplicity, and impregnable appearance, being far beyond the powers of man to imitate. Indeed, to any eye that does not look up to the superior heights which command the citadel of Erivan, the steepness of the huge battlement of rock on which it stands, would seem to set all impressions from without at defiance. The walls themselves, with their numerous towers, embrace a line of defence exceeding two thousand yards. Just beyond their limits on one side, a fine stone bridge crosses the river; and, I cannot but say, it was the only object in the town that did not appear in a state of ruin or decay. Erivan has so often changed its masters, and as often been the scene of devastation, plunder, and massacre, that we cannot be surprised to find its ancient magnificence reduced to poverty; and the population it boasted before these sanguinary invasions, become a scanty, spiritless remnant. Indeed, so is its consequence fallen, we might rather consider it a mere frontier-fortress, than give it the pretensions annexed to the capital of a great province. I am told, the number of its present inhabitants does not exceed 15,000 persons.

Being curious to examine the very singular old tower, which Chardin took so much pains to describe, and to draw, I went to an Armenian monk, (to whose civilities I had been introduced by my kind friends at Eitch-mai-adzen,) to request his good offices in directing me to the spot. He informed me, the foundation alone was all that now remained. Some years ago, the tower had been struck by lightning; and, being greatly damaged, it was pulled down and the materials appropriated to repairs in the town. In the course of our conversation, he gave me much interesting information respecting the many fine monuments of antiquity which cover the plains and valleys of Ararat, to an immense extent around the base of that stupendous mountain. It is here indeed, that we find ourselves touching the earliest ages of the world. The dates of some of our most ancient cities in Europe, appear but of yesterday, when compared with the ages which have passed over the mighty ruins, which still exist in these primeval countries. My intelligent informant told me, that Erivan was supposed to be about seventy wersts, (or forty-three miles,) from the foot of Ararat; and that the remains of many noble cities, some as old as Erivan, and others whose origins were beyond all trace, were scattered all along the banks of the Araxes. Amongst the number, he named the ruins of Ardashir, and Kara Kala; which are, the Artaxata, and Armavra of the Greek and Roman historians. Ardashir, or Artaxata, lies on the north-east side of the river, a short march on the way to Nachivan. While Kara Kala, or Armavra, at about fifty wersts west of Eitch-mai-adzen, spreads itself over the south-western bank; showing the remains of walls and towers of the finest masonry, and the ruins of a noble bridge. A few families, of

the poorest order of people, are now the sole occupants of this once-famous city. The first of these interesting places, I determined on visiting; as it did not lie far from the road I should take on leaving Erivan. The lake of the province, may also be regarded as a less perishable memorial of the celebrated times of antiquity; for we can hardly doubt that it is the Palus Lychnites of Ptolemy. It now bears the name of the province, or is called the lake of Sevan. Its farthest, or north-western extremity, (whence issues the Zengay river,) lies about six wersts north-east of the town. Its circumference is within thirty miles, the banks of the lake being almost entirely surrounded by mountains, which shelve down into the vast rocky basin that contains it. The waters are clear, with a peculiarly blue cast; are extremely heavy, and abound in several varieties of fine fish. At the northern end of the lake, a small romantic island is seen not far from the shore. It is surmounted with a venerable old building, the residence of twenty monks of the Armenian church.

Erivan being the first place of authority, at which I had arrived since I passed the frontiers into Persian jurisdiction; and, as I had dispatched my Goumri escort on finding myself beyond the Turkish lines; it was necessary I should apply to the governor of this province, for the usual facilities in undertaking a journey to Tabreez. With this view, soon after my arrival I sent to the Sardar, to know at what time I might have the honour of waiting upon him. The following morning was named; and I did not fail at the appointed hour. A person was sent to conduct me; and mounting my horse, I followed my guide through a variety of narrow wretched streets, till we arrived at the fortress; where, on passing the gates, I saw no

appearance of a guard, nor of any thing indicating a garrison. The embrasures in the bastions, which flanked a double entrance, were filled up with straw. My conductor then led me through several bye-alleys to the quarter which I understood was the governor's palace. I dismounted at the entrance, and was ushered along two square courts; whence, passing through a very small door-way, I ascended a few ruinous steps, crowded with natives, whose dingy aspects agreed better with the dilapidated state of the mansion, than with the rank of its present resident. One of these men raised a curtain with his hand, under which, it was intimated I must pass; and, having done so, I found myself in the presence of the Sardar.

He was seated on a carpet, close to a window at the upper end of the room. Opposite to him, sat his brother, a Persian Khan. A chair had been prepared for me; and after pronouncing the usual salutation of *Hoche omedi*, or welcome, the Sardar made a sign to me to sit down. Several minutes elapsed before the person made his appearance who was to act as an interpreter; and, meanwhile, I had leisure to observe my host. He seemed to be about seventy; with a sensible, and energetic countenance; and a frame, sufficiently strong and vigorous, to promise active service for many years to come. His eye is vivid and quick, his complexion sallow, and his beard large, though not long, kept perfectly black; which ungrisled hue, and comparative shortness, tend not a little to the preservation of the look of prime manhood. A hoary, and lengthened beard, while it stamps age with a peculiar air of grave dignity, also gives impressions of the decay of manly vigour. But years appear to have failed in abstracting any thing from the mind or body of the Sardar. His character for enterprise, and steady bravery, is

well-known. During the different wars, of late, between Persia and Russia, he has repeatedly manifested his powers as an able general; and, indeed, it is partly owing to his conduct, that the Great King's territories were not bounded, by his northern adversary, too far within the line of the Araxes. While reflecting on the character of the man that was before me, so varied in its features, and powerful in all, I sometimes turned my eyes, from our rather awkward silent gaze at each other, towards the window, and found fresh subjects for meditation in the objects it presented. Beneath, was the dreadful ditch of punishment, the Tarpeian rock of Erivan! beyond, the luxuriant gardens of the Sardar, with their summer-house; and, over them, towered the magnificent heights, which might either over-awe, or protect his government.

When the interpreter arrived, I found the medium language was to be Russian, as the linguist could speak only that and his own. And, through this channel, I soon made known to the Sardar, the object of my visit; and received from him every gratifying assurance in his power. He promised to send me a mehmandar immediately, and to give orders for all facilities in my journey. This business being adjusted, we entered into general conversation; which was borne, on his part, with considerable vivacity and acuteness. Military subjects appeared to have the greatest interest with him; and when I spoke of the fine troops of the Emperor Alexander, his face kindled, and he observed, they were not superior to the newly organised Persian troops at Azerbijan. The kalioun, or pipe for smoking, had been presented at my entrance; after which, tea, in small cups, was served; then a second kalioun; and that paid due honour to, I took my leave.

The Sardar's government differs from most others in the empire, inasmuch as that he pays no revenue to the king: holding his station by a kind of military tenure; being obliged, in times of war or disturbance, to furnish the royal army with a certain number of troops. To him is also entrusted the defence and security of the whole of the frontier within the limits of the province of Erivan, to be maintained solely at his own expense. In short, he might rather be styled the Prince of Erivan, than its mere delegated governor; for he is looked up to by the natives, with the homage of subjects; and in his domestic arrangements he has assumed appendages which belong to royalty alone. His wives travel clothed in scarlet; a superb sort of raiment, not permitted in Persia to any women but those of the family of the King, or of his sons. He has, also, the privilege of covering the baggage carried by his mules, with highly-ornamented cloths of blue or red, which are badges of royal equipage. His collected riches are immense; and he possesses landed property in many provinces, but particularly in that of Ghilan, where he owns several villages. The districts of the province of Erivan, over which he has unlimited sway, are, Gookchah, Sevan, Gurney, Aberan, Kerpay, Zirzadill, Sharagill, Sherroor, Makoo, Saut. Its length embraces a distance of nearly 200 miles; its breadth, 100. In 1814, a general census was taken of the people capable of bearing arms, which amounted to 18,000. The revenue of the province is about 150,000 tomauns, and that does not include the receipts from the district of Makoo. A tomaun, which is the current gold coin of Persia, is of very pure metal, and in value may be equal to our half-guinea.

I had hardly returned to my quarters, when the mehmandar arrived, who was to be the comptroller of my travelling household,

to as far as the limits of the Sardar's power would allow obedience to his commands. This person bore an order from his chief, according to which I was to be furnished with mules, lodgings, provisions, and every other accommodation I might require, in all the towns and villages within his jurisdiction. This was a fair welcome to Persia; and I enquired for the escort, which, *en train*, must have been appointed. But my mehmandar informed me, with a smile, and look of satisfaction, that none were now needed, in almost any part of the Persian dominions; for, since the accession of the present monarch, such a course had been taken with the old banditti, and whatever new bands had been desperate enough to attempt similar depredations, that hardly a robber, or even a thief, dared show his head within reach of the Great King's justice. If this were true, it was, certainly, very agreeable intelligence; and, at least, giving the information credit till it should be contradicted by fact, I was glad to make arrangements for the further prosecution of my journey, without the incumbrance of the half-savage guards, which had been for so many weeks necessary to any probability of my personal safety. Certainly, from Eitch-mai-adzen, (where, being in the Persian dominions, my last troop had no longer authority to remain, and I therefore dismissed it,) all the way to Erivan, I had found the road perfectly free from any shadow of molestation.

At 9 o'clock in the morning of November 23d (O. S.), I set forth again, accompanied by my Persian provider, (that being the real import of the name mehmandar;) having previously intimated to him my wish to take the old city of Ardashir in our way. I was glad to find it lay in the direct road; and, accordingly, on leaving Erivan, we turned our faces to the south-east,

riding over a high and stoney country, with the plain on our right. After three hours' steady course along this upland road, we began to descend the hill; and another hour brought us within sight of the widely-spread ruins of one of the greatest cities of ancient Armenia. Ardashir, like many other cities of that once magnificent country, has boasted the title of being its capital. But, in whatever variety of places the sovereign found it convenient to maintain his state for any time, those cities severally assumed the rank of metropolis. And that, in so comparatively a limited extent of territory, there should be found so many of these rival capitals, the extent and grandeur of any one of which might well claim the exclusive distinction to which they all pretend, cannot but be an object of admiration to the traveller of our times, who generally sees the one great capital of a modern kingdom, sufficiently demonstrating its claims to honour, by its superiority in every respect, over all the other cities of the land.

On reaching the remains of Ardashir, I saw the earth covered to an immense extent, and on every side, with that sort of irregular hillocks, which are formed by time over piles of ruins. These, with long dyke-like ridges, evidently of the same venerable architect and materials, connecting them in parts, told me at once, I was entering the confines of a city, now no more. It is not in language to describe the effect on the mind, in visiting one of these places. The space, over which the eye wanders, all marked with memorials of the past; but where no pillar, nor dome, nor household wall of any kind, however fallen, yet remain to give a feeling of some present existence of the place, even by a progress in decay; all, here, is finished; buried under heaps of earth; the graves, not of the people

alone, but of their houses, temples, palaces; all lying in death-like entombment. At Anni, I found myself surrounded by a superb monument of Armenian greatness; at Ardashir, I stood over its grave. Go where one will, for lessons of time's revolutions, the brevity of human life, the nothingness of man's ambition; they no where can strike upon the heart like a single glance cast on one of these motionless, life-deserted "cities of the silent." — To the eastward of our entrance, about two miles from the hills, the ground rose with a considerable natural elevation; and along its summits, I observed the vast broken surface of what must have been a very strong and lofty citadel. From hence, in a direct line to the west, for full three wersts, stretched the before-mentioned ranges of uneven hillocks, which covered the remains of the towers and ramparts of the town. There were mounds without number within the lines of these larger masses; and on the surfaces of many I found loose pieces of burnt brick, stones, and fragments of blue and green tiles. I searched in vain for any large hewn stones, or more manifest vestiges of building, in any thing like the shape, or materials, of a regular architectural structure. In the course of my ride to the southward, and to the westward, within the apparent circumference of the city, the closeness of my examination was rewarded by some more visible signs of what I sought. By certain hollows and abrupt risings of the ground, I could distinctly trace where many of the dwellings had stood; and large portions of the great walls may be discerned in this quarter, of a prodigious thickness. They are built of sun-dried bricks, which, even after the lapse of so many ages, have not lost any thing of the regularity with which they must originally have been put together.

A small river, called the Gurney, takes its course through the dismal solitude of these ruins. How different from the gorgeous courts, or gay revels, that, in aforetimes, from these now silent banks, may have been reflected from its stream! This river takes its rise from four little silver rivulets which issue from the mountains, to the north-east of the town, and uniting at a short distance beyond the earth-buried walls, takes a rapid course along the northern base of the citadel; and winding round the mounds, which had once been its outworks, turns to the south; and, flowing onward, takes its melancholy way by the trackless heaps of the city; till, issuing at the south-west, it throws itself into the Araxes, a few miles south of the Zengay.

With my glass, I could plainly perceive the chain of hillocks which formed the western front of the city; but could not discern whether there were any more distant fortifications beyond them. I enquired of my mehmandar, how far he supposed the Araxes might be from the spot on which we then stood. He replied, little more than half an hour's ride: hence, I judged it to be about three miles. But Major Monteith afterwards assured me, he had found it to be exactly twice that distance. Indeed, from the observations to be made on one side of the town, it does not seem improbable that its suburbs, in the opposite directions, might have extended to the shores of that river, which would make the situation of Ardashir answer, with a great degree of exactness, to the accounts given of it by many of the ancient writers, under the name of Artaxata.

On quitting the remains of Ardashir, my mehmandar informed me there were several tracts containing other ruins, not far distant from the present solitary scene; and yet more, amongst the adjoining mountains. I could not command leisure at this

time, to turn further from the main road than I had already done; but, should I return from my more eastward travels by this route, I determined to visit the places he mentioned.

Our way lay to the south-east, over a well-cultivated plain, abounding in populous villages; but towards the close of our day's march, we had to cross an irregular group of rocky hills; which rise from the level country, perfectly detached from any of the mountain-chains around them. The road was not very smooth; but such paths were bowling-greens to some my good horse had carried me over; and we jogged cheerily on, till we reached our proposed quarters, the village of Devaloo; a distance of thirty miles from the capital of Erivan.

At nine o'clock, next morning, we started over the same sort of rugged ground, still keeping on to the south-east, for about four hours; when, arriving at a narrow stoney gorge, in the branch of this knot of hills which projects westward, while the rest of the group stretches to the south-east, we passed it; and continued our way across the plain, till the sun began to decline over the ridge behind us. This quarter of the level country was not inferior to that on the other side of the knot of hills, in the culture of the land, and the number of its villages; at one of the most considerable of which, we arrived about five o'clock. We were to lodge there for the night; and my mehmandar presented his orders for our entertainment. The name of the place is Yengashah; and it is six agatches, or forty wersts, from Devaloo. We found its inhabitants busily engaged in separating their corn from its straw. The operation was effected by four or five buffaloes, treading on each spread-out quantity, in a circular movement; and, so entirely were the people absorbed in the employment, our firman was not attended to, for three hours at least. From which rustic indifference to arbitrary

command, little to be expected in any spot under the jurisdiction of an eastern satrap, we did not get within shelter till the persevering husbandmen had no longer light to work.

Rich as these villagers seemed to be in the produce of the earth, and certainly not deficient in personal industry; it was difficult to reconcile, with such advantages, the squalid poverty which every where marked the inside of their houses, and the appearance of the women. I would not describe the details of this appearance. Suffice it to say, when coming forth from their houses, they looked like hideous phantoms, issuing from a charnel-house; the enveloping *chadre* (a wrapper of white, or chequered blue-and-white cotton, which folds them like a winding-sheet) being usually in as complete a state of decomposition, as the dropping, loathsome garments it vainly attempts to hide. The peasant order of females, in this province, being less precise in the concealment of their faces than the women in the towns, I had an opportunity of observing the features of many; but did not see any that could pretend to the smallest degree of prettiness; and those who had passed the immediate blush of youth, were become mere hags. Indeed, the trite metaphor of the fleeting flower, when applied to beauty, may be here transferred to the evanescency of youth; its essentials not bearing the breath of years in these regions; it buds, blooms, and perishes, in little more than a revolution of a single sun. The men seem to be more careful of the state of their apparel than the women; and hold their good looks by a tenure, apparently as long as that of most Europeans. It is difficult to account for so very disproportioned a difference between the constitutions and appearances of the sexes, as that which we so constantly meet in this part of the world; but, with regard to the higher ranks of the

women, we may attribute something of their early bloated and faded aspects, to the excessive use of the bath, and habitual want of exercise; and we may find some reason for an even more premature destruction of youth in the lower classes, from their similar misuse of hot water and vapour, with the addition of noisome clothing, close unwholesome lodgings, and all the wretched consequents on both.

I have, just before, given a hint of the miserable interior of these dwellings; but, when they collect into villages, and are seen from a distance, they possess an air of space and consequence, which promises the sort of comfort that has never yet been found within their walls. For, walls they have, and towers too, of hard-dried clay, inclosing a large square area. But, when the traveller draws near, he usually discovers these imposing bulwarks to be in a ruinous condition. Not like the picturesque old dykes, surrounding some ancient farm-house, in our own land; and which, long conviction of absolute security has abandoned to the mouldering hand of time, the white-thorn, and the ivy. But here, stupid neglect might seem the sole cause of the dilapidation; naked, tumbling-down walls, open to man or beast, just as the appetite for rapine might move the incursion of either. But the fact is, that a sense of present safety, under the formidable arm of the Sardar, which protects them from foreign enemies, and the rigorous measures against thieves, which clears the roads of banditti, are the real motives for leaving these village-walls in ruins. The peasantry of a country must have advanced far in the refinements of life, before they turn the accidental circumstances of their situation into objects of taste and ornament. The only trees which we saw on the plain, were within and around these areas; but they

were, generally, fruit-trees, with, here and there, a few vines crawling over their roots.

Making my escape from these wretched quarters, at an early hour next day, we pursued our march, south-east, still over the plain, which continued in good cultivation for three or four miles; but, at that point, it began to rise in gently undulating hills, covered with so thick a mass of loose stones, no culture could take place there. When we had passed them, the country sunk into flat again, which carried us smoothly along its level, to the ruins of a once extensive village, called Oujary; and, not much farther, to those of a spacious caravansary. Thence, we ascended a little, to the village of Khoig, where we were to halt for the night. It was beyond the Sardar's lines, and stood in a fine situation, overlooking the plain to the north-west, and a romantic valley to the south. Mount Ararat, bearing to the north-west, made a glorious object, as the sun sunk behind it. Khoig, holding no subjection to the governor of Erivan, his firman was of so much less use here than at Devaloo, it did not serve us at all. At the former place, it at last wrung from the busy husbandmen a due, though delayed obedience; but at Khoig, his commands had not a shadow of influence; and the churlish boors persisted to deny us shed, or refreshment, for horse or man. However, after threats from the mehmandar, and promises of payment on my part, for every accommodation that should be provided, at last a den was opened to receive us, as full of foul air, dirt, and horrors of that kind, as imagination can well conceive.

Our road, next day, continued south-east, over the plain; which soon lost its fertile appearance; stoney, and barren tracts, succeeding to the fine arable and pasture land I so lately de-

scribed. As we receded from Ararat, which Mr. Faber, (in one of his admirable works on these subjects,) conjectures to have been the site of the garden of Eden, we might suppose this to have been indeed the land through which our first parents were driven, from "the presence of the Lord, and paradisaical abundance," to a world of desolation, and of fearful creatures. For, all before us was dark and sterile; while a range of hills on our left, where not a sign of verdure appeared, wore a sort of brimstone-and-purple hue, arid and dismal. These hills are reported to be so infested with serpents, which swarm particularly in the hot months of the year, that no traveller ever attempts to cross them. True or false these accounts, the place all around seemed sufficiently congenial with such inhabitants; every where the earth was totally bare; not a single herb of any kind varying its hard and rough surface; and, beyond the serpent-mountains, rose other alpine regions, in still more broken and black forms, shooting their fractured peaks into a sky which was then quickly involving in clouds.

We found our night's lodgings at Nackshivan, the principal place of the small district, or government, which bears the same name. This little capital is in lat. 39° 12′. Formerly, it was a very considerable city; but the spoliations of war have curtailed it in every respect, even since the time of Chardin. To a great extent, around its present diminished circumference, we find the ruins of towers, mosques, houses, &c. which were once within its walls. And, even in our approach to the town, we had to traverse very extensive places, utterly fallen to decay, and without inhabitants, before we arrived at the actual entrance. Abbas the Great, when he annexed the province to his empire, was the chief destroyer of this city; and, since that period, it

has too often been the victim of contending swords. The remains of two magnificent mosques still raise their splendid domes, over other ruins, in one of the deserted quarters of the old capital. One of them, which is called the mosque of Zavia, is curiously overlaid with green, blue, and gilded tiles; a gorgeous style of ornament, which appears the peculiar taste of the East. The commanding situations which the ancient strong-holds of the place still occupy, and the military care that is every where manifested in their construction, fully demonstrate the advantage of the position, and how ably it was defended; and, when we see how Shah Abbas broke down such means of future opposition, we cannot doubt his opinion of their strength and consequence.

Ptolemy mentions the city of Naxuana, which corresponds, in name and situation, so entirely with Nackshivan, that I cannot but consider them the same place. Formerly, the wine made here was celebrated as the best in Armenia; and its vineyards as the most luxuriant and extensive. But nothing more of these abundant vines are now to be seen, beyond the walls of two or three gardens, where a remnant of grapes may yet be found, to mark, perhaps, the spot of some old wine-press.

A Persian Khan governs this small district, and resides in the town; and, from him I readily obtained a proper mehmandar, to supply the place of that officer from Erivan, whose duty had expired, on my passing into the Khan's jurisdiction.

Soon after sun-rise, the following morning, I set forth with my new mehmandar; and, about a mile from the town, crossed the river Nackshivan, which at this season of the year is usually very low, at a ford near to the ruins of the fine bridge that Chardin passed over, when it was entire. It consisted of eleven

arches, and was beautifully constructed of brick and stone. Our road lay across a plain which, for want of water, was only partially cultivated. Whenever the husbandmen of these districts can acquire, by any means, sufficient of this element, so necessary in agriculture, they do not spare putting it to use. Indeed, there cannot be, in any country, a greater contradiction than what lies between the habits of these people, when in the field, and those they wear within doors. In the one case, they are all activity and toil; and in the other, we see nothing but loathsome indolence. The general produce of their labours are, cotton, barley, and the castor-plant. From the latter they extract an oil, part of which they consume themselves, and the rest they make an article of sale.

As we travelled on, I observed a very curious rock, starting up from amidst the hills to the south-east, of six or seven hundred feet in height, and of a perfect sugar-loaf form. From its peculiar shape, and the position it holds amongst the hills, it continues a conspicuous object to a great distance. Two considerable villages lie near it. One is called Kestnooz; and the other, which lies a little beyond the first, is called Jamadeen. Our route was in the direction of this rock, over a dull and arid soil. As we proceeded, the character of the plain gradually disappeared amongst hills; and we soon saw ourselves in a narrow valley, which, by degrees, contracted to a rocky gorge of very steep acclivities; at the bottom we found the bed of a stream, whose waters, in the spring, or after the wet season, swell to an impassable height; but at present they were hardly more than a rill, and ran gurgling on amongst the rocks, while we journeyed by its side contemplating the excessive beauty of the red and green porphyry, which forms the high perpendicular

cliffs of the gorge. We rode between them for nearly a mile, and then came forth on a small plain, which appeared to be completely surrounded by mountains. Through an enormous chasm to the west, as if the opening scene of this great theatre, I had a distinct view of the magnificent windings of the Araxes, with the ruins of Eski Julpha on its banks. That city was not, like that of Nackshivan, merely sacked and dismantled, by the victorious arms of Shah Abbas, but absolutely battered into ruin; and its surviving inhabitants transported to Ispahan, the victor's capital, where they formed a suburb to that city, which still bears the name of Julpha. Extensive remains of fortifications, on various points, close to the town, and on each side of the river, still show what must have been its former consequence. The piers of a bridge may also be traced, which, probably, was the very same that Augustus ordered to be erected, on some part of the Araxes, in this neighbourhood.

This noble river flows in a bending direction, almost in the shape of a sickle, from its rise in the west, to the point of its junction with the Kur, in the east. Its source, is said to be near Hassan Kala, about eight agatches (or eight hours' journey) east from Arzerum; and thence it flows onward, in a waving course, till, in traversing the plains of Ararat, it takes a deep curve southward; which, according to its convex sweep, embracing the provinces of Erivan, Nackshivan, and Kara-Bagh, finishes its point in the north-east, near the castle of Kalagan; where it meets the Kur, or Cyrus; and immerses its own celebrated name, in that of the more famous flood to which it has united its waters.

A very short ride brought us from the mountain-plain, to the verge of the river. We were to cross it, at almost the most

southern stretch of its winding banks, where their sickle form, having made its curve, turns eastward. We found a raft-like boat, of a lozenge shape, that was to convey us to the opposite shore ; and, by that translation, land us in Azerbijan, the government of Abbas Mirza, Prince Royal of Persia, and what was part of ancient Media. The Araxes was not more than fifty yards wide at the place of embarkation ; but the waters were rapid, and occasioned no small difficulty in getting our animals afloat. When we were all on board, the boat was pushed off, and rowed with apparent ease by the ferrymen, till it got into the full flood of the current ; and then we were carried down the stream to a considerable distance. But the ferrymen were on the alert ; and, by great and timely exertions managing to gain a good deal of head-way, soon brought us up to a shoal. One of them instantly leaping into the river made the vessel fast ; and the horses taking the same plunge, were led carefully on shore ; which so lightened the boat, it found sufficient water to disembark the rest of the party on the bank. The ferrymen recrossed in the same manner that we came ; after having dragged the vessel to a certain height up the southern side of the stream ; and beyond the point on the opposite shore at which we had embarked. The river here ran due east.

At Julpha, and for a great extent above those ruins, the Araxes (otherwise called the Aras) flows through a precipitous valley ; and, while in that course, it is largely augmented by the numerous mountain-torrents which fall into its stream. At times of thaw, or in the rainy season, these accessions of water are very formidable ; and the valleys of the Araxes often suffer by their too abundant supply. However, at only a very few miles below the ferry, the river is almost always fordable, from

the width of its bed at that part allowing the waters to become shallow by expansion. In the winter, it is sometimes frozen so hard, as to admit whole caravans to travel over its surface.

Having crossed the river, and a plain on its border, of about three miles in extent, we arrived at the foot of a steep bank, which we ascended; and passing through the ruins of a place called Sooja, travelled on four miles further, where we began another ascent, which we surmounted speedily, being spurred forward by the increasing cold of the evening; and gladly saw several large villages scattered over its summit. We halted at Gurgur, one of the nearest to us; and the night being so severe, were happy to find any shelter, though in a poor little hut.

Next day, our road lay due west, for nearly three miles; after which, it wound about, to our old direction of south-east. In this course, we passed through a narrow ravine, or rather bed of a spring-torrent; which carried us, after an hour's contention with the large and loose stones in our path, out upon an extensive plain, barren, and dreary, and bounded by a vast succession of hills, over whose dark heads towered the more distant mountains, covered with snow. Our halting-place was to be the town of Marande; and about eight miles before we reached it, I observed a splendid caravansary at some distance, on the road. My conductor told me, it was one of the many fine erections of the kind, which had been the work of that great Shah, Abbas. But, on my drawing near, I found it as completely abandoned to decay, as any of the superb cities his sword had wasted. The whole structure was of the best masonry; and fragments of the various-coloured tiles, which had been its ornament, were still visible over the grand gateway.

All the way, from the immediate vicinity of this deserted resort of far-wandered commerce, to the gates of our proposed quarters, the country showed a more pleasing aspect; changing its sterile rocks for rich herbage; and, in place of the bed of a dry torrent, we found ourselves on the gentle slopes of a fertile vale, which runs between the hills, open to the morning and evening sun at each extremity, and sheltered by the pale summits of the northern mountains from the severest blasts of winter. This luxuriant valley, though hardly five miles in width, is upwards of thirty in length, and covered with every mark of an industrious and thriving population. Villages, appearing in the midst of trees, and gardens, producing delicious fruit, and the people themselves, wearing a semblance of personal comfort I had not seen since my quitting Georgia. A small but beautiful river meanders through this happy scenery; adding its enriching facilities on every side, to the steady labours of the peasantry.

The town of Marande, which has its station nearly in the centre of the valley, is a large and prosperous place, and has, lately, been honoured by the erection of a new fortress, which stands on an eminence close to the town. Ptolemy mentions, in his list of towns in Media, one of this name; and, probably, it is the same place. The valley is too favourably endowed by nature, to have ever been otherwise than an inhabited spot. And I have often made a remark, while comparing the geographical works of the ancients on Asia, with the country itself, that a very great number of the towns and cities, of the second order of consequence, have still preserved their original names. Their comparative obscurity, probably, having in that respect been their protection; conquerors only caring to change ap-

pellations, where their spirit of jealous rivalry wishes to obliterate some memory, with the old ; or of personal vanity, to erect some special memorial of themselves, by stamping a new name.

Chardin gives Marande a very ancient origin, and tells us, it was the burying-place of Noah. The natives have lost the tradition. But I found a few Armenians, who were by no means backward in maintaining a similar tale. They say, this was the spot where the Patriarch planted a vineyard ; and, though they do not deny his having been inhumed here, they stoutly affirm, it contains the grave of his wife ; that her name was Marianne, and that the place, in consequence, was called Marande.

Leaving the city, about ten o'clock, next morning, and crossing the valley, towards the mountains on the southern side, we began a gradual ascent of two miles, which brought us to the entrance of a narrow pass. I looked back on the beautiful vale we were just quitting ; and, though I might not discern its legendary vines, or cypress-groves, the green and silvan garb of nature, which every where clothed the scene, might well inspire the traveller, from less fair regions, with a dream of paradise. The defile, which we entered, carried us, in a winding direction, for nearly two hours, towards the south-east ; and, on its termination, brought us out into a valley, very unlike that of Marande ; for, only in distant spots, could we discover any verdure ; and the huts of the labourers were scattered, few in number, on the sides of the hills, near to the little morsels of meagre cultivation, which hard toil had extracted from the stubborn soil. In the course of our route through this vale of scanty vegetation, and at about twelve miles' distance from Marande, we passed the ruins of another caravansary, of very spacious dimensions, but in

as desolate a condition as the one we had seen on the other side of that town. This second dilapidated structure stood at the entrance of a considerable dell, through which flowed the rapid Tourian, whose wide and rugged bed showed how tremendous a stream rushed over it during the months of April and May. On each side of the river's banks, which were broken, rocky, and savage, the hills protruded their huge forms, naked of verdure; and exposing their barren substance, under all the livid hues of ashy paleness, faded yellow, dusky red, and faint green. The shapes they took were so abrupt, jagged, yet regular, and spread so widely onward, that to me they wore the strange appearance, rather of some inland sea, whose tempestuous waves had been arrested into sudden petrifaction, than of undulating masses of earth and rock. Some of them, however, are more profitable than they seem; for, being composed of salt, the natives dig it, and supply the town of Tabreez, and its neighbourhood, with the produce.

The really hideous glen of the Tourian opens into a magnificent valley, stretching on all sides to an immense extent. It has been called by some, the plain of Kaldiran; and is remarkable for the defeat of Shah Ismael, by Sultan Selim; of which it was the field, A. D. 1514. Hej. 920. At its eastern extremity stands Tabreez, the capital of the province. But it was too far for us to reach that day; and, our quarters for the night were at the village of Sofian. That little place, also, has its fame; having been within the lines of a dreadful battle fought A. D. 1585, between the Turks and Persians; and which gave a signal overthrow to the former power, by the arms of Hamzeh Mirza, who commanded the Persians.

The distance from Sofian to Tabreez is twenty-four miles, over a pretty good road, running south-east. About midway we passed a considerable village on our right; and, soon after, crossed a small stream. Four miles farther, brought us to a bridge of handsome dimensions, but in a ruinous condition, built over the Augi; the waters of which river are perfectly salt. Having gone a short way beyond its bank, I saw the towers and minarets of Tabreez, rising amongst the hills at the east end of the valley. An hour's brisk riding brought us to the city's gates, some time before sun-set. I was met, at my approach, by a little band of my own brave countrymen, who are there for the purpose of organizing the new troops of the Prince Royal, according to the European mode. Cold, and weary, and so long absent from any but Asiatic faces, this sight was the most cheering *istakball*, (the name given to a profession of welcome, sometimes used in these countries,) that could have hailed me from any capital of the East; and I gladly shook hands with men, who, born in my own land, were only one moment strangers, and, in the next, the most cordial friends.

Tabreez, or as some call it, Tauris, according to the observations of Major Monteith, is in lat. 38° 4′; and, according to an observation taken by the unfortunate traveller, the late Mr. Browne, it is in long. 46° 25′. At present, it is well known from being the principal residence of the heir-apparent to the Persian crown, Abbas Mirza; and is the capital of Azerbijan, of which province his Royal Highness is the governor. In distant ages, this city once rivalled Ecbatana. And Sir William Jones went so far, as even to sink the identity of that great capital of the Medes, in the reported splendours of Tauris, by asserting that they are the same place. But the compliment is

as foreign from the present appearance of the city, as the site of the two capitals are, in reality, widely distinct from each other. Without, however, entering into any comparison between the ancient consequence of Tabreez, and that of Ecbatana, we have sufficient evidence that the capital of Azerbijan has long been considered a place worthy the residence of sovereign princes. It has often been the victim of their contentions; and wars between Turks, Persians, and Tatars, have all tended to level its boasted grandeur in the dust. But perhaps the most destructive enemies to the latter pretension, where it meant to express the magnificence of the buildings, as well as the population of the place, have been the effects of two fatal earthquakes, which attacked the valley, twice in the course of the last century, and rendered the city a heap of ruins. During these dreadful catastrophes, upwards of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants perished; some swallowed up in the tremendous abyss, along with their houses and substance; and others crushed under the falling roofs and towers of the city. Terrible as these calamities have been, yet, in face of the very monuments of their resistless desolation, under the shattered walls, and over the precipitated heaps of the old city, a new one has arisen; and, though still in infancy, it bids fair, under the present august resident, to become an example of vital prosperity beyond any thing yet existing in the kingdom.

Tabreez has been re-fortified lately, by order of the Prince: and, accordingly, is surrounded with a thick wall, protected by towers and bastions, with the addition of a very deep dry ditch. The whole embraces a circumference of six thousand yards. Beyond this boundary, to the north and east, extend the suburbs, which rise amidst the ruins and broken ground of what

formerly composed part of the old city. Four gates, of no very imposing appearance, conduct into the new city. They are surmounted by turrets, and ornamented with slight minarets, covered with chequer-work of blue and green tiles, which have been collected from the remains of the ancient vaulted mosques. These walls and towers are built of bricks dried in the sun, with an occasional mixture of some that have been burnt; but, for these latter, the modern architect is obliged to the great earthquake, and the fine masonry it overwhelmed. Out of two hundred and fifty mosques, mentioned by Chardin, the ruins of only three are visible. The most considerable is that of Ali Shah, erected nearly six hundred years ago, by Ali Koja; and which still presents lofty arches, and the mouldering vaulted work of splendid domes. The whole of the building, within and without, has been cased with lackered tiles of porcelain, adjusted into intricate and elaborate figures, with an ingenuity and taste that would honour the most accomplished artists of any age. The colours of these decorations are green, dark and light blue, interspersed with Arabic sentences in letters of gold; and a broad band of such legends, formed in white, upon this beautifully varied ground, and interwoven with flowers in green and gold, winds round the entire extent of the building. This fine ruin is within the new fortifications of the city, as are, also, the remains of the ark or citadel. In former times, it is said to have contained the royal palace, with its attendant mosque. Very legible traces of these different structures are yet to be found within its lofty, though riven walls. The height of those walls may be about eighty feet, commanding an extensive view on every side over the lately erected works, and making a conspicuous object to a great distance from the town. The materials

of the whole structure are of brick, and put together with the nicest care. Indeed, that so much of it exists, after the general overthrow by two earthquakes, proves the excellence of its workmanship. Part of it is now used as an arsenal; and, also, to a very dismal purpose. A few years ago a woman was precipitated from the top of the highest point of its wall, into the ditch beneath, as a punishment for the murder of her husband; a crime till then almost unheard of, in the annals of Persian domestic life.

To the south-west of the new walls of the city, but far within the remnants of the old boundaries, stand the magnificent remains of the sepulchre of Sultan Kazan. It is situated about two miles from the town; the whole way being marked with shapeless ruins, even stretching beyond the sepulchre, to a great extent; but the tomb itself, is an object too pre-eminent in desolated grandeur to descry without approaching. Its appearance now, is that of a huge mound, of mingled lime, dust, tiles, and bricks; but surrounded with spacious arches of stone, and other vestiges of departed majesty.

Beyond the eastern gate of the town, the ruins of its past greatness reach for more than three miles over the valley, and on the adjoining heights which skirt the base of the hills. Subjacent to the loftiest of these hills, or rather mountains, which formerly bore the name of Serdigiab; and on one of its most commanding subordinate acclivities, we see the massy towers of an ancient fortress. Whatever consequence the ark or citadel that is in the town may have held at any time as the immediate bulwark round the ordinary palace of the sovereign, this vast and venerable structure on the verge of the old walls (now so distant from the new) must, from its position and its strength,

have been considered the stronghold of the whole valley. Probably, the garrison for its military power; the repository of the sovereign's treasures; and a last resource for his family in extreme cases of invasion. A Persian MS. written towards the close of A. D. 1400, in speaking of the eminences which flank the eastern quarter of Tabreez, says, "they were not only covered with towers and battlements, but enriched with palaces and mosques, and other glorious structures." And this account fully accords with the remains still extant amongst the rocks and mounds of that quarter. The high towers of the fortress, from their position, look down the whole valley; which may easily be understood by a description of its situation. The lofty range of barren and broken mountains which bank the north and southern sides of the vale, or plain of Tabreez, enclose it to the eastward also, in the shape of an amphitheatre; and there they split themselves into a thousand irregular ravines, intersecting each other in every variety of form and direction; till, by gradual slopes, they fall into the plain. On one of the most commanding heights of these ravines stands the grey pile of the fortress. At what period in the Persian history this structure was first raised, lies in as deep obscurity as the time of the foundation of the city itself. That so vast a fortress was the product of great labour and cost, may be seen in the thickness of the walls, the massiness of the towers, and the splendid materials discoverable in many parts of the interior buildings. No sun-dried bricks are to be found in any part of this structure; the whole having been compiled of huge masses of loose stones and mortar thrown together; and then, carefully and closely, faced with large stones. A tower, of more than ordinary magnitude, flanks the south-west front of the castle, which seems in

a less impaired state, than any of its other quarters: it looks towards the town and valley. Near to the foundation of the before-mentioned tower, we find two bands of a dark-blueish stone, let into the wall. The blocks which compose them are of oblong shapes, each from five to six feet in length, and are placed in their present situation in so promiscuous a way, as to leave little doubt, both from their fashion being so different from the rest of the building, and the hasty manner of their insertion, that they formed no part of the original structure. It is related, that Abbas the Great ordered the works in this quarter of the city to be restored to a perfect state of defence. This repair might have been done at that period; which was about the time when he caused the destruction of every strong-hold between Erivan and Tabreez; a precaution against any future attempts, from the then humbled Turks. In traversing the interior of the ruins, we found several spacious and vaulted apartments, much below the present surface of the ground; and near to them the remains of a magnificent mosque. Heaps of tiles, of dust, and of furnace-made bricks, fill up its shattered walls; but these ruins are interspersed in many places, with pieces of the white transparent marble, so renowned by the name of Tabreez marble; and which is dug from the mountains, on the borders of the lake of Ouroomia. We traced the foundations of other considerable buildings; and distinctly marked where the baths had been. Indeed, from the undisturbed architectural dispositions of all these remains, I am led to conclude, that the most violent effects of the earthquakes must have been confined to the plain. The horrors of war, and the hand of time, might sufficiently account for the dilapidations of these more elevated structures; there not being amongst them any of the over-turned appearances which we find

in the valley: and, as an additional argument of the earthquakes having been guiltless of any very formidable attack on the heights, we still see the hermitage almost entire, which Chardin mentions as having been a favourite resort of the natives during his sojourn at Tabreez. He wrote before the earthquakes had occurred; and the place in question occupies the summit of a hill, on the north-east of the town, not far from the old fortress.

Most antiquarians are agreed, that the ancient name of Tabreez was Ganzaca; but we do not find any notice of its being considered the capital of Azerbijan, (the Antropatia of the old historians,) till the fourth century of the Christian era; when, according to a treaty made between the Persian King Narsus, and the Emperor Galerius, that province came into the possession of Tiridates; and the Armenian prince, influenced probably by the commanding strength of the fortress of Ganzaca, not only enlarged the city but adorned its buildings, in proud emulation of the splendours of Ecbatana the metropolis of Media. From that period, the place, under the names of Ganzaca, Tauris, or Tabreez, has been esteemed the capital of the province. Yet, only three hundred years subsequent to this account, we see that its extent, at least, must have suffered considerable diminution; for when Heraclius took possession of Tabreez, and the royal treasures of Kosroes Purviz, the houses of the city only amounted to three thousand. Such were the fluctuations of power and population, in those days of leading into captivity, or of general massacre! War continued changing the face of the province and its towns, for ages afterwards; and it was not until the accession of the Sefi race, that Tabreez regained its old importance. Chardin mentions that in his time the capital of Azerbijan contained half a million of people. The consequence

that had been attached to maintaining its military strength, under Abbas the Great, must of course have increased the inhabitants of the city. But in the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find its population so wonderfully reduced, that at the earthquake of 1727, which demolished the chief part of the town, not more than seventy thousand persons were its victims: an incredible disproportion to the rate of its inhabitants just before. And at the succeeding shock, which happened sixty years afterwards, only forty thousand remained, to be swallowed up in the second gulph. If the vast number reported by Chardin as the population of Tabreez, in the year 1686, were the real fact, how terrible must have been the events of war and its attendant evils, famine and pestilence, which must have swept the province of Azerbijan, and reduced the people of its capital city, in the course of little more than forty years, (from the time of his calculation, to the first earthquake,) from half a million of souls, to hardly more than one-fifth of that multitude.

His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza, is doing all in his power to restore the place to the military importance it formerly attained, under the command of his great predecessor of the same name. The Prince does not aim so much at adorning the city, as to strengthen it. The present fortifications were begun, and finished by him; and a maidan, or square, laid out, and surrounded with barracks, for the troops he is organizing according to European tactics. A palace also is under the masons' hands, for his own residence; but it possesses none of the architectural pomp, which seems to have characterised the royal residences of former times. Indeed, it is not in modern Persia that the traveller must look for the magnificent exterior of eastern palaces, and other public buildings. Taking his course through the towns

and cities, he sees nothing on either side of the narrow streets but long mud-walls of different heights, though chiefly very low, and perforated here and there with small mean-looking doors. The domes of a few mosques, the towers of an old citadel, and not unfrequently the scattered ruins of past grandeur, being all that diversify the general dike-like traverses of the town. Wealth, in this country, is the reverse of ostentatious; therefore it is within those mean doors, and behind those mud-walls, we must go, to distinguish the mansion of the rich from the hovel of the poor. Several courts or quadrangles, larger or smaller according to the consequence of the resident, thus shut in from the public eye or ingress, and round which are disposed the apartments, both of state and domestic convenience, form the usual ground-plan of a Persian habitation. These open courts give a free air to the house, which the closeness of the streets would otherwise utterly deny; and are either paved, with little fountains in the middle, or planted sometimes as a garden; but oftener in the more motley style of parterres, with flowers, clover, poppies, wheat, &c., all in parallel beds. In the more garden sort of enclosure, they put every thing that is green and lowly in its growth; for an overtopping arbour in this country, would be as imprudent an anomaly in their unpretending abodes, as a pillared portico, or a gilded dome. But every where in these interior openings, rose-trees of a beauty and fragrance peculiar to Persia, flourish in abundance; and perfume the air to so wide a distance, that the traveller, riding alone through the dark-hued streets, is often lost in wonder, of whence such sweet breath can proceed. If the court, paved or planted, be small, the tank of the *jet d'eau* is usually placed in the midst of it. If it be large, we then find the water at one end; and several leaden pipes

even with its surface, from which spout the fountains, to the height of sixteen or eighteen inches! The natives are particularly fond of this luxury; and generally contrive to have the tank so close to the open window of the reception saloon, that, instead of being always delighted in warm weather with its refreshing coolness, the host and his visitors are often pestered out of all patience by the stings of innumerable insects engendered by the heat, and near enough to the room to fill its atmosphere with buzzing myriads. This reception saloon, or hall of audience, varies according to the rank of the owner, in the decoration of its walls, or the costliness of the nummuds, a sort of felt or carpet on which the host and his visitors sit. But the circumstances of a court, and a state-room looking into it, are the regular order of every respectable habitation in Persia. The same resemblance reigns through the disposition of all the other apartments, only encreasing in number and size with the station and wealth of the possessor. But all this exists unobserved, behind the monotonous walls of mud, which usually form the side of the quadrangle nearest the street. The palace of the prince, exteriorly, is hardly to be discerned from one of the obscurest of these mansions; and its apartments of ceremony are arranged in the same manner. His Royal Highness being absent when I arrived, I had good time for rest, and ample leisure to examine his capital and the details of his palace, before I had the pleasure of paying my respects to himself.

Having gone over most of the royal residence, I was curious to see how the gentler sex are accommodated, in a country where their home is their prison. At least, so we consider their sequestration. But such is the kindly influence of habit, though many of these women must be full of conscious beauty,

and never have heard the voice of admiration but from one man, yet the mere idea of giving them more liberty, would fill them with misery. In short, they would regard the freedom of the most delicate woman in Europe, as a contempt from their husbands, and an exposure altogether too degrading to be thought on. To satisfy my curiosity I was conducted to the quadrangle of the Prince's palace, which is called the anderoon, or private apartment, where the ladies and female slaves are lodged. Of course it was then vacant. I found this place, as it ought to be, all *couleur de rose*. A very large and magnificent room, occupied nearly the whole length of one of the sides of the square. The windows had a particularly splendid effect; their frames being subdivided into a variety of fanciful forms or patterns, such as stars, circles, points, and a thousand serpentine conceits, flowing gracefully into each other, while the separations were filled with the most brilliant stained glass of every possible colour.

In one corner of the court was a small door, leading to the bath. Having entered by it, we went along an extremely narrow passage; and after making an angle or two, were brought into a spacious saloon of an octagon shape. Its dome was supported by four columns, which terminated at their base in a stone bench or rather platform, which runs round the room, and on which the carpets are spread when the place is to be occupied by the fair bathers. The light comes in from above, through a circular opening, covered by a thin slab of Tabreez marble, perfectly transparent. A door on the left of the saloon, conducted us through another narrow way, to the great bath; close to the entrance of which, is a small dressing-chamber for the use of His Royal Highness, when he chooses to bathe. The apartment denominated the great bath, is one immense marbled

hall, the walls and floor being entirely covered with that cool and shining surface; and from this chamber diverge several recesses, still all marble; while at one end is the cistern, or bath, with about four feet depth of water. The boiler is beneath, whence a pipe conveys the heated water into the receiver above, to the temperature required. Tubes also conduct the steam, or warmed air, into the saloon and its recesses; that a colder atmosphere may not check the perspiration of the person issuing from the bath. The domed apartment I have already mentioned, is appropriated to the females, to complete the ceremonies of the bath; and its decorations may be considered in harmony with the beauty perfected beneath its roof. Mirrors cover the walls in almost every part, and where we do not see them, the intermediate spaces are luxuriantly painted with flowers, intermixed with gold. The finest nummuds carpet the benches, for the fair bathers to repose on; and gathered roses strew the floor in every direction, contrasting their natural beauties with their gilded imitations on the walls. Such profusions of this lovely flower, within and without the dwellings of Persia, cannot but remind the foreign visitor at every step, that he is in the land of Hafiz, — of the nightingale and the rose.

Understanding that the process of the bath is much the same, when applied by either sex, and as it is rather curious, I shall describe it in a general way. The bather having undressed in the outer room, and retaining nothing about him but a piece of loose cloth round his waist, is conducted by the proper attendant into the hall of the bath; a large white sheet is then spread on the floor, on which the bather extends himself. The attendant brings from the cistern, which is warmed from the boiler below, a succession of pails full of water, which he continues to pour over

the bather till he is well drenched and heated. The attendant then takes his employer's head upon his knees, and rubs in with all his might, a sort of wet paste of henna plant, into the mustachios and beard. In a few minutes this pomade dyes them a bright red. Again he has recourse to the little pail, and showers upon his quiescent patient another torrent of warm water. Then, putting on a glove made of soft hair, yet possessing some of the scrubbing-brush qualities, he first takes the limbs, and then the body, rubbing them hard for three quarters of an hour. A third splashing from the pail, prepares the operation of the pumice-stone. This he applies to the soles of the feet. The next process seizes the hair of the face, whence the henna is cleansed away, and replaced by another paste, called *rang*, composed of the leaves of the indigo plant. To this succeeds the shampooing, which is done by pinching, pulling, and rubbing, with so much force and pressure as to produce a violent glow over the whole frame. Some of the natives delight in having every joint in their bodies strained till they crack; and this part of the operation is brought to such perfection, that the very vertebræ of the back are made to ring a peal in rapid succession. This climax of skill, however, has a very strange effect to the spectator; for, in consequence of both bather and attendant being alike unclothed, the violent exertions of the one, and the natural resistance of the joints in the other, give the twain the appearance of a wrestling match. This over, the shampooed body, reduced again to its prostrate state, is rubbed all over with a preparation of soap confined in a bag, till he is one mass of lather. The soap is then washed off with warm water, when a complete ablution succeeds, by his being led to the cistern, and plunged in. He passes five or six minutes, enjoying the

A Persian Lady.

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perfectly pure element; and then emerging, has a large, dry, warm sheet thrown over him, in which he makes his escape back to the dressing-room. During the process of the bath, many of the Persians dye, not only their hair black, but their nails, feet, and hands, a bright red. They often smoke half a dozen kaliouns; and, in short, take the whole business more easily, than an European would his sitting down under the hands of a barber, to shave his beard.

The Persian ladies regard the bath, as the place of their greatest amusement. They make appointments to meet there; and often pass seven or eight hours together in the carpeted saloon, telling stories, relating anecdotes, eating sweetmeats, sharing their kaliouns, and completing their beautiful forms into all the fancied perfections of the East; dyeing their hair and eye-brows, and curiously staining their fair bodies with a variety of fantastic devices, not unfrequently with the figures of trees, birds, and beasts, sun, moon, and stars. This sort of pencil-work spreads over the bosom, and continues down as low as the navel, round which some radiated figure is generally painted. All this is displayed by the style of their dress, every garment of which, even to the light gauze chemise, being open from the neck to that point: a singular taste, and certainly more barbarous than becoming; as may be seen by the sketch I have subjoined of the costume of a Persian lady. In making it, I omitted the increased savage appearance of the tattoo.

On quitting the court of the bath, which is also that of the women, we passed through a quadrangle of less dimensions, round which were disposed the apartments of the eunuchs. A door led from it into a passage, long, dark, and winding, which brought us forth into an extensive, and finely planted garden,

paved in parts, and watered with fountains and canals. On one side appeared the grand saloon of audience of the Prince; the style of which, though in a more elegant degree, may characterize those of all his ministers, khans, &c. The room is very spacious, the front wide, and open entirely to the garden, from the roof to the floor. The latter is elevated only four feet above the outward pavement. Two superb columns of a pentagonical shape, without bases, and tapering gracefully to their summits, are each finished by a capital in the form of an inverted pyramid, ornamented with small niches in regular rows, crowned with a deep plinth nearly square, on which rests the ceiling, The pillars are made of wood, overlaid with gilding, on which flowers, and arabesque devices interspersed with rich fretwork, are painted in the most brilliant colours. Various compartments in the walls were filled with pictures of former shahs, of their exploits in hunting, and of Abbas Mirza's own achievements in the dangerous chase; the objects of such amusement in Persia, being generally ferocious, as well as wild animals. The semblances of beautiful women, had also found a place in the saloon of this gallant prince. A great deal of gold, silver, and the gayest colours, being used by the artists of the country to complete the magnificence of a royal portrait, it forms a very sumptuous hanging of itself; and where pictures were not placed, the walls exhibited every other splendour in the shape of mirrors, with plates of looking-glass, inserted amidst the wreathing of rich gilding, and every variety of flowers, which covered not only the walls, but the ceiling. The reflections from the glass so multiplied the columns, and carried the brilliant compartments of the room into a thousand deepening recesses, that the eye soon became lost in the gorgeous maze. The head of the chamber,

which answered to the space open to the garden, exhibited a superb window, almost stretching from side to side of the room, and filled with variegated panes of coloured glass. The floor was entirely overspread with Herat carpets, those of that manufacture being the richest that can be made; these, and nummuds of a particularly fine and beautiful fabric, were the whole furniture of the saloon. So simple are the necessaries required in this country, by prince or peasant, for seat, bed, table, or altar! In no house do we see more than these, and hardly less in any; the only difference being, that as the wealth of the possessor decreases, the quality of the stuff impoverishes also. And, as I have observed before, these people using the carpet not merely for domestic purposes, but to kneel down on when they say their prayers, it is considered in some measure sacred; and hence arises the custom of a visitor always leaving his slippers at the room door. In mentioning the door, I mean whatever denotes the way of ingress to the apartment; for though in general there is a double door of carved or painted wood, which may be closed at pleasure, yet it is so seldom shut in the day, we usually find a silk curtain filling the vacant space of the entrance; its light drapery being not only a cooler, but a more elegant appendage than a thick, heavy door. An attending servant raises the curtain at the approach of a visitor, and drops it on his having entered. That the custom of such draperies is an ancient one, we find in several authors; an instance from one may suffice. Plutarch, in writing of Alexander the Great's enraged passions, remarks, "upon this, Alexander snatched a spear from one of the guards, and meeting Clytus as he was drawing back the *door curtain*, ran him through the body."

Immediately on my arrival at Tabreez, I had been visited by

the principal officers of the Prince-governor's court, to inform me of his Royal Highness's temporary absence; and a few days afterwards, I had an opportunity of observing the manners of a great state dinner, to which I was invited by Mirza Bezoork the Kyme Makaum, or Prime Minister of the Prince. This really noble Persian, is a man of a spare habit, about fifty years of age, with a languid, but expressive countenance, bespeaking goodness and penetration, and when occasions call it, an energy in every feature, that testifies the activity of a minister, in every way worthy the trust devolved on him by his royal master. True national policy is yet an infant science in this empire. But Mirza Bezoork is one instance of considerable maturity in the knowledge of government, of the power, happiness, and grandeur, which arise from its just administration. The most disinterested liberality with regard to his own personal advantage, and an expansion of view in the fulfilment of his office, proceeding from the distinguished cultivation of his mind, make him a very superior person; and above most of his compeers, valuable for his counsels to a prince, whose own dispositions seem so well inclined to lead, or to follow, every good purpose for his country.

Myself and my countrymen assembled a little before sunset at the house of the Kyme Makaum. We were shown into an extensive saloon carpeted all over, and with the usual accompaniments of nummuds, which are long and narrow pieces of a thicker and softer substance, made of wool or felt. On some of these sat several of the officers of state, who rose on our approach; and after the usual compliments, we took our station on the nummuds appointed for our accommodation, in the true Eastern style of sitting on the heels, or cross-legged, whichever way our stubborn limbs could easiest conform to the attitudes of the more

plastic Asiatics. A couple of huge, heavy, and ill-proportioned candalabra, stood opposite to each other in the middle of the floor, their lights being fed with oil, or any other convenient unctuous matter. In a small chimney, at one end of the room, blazed a lively wood fire; and to increase the heat, a brazen dish full of glowing charcoal, was placed at the answering extremity.

A few minutes elapsed before our host made his appearance. On his entrance we all rose; and on being re-seated, he bowed to each person according to his rank, uttering at the same time a compliment befitting the esteemed importance of the guest. The routine of the entertainment was then as follows: kaliouns were presented; then coffee, served in very small cups, and without cream or sugar. Kaliouns succeeded; then tea, in larger cups; and this over, conversation filled an interval of ten minutes, when the minister gave a signal for dinner to be brought. Several servants immediately entered, bearing a long narrow roll of flowered cotton in their arms, which they laid down, and spread before the whole company, who now occupied both sides of the room. This napery was placed close to our knees. The next service was to set a piece of the thin sort of bread or cake I formerly described, before each guest, to be used as a plate and napkin. Then came a tray, between every two persons, containing the following articles of food: two bowls of sherbet, each provided with a wooden spoon of delicate and elegant workmanship; a couple of dishes of pillau, composed of rice soaked in oil or butter, boiled fowls, raisins, and a little saffron. Two plates, with melons sliced; two others, containing a dozen kabbobs, or morsels of dry, broiled meat; and a dish, presenting a fowl, roasted to a cinder. The whole party along

the extended web, being in like manner supplied, the host gave the sign for falling to ; a command that seemed to be understood literally, for every back became bent, every face was brought close to the point of attack, and every jaw, in an instant, was in motion. This is done by a marvellous dexterity in gathering up the rice, or victuals of any kind, with the right hand, and almost at the same moment, thrusting it into the mouth. The left hand is never used by the Persians but in the humblest offices ; however, during meals at least, the honoured member certainly does the business of two, for no cessation could be observed in the active passage of meat, melon, sherbet, &c. from the board to the mouths of the grave and distinguished assembly. I must say, I never saw a more silent repast in my life, nor one where the sounds of mastication were so audible. In some countries it may be " merry in the hall, when beards wag all ;" but here, I could only think of a similar range of respectable quadrupeds, with their heads not farther from their troughs, than ours were from the trays. For my part, when ever I wished to avail myself of the heaps of good provender on mine, at every attempt to throw a little rice into my mouth, it disappeared up my sleeve ; so that, after several unsuccessful essays, I gave up the enjoyment of this most savoury dish of the feast, and contented myself with a dry kabbob or two.

When the servants cleared away, it was in the order the things had been put down. A silver-plated jug with a long spout, accompanied by a basin of the same metal, was carried round to every guest, by an attendant who poured water from the jug on our right hands, which we held in succession over the basin, while each individual cleansed his beard or mustachios from the remnants of dinner. We had no towel to dry one or

the other, save our own pocket-handkerchiefs; the bread-napkin, or plate, having no capability but to be eaten off, and wipe the ends of the fingers between every new plunge into the opposite dish. A kalioun, with tea, followed; and continued, with a few interruptions, during the conversation which had broken the dead silence on the departure of the rolled-up web and its appendages. A fresh kalioun finished the entertainment, and we then rose to take our leave. With extreme difficulty I obeyed the general movement; but when I did get upon my legs, they were too cramped to stand, and had it not been for the support of one of my countrymen, more accustomed to such curveture of limbs, I must have fallen. A few minutes, however, restored me to locomotive motion; and having made my bow, we passed through the curtained entrance, to resume the slippers we had left at the door.

In Persia, a native never enters a room in boots or slippers; and when a foreigner attempts any transgression of this usage, it is looked upon as the height of ill-breeding, if not quite a premeditated insult. In some cases where it has been intimated, reasons of policy have compelled an apparent toleration of the objection, by providing the expedient of receiving such visitors in the open air; but the necessity is always remembered with repugnance to the exactors. In visiting countries of different customs from our own, it is one thing to compromise a man's personal respectability, or that of his nation, by complying with demanded ceremonies out of the way of the usual line; and another, to conform to the established fashions of the people with whom we are, in their public or domestic regulations. Indeed such compliance seems equally essential to common philanthropy and politeness on our parts, as the hospitality so ungraciously

received, may be to the general principles of good-will between man and man. To keep the head covered, is another point of Persian etiquette; and as we Englishmen were obliged, therefore, to dine in our cocked-hats and feathers, where they were no small impediments in our approach to the trays, we found this extremity of politeness much the most troublesome of the two.

The custom of leaving the outward covering of the feet at the door, is of very ancient practice all over the East, and especially so, when the place to be trod on, is connected with any religious ideas. We find it recorded, so far back as in the book of Exodus, at the account of Moses turning aside to observe the burning bush, where it is written, "The Lord called to him, and said, Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." And again, we read in the book of Joshua, that when that great captain of Israel was encamped in the plain of Gilgal, the same Divine Being appeared to him, and said to him also, "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so." These two notices of the custom, are selected on account of their antiquity, from many others which it is needless to add. Mohammed adopted the same reverence to consecrated places, and things, into the ceremonies of his faith; and, as I have observed before, the carpets of Persia being not only of a more costly texture than any which are laid on the floors in Europe, but rendered sacred by their use in prayer, to tread on them with any thing beyond a light sock, would be regarded by the professors as an outrage little short of sacrilege. The sock, which is worn within-side of the boot or slipper for this purpose, is of a delicate manufacture and prettily wrought with various colours.

The ordinances of the Koran oblige its followers to pray at least five times a day; an injunction which the eminently pious mussulman obeys with the most scrupulous exactness. The first matin-service compels the devotee to rise before dawn. He begins by performing, with his right hand, all the holy ablutions. He then unrolls his carpet, and disposes it so, that one end of it may face, as nearly as he can guess, the direction of Mecca. To that point he is to address his petitions. He kneels down on the carpet, placing his hands in front of his breast, with the palms closed together. In this attitude his orisons commence, and generally in a mumbling tone, while at intervals he touches the ground, or rather carpet, with his forehead. His fast is broken by a cup of bitter coffee, a few sugar-plumbs, sweetmeats, and a kalioun. About mid-day the second prayer is said; after which the good mussulman may safely satisfy his appetite with a little more substantial fare. Towards afternoon, a third prostration, and mumbling, takes place; and as soon as the sun sets, the fourth commences. An hour after that is finished, dinner is served; the meal of greatest luxury, and of longest duration, in this country. The fifth, and last holy office of the day, is left to the discretion of the person, so that it is done before he retires to rest for the night.

When we calculate the number of hours which a man has at his command, by this early rising, and far from haste to bed, we cannot but admire the advantage such a habit bestows on the man of business, or of study. Persons employed in public service here, receive their visitors, or applicants, from sun-rise till ten or eleven in the forenoon; at which hours they adjourn to the palace to transact affairs of state, and be ready for any conference with the Prince. The absence of His Royal Highness

being only for a short time, he had left part of his family, and the majority of his official establishment, at Tabreez. Amongst the former, was his brother Malek Khassum Mirza, a fine boy of about thirteen years of age, with the deportment of a man. He was treated at all times with the same deference that was paid to the presence of the Prince-governor himself; and as soon as he knew I was arrived at Tabreez, he did me the honour to express his wish to receive me. I found him a very handsome youth; and the ease and dignity of his manners, with the affability and pertinence of his remarks, could not fail to give me agreeable impressions of the royal brother, with whom he is so great a favourite.

The progress of general knowledge has certainly made a most extraordinary advance all over the globe, within this last half-century; and, accordingly, a great and advantageous change has taken place of late years, in the style of educating princes of the blood-royal in Persia. Formerly, they were shut up in the Harem, under the sole direction of women and eunuchs, till the death of the reigning monarch called one to a throne, and probably, the rest to rebellion or the bow-string. The women, from their situations ignorant and selfish, taught these children, by precedent and precept, envy, deceit, circumvention, and all the mean and mischievous passions which arise from jealousy of power, working on weak and totally uninformed minds. Flattery, falsehood, and depraved example, with hasty resentments and thirst for revenge, make quick dispatch with the tender buds of virtue in unsuspicious youth; and with these weapons, the eunuchs added their weight to the pile of early ruin, stifling whatever seeds of truth, or other manly disposition, might have been sown by nature in the young heart. Then came the last tutor,

to complete the whole — some self-important moollah, with his corrupted principles of religion and morality sealing up the already narrowed door of knowledge. Sanctions to tyranny, and privileges to vice, were inculcated as lessons from Heaven. And thus taught on every side, that a prince has no law but his own will, the unhappy victim of these vain, selfish, and ignorant deceits, being once called out into the world, was left to all the inevitable consequences of an arm that is against every man, and every man's arm against him.

The system, at present, is so totally different from the preceding, that the young princes are permitted from the earliest ages, to see and hear all that passes without the palace, as well as within; and by these means they acquire a familiar and useful knowledge of their country and the people, and an easy application of the various etiquettes of court, whether with relation to the great king their father, or in connection with his ministers of state. Meanwhile they have every requisite instructor: some, to explain the doctrines of their faith; others, to inculcate the elements of the few sciences, which are still to be found in this part of the east; and, I regret to say, that astrology has yet too eminent a rank amongst them. Their lighter studies, and recreations, consist of writing, reading, and reciting passages from their favourite poets; to excel in the management of the horse, and in every other acquirement connected with war and the chase. When all this is achieved, and they are deemed of mature age, the government of different provinces are allotted to each, to exercise their talents, and strengthen the throne of their father. Thus far have the plans of royal education regenerated in a country, once celebrated as the very mould whence other countries would have wished to cast the fashion of their youth.

But so many ages, and changes of people, have passed over this very land, since the times of the elder Cyrus, that no trace can now be found of the general system of laws and consequent education, which Xenophon eulogizes and describes with so much accuracy and eloquence in his Cyropedia. Yet, when we reflect how little of it remained, even at the period when he traversed the same country in the ever-memorable retreat of the Ten Thousand; an event which took place hardly more than a century after all these institutions were in their full vigour, can we be surprised, that none exist after a lapse of two thousand years! What foundations, the remainder of this century may lay down for the restoration of some part of the old Persian name, are scarcely to be guessed at; but the character of the present heir apparent, Abbas Mirza, has so much of the ancient principles of truth, simplicity, and general interest for his country, in its composition, that we may be allowed some hope for the once-revered empire of Cyrus. I had not these accounts from Persians alone, certain partialities might have influenced them to colour the picture; but I received the same testimony from my own countrymen; residing at his court; and before I came to the country, the reputation of his truly princely qualities had reached the great capital of the north.

His Royal Highness was at Koiy, one of the finest cities of his province, at the time of my arrival at Tabreez; and I was not a little impatient for the expiration of the brief season, he usually passes there in hawking and hunting. Game of all sorts abounds in the neighbourhood; but the prince has other inducements to prolong his stay in a city which shares with Tabreez his views of general improvement. It is more pleasantly situated than that capital; possesses more natural beau-

ties, and certainly a safer foundation; but it does not lie so central for all his objects as the old capital of Azerbijan, and therefore that must be the residence of its governor.

Mr. M'Donald has put Koiy down in his map as the ancient Artaxata; but by whatever name this fine town of Azerbijan might have been designated in former times, assuredly it has not the remotest claim to that of the celebrated Armenian city. In short, its position does not answer in any one way, to the topography given of Artaxata by the old authors.

The lake of Ouroomia lies to the south-east of Koiy, at no great distance from the city, and is generally considered the Spauto and Marcianus of Strabo and Ptolemy. Eben Haukel, a Persian writer, states its length to be about five days' journey and, he adds, that its waters are so exceedingly salt no fish can exist in them. By an experiment of the late Mr. Brown's, they were found to contain one-third more salt than the sea. The lakes Sevan, Ouroomia, and Van, are the only pieces of water of that form, which we find throughout the vast country lying between the Euxine, Caspian, and Ormuz seas; and their situations seem pretty nearly at equal distances from each other. The Van lies west of the other two, and of its shores little can be said at present; the ferocity of the Curdish inhabitants rendering it impossible for any European traveller to penetrate their borders. With regard to the Sevan, the beauty of its circumjacent scenery has been already described; and the climate of Azerbijan, which circles the Ouroomia, is said to be the most salubrious in Persia. My visit to this province being in the winter, I can only speak of its generally very clear atmosphere; but with an intensity of cold in the month of December, equal to what is termed a moderate season at St. Petersburgh.

One morning, about the middle of the month, snow began to fall, accompanied by a tremendous wind from the north-east; and before evening, the whole country was covered for several feet in depth. When the sky had quite unburthened itself, the weather became settled, and the sun continued to shine with a splendour only to be seen in countries of such transparent atmosphere, where the brilliancy of the frosty medium gives to the air the dazzling effect of diamonds. This peculiar radiance of the day, with the cold at eight degrees of Reaumur, and the brightness of the night, at twelve, fourteen, and sixteen of the same, was certainly winter drest in its fairest garb. But owing to the long prevalence of frost, the snow became like dust; and when the wind blew, it was whirled in clouds, like the sand of the desert, filling up every path, high road, or hollow, in its way. This inconvenience is redoubled, when the snow already down meets accumulation from above. Hence it is considered great rashness, to attempt going any distance from the city, when either the heavens are loaded, or the air turbulent; for to be caught in any of these snow-storms, is almost certain destruction. Many instances have occurred, where not only solitary individuals, but whole companies and caravans have been overwhelmed, and perished. The track being soon covered, and the snow coming on in every direction from drift, whirlwind, and the falling clouds, every land-mark is obscured, and the lost travellers, exhausted, benumbed, and abandoned to despair, are speedily sunk under the tremendous mass.

One of the British officers, now residing at Tabreez, during a journey he made to Teheran two winters ago, narrowly escaped a similar fate. Every vestige of road was obliterated; and he, with his attendants, had wandered, and ploughed their way, for

several hours, without a guide from earth or sky; when evening drawing on, they gave themselves up for lost. At this juncture, they were providentially descried by some peasants from the roofs of their almost buried cabins. With instant dispatch, but great labour, these good people cleared a path to the half-perished travellers; and by such prompt humanity, rescued them from the most desolate of deaths.

I was much surprised to find that notwithstanding the severity of this weather, few of the Persians of either sex put on additional clothing; and many of them, young and old, go with the breast entirely bare. This strange neglect of the common means of protection, in some measure accounts for the frequent recurrence of the most melancholy catastrophes, in consequence of any accidental exposure to the immediate influence of the outward atmosphere, under a degree of frost that would hardly be felt by a Cossack in his Bourka, or a Russian under his Shaab.

Scarcely a day passes, without one or two persons being found frozen to death in the neighbourhood of the town. Several instances, which happened during my stay at Tabreez, were particularly distressing; and amongst them, was the perishing of three women and two men, with five asses belonging to them, which had taken shelter from a sudden drift of snow and wind, under an arch of the Augi bridge. They were discovered after the storm had subsided, perfectly dead, and as stiff as the blocks of ice which lay on each side of them. Another calamity of the kind, I shall mention, as having a circumstance of greatly augmented pain connected with it. The gates of all towns and cities in Persia are shut a little after sun-set, and re-opened at sun-rise. Strict adherence to this injunction, and carelessness, or unavoidable delays, on the part of travellers, often subject them

to the inconvenience of reaching the gates when they are closed. Hence they must stay without, till morning. And during the inclement season, at opening the gates, very often a terrible scene of death unfolds itself close to the threshold; old and young, animals and children, lying one lifeless heap. But the particular instance I would now recount, relates to a solitary traveller, who had performed a long journey on his own horse; a member of their families, to which these people are eminently attached. When he arrived at Tabreez, the ingress was already barred. The night was one of the severest which had been known; and the poor man, to save himself from the fatal effects he too surely anticipated, pierced his faithful horse with his dagger, and ripping up its body, thrust himself into it; in the vain hope of the warmth, which might remain, preserving his own vital heat till the morning. But in the morning, when the gates were opened, he was found frozen to death in this horrible shroud.

For myself, I had long been sufficiently aware of the dangers of such exposures, not to risk the casualties of Tabreez, beyond the ordinary occasions; but some of their threats cannot be escaped, by any refuge. In short, one evening, when the cold was at sixteen of Reaumur, and while I was sitting after dinner, for the first time in my life I experienced the shock of an earthquake. Remembering that I was at Tabreez, and that the city had been twice swallowed up on a similar warning, I did not feel the convulsion in the ground, nor my own sensations, very agreeable. But after rocking the house with a violent motion for a few moments, the shock ceased, by its cause rolling away with a hollow noise, like distant thunder.

Towards the end of February, Abbas Mirza arrived at his

capital; and was received with as great a degree of state, that is, as splendid an Istakball, as the rigour of the season would allow. This ceremony usually consists, of a cavalcade of officers of dignity; with numbers of the people, on foot and on horse-back, performing all kinds of equestrian and military evolutions; while the rest of the multitude dance and shout, and exhibit, by every means, their devotion and joy. This mode of greeting, is generally reserved for princes, or persons representing that dignity. And, as the procession goes forth to meet the expected visitant, and returns before him, with all these demonstrations of homage, it is not difficult to recollect similar scenes in sacred, as well as profane history; and we cannot but feel interested in so ancient and authorised a custom.

Abbas Mirza did me the honour to send to me, soon after his arrival. The British Charge d'Affaires was then at Teheran; but Major Lindsay, one of my countrymen in the service of His Royal Highness, was so kind as to perform the formalities of interpreter and presentation. About noon, we rode to the palace, where we were joined by Mahommed Houssan Khan, the master of ceremonies. We followed him into a spacious square court, along which were arranged, standing in lines, the nobles and persons in office. The Prince was seated at a large open window at the end of the Court, opposite to those ranks of attendant ministers. He seems to be about thirty-three years of age. His countenance is rather pale, with dark and expressive eyes; his nose aquiline; his beard full, and like his finely-formed eye-brows, of a jet-black. His dress was perfectly simple, but we saw all the prince in his air. We bowed, advanced into the centre of the court, and bowed again. We then disengaged our feet from our slippers, (having red kerseymere socks, a kind of boot without

sole, under them,) and drew near the place in which he sat. We made a third bow. By a short and narrow passage, we entered the apartment, and saluted him a fourth time. He instantly made a sign for us to be seated. He then uttered a few words of the most gracious welcome; and his smile puts one at ease in a moment. He desired Major Lindsay to express fully to me, that he received me as an old friend; that he had long known me, by report; and that Abul Hassan Khan had repeated to him, the hospitalities I had shown to him. His Royal Highness then invited me to accompany him to Teheran; whither the King had ordered him to repair, to assist at the celebration of the feast of the Nowroose. He did me the honour to say, that would I join his party, he hoped to make my travelling to the Persian capital, more comfortable than it could otherwise be, at that inclement season. I could not but be happy to embrace so gracious a proposal; as it would enable me to become really well acquainted with a Prince, whose character may hereafter have no inconsiderable influence on the balance of European power beyond the Indus. After some discourse on the position of public affairs in Europe, we took our leave; and withdrew, repeating the same ceremonies with which we entered.

Amongst other preparations for my journey to Teheran, I furnished myself with a sufficient quantity of the different monies of the country. The Persian coin is of gold, silver, and copper; each metal being struck in almost its pure state. The gold money are called *tomauns;* one of which, in intrinsic value, may now be equal to ten shillings English: they were worth more, formerly; but, during the last fifty years, their size and weight have gradually decreased. There are two sorts of silver

money: the highest in value is the *real*, eight of which amount to a tomaun. The smaller silver coin is called the *white-shy;* eight of these being equal to a real. The copper money have the name of *black-shy;* and twenty-four of them amount to one real. Tomauns are coined in almost every great province; but they differ much in actual value, though all pass current for the same number of reals. Counterfeit money is also found in this country; but the fabricators are sure of death, on the event of detection. Clippers, or otherwise defacers of the national coin, are punished by mutilation. Gold ducats are the only foreign money passable; and they suffer more than the native tomaun, because there is less risk incurred, under the hands of the fraudulent. We see them in daily circulation, altered from their original form into all the shapes of square, octagon, pentangular, and no remark made on the depredation of their substance. Not being of Persian origin, liberties with their surface are permitted to pass with a neglect almost amounting to impunity. The current value of a ducat is equal to six reals. When a sum of any considerable amount is to be paid in this coin, it is usually disbursed by weight; and that more of these clipped ducats, may not go to the scale, than would be demanded of their counted number in paying the price, the coin is duly burthened with a certain portion of melted wax, to make the balance of justice stand even.

That we might reach the capital several days before the commencement of the nowroose, which begins on the twenty-first of March, the Prince commanded all to be in readiness for an almost immediate departure from Tabreez. He provided me with a young Persian, called Sedak, of uncommon natural endowments, and still rarer advantages of education, to be with

me constantly, as my interpreter. A mehmandar was also sent to attend me, to see that my own quarters, and those of my people and horses, were duly provided. His Royal Highness had given directions, that my board should daily be furnished from his own; a distinction which is held in high honour by the Persians.

All being prepared, and the morning of the third of March having been fixed for that of our departure, soon after sun-rise on that day, I set forth, accompanied by some of my countrymen, to join the Prince at the eastern gate of the city. At the moment of our arrival, the bugles had sounded, and his Royal Highness, with his numerous suite, were just on the move. The sight was novel to me, and not less interesting; for almost every new object I now heard or saw, seemed a memorial, from age to age, of some usage we read of in our oldest histories of the East.

A party of horsemen, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, marched first as an advanced guard. Then followed the Prince. And immediately behind him, rode his eldest son Mahomed Mirza, a boy about twelve years of age, with his cousin, the son of Ali Shah, Governor of Teheran; and Malek Khassum Mirza, the youngest son of the King. We Europeans followed next; consequently I was seldom far from the person of the Prince. Then succeeded the khans, and ministers of state, with the whole mass of necessary officers besides, mingled indiscriminately amongst five or six hundred *goolams*, a kind of horsemen in the service of Persian royalty, used both on civil and military duties. These people are always better dressed, armed and mounted, than the ordinary cavalry of the country; and, from the numerous advantages, of abundant perquisites,

and being constantly under the royal eye, where they are ready for any advancing appointment, the squadron is generally filled by the relations or friends of persons in the highest power throughout the country. Their arms usually consist of a long persian gun, a sword, dagger, and pair of pistols, the latter stuck in their girdle or holsters. The trappings of their horses are very good, but without uniformity. Those who have gained any particular mark of distinction from the royal personage they attend, cover their bridles with silver ornaments, chains, and tassels; and their horses are otherwise gaily decorated. There is no order of march amongst this numerous band, who mingle themselves indiscriminately with the mixed multitude of Persian gentlemen, civil officers, servants, &c., which compose the centre moving mass.

Amongst the latter class of people, are the Peshkidmats, domestics who take charge of the smoking apparatus: and an excellent figure, one of these pieces of equipage makes in the motley cavalcade; the man, his horse, and all the appendages of his office. A couple of cylindrical leather cases, are fastened on each side of his saddle, at the places usually destined for the holsters; one contains the kalioun, with its pipes, &c., and the other the tobacco. On the left flank of the beast, and suspended by a chain, long enough to clear his belly, hangs an iron-pot, filled with live charcoal; and, as an opposite pendant, we see a large leathern bottle, holding water: — fire and water being essentials to the enjoyment of the kalioun. In addition to all this, the poor animal is loaded with a couple, or more, of huge bags, stuffed with all sorts of things that it might be possible for the master to require during his long journey. Thus burthened, man and horse are obliged to keep pace with the rest of the

troop; and be ready, at an instant's call from the master, to serve the kalioun on the march. Some use the common wooden tube; but others, more luxurious, have one that is pliable, winding, like a snake of several feet in length. It is attached to the conducting tube, which being held by the servant, enables him to attend in his duty, and yet keep a respectful distance in his master's rear.

Soon after I had gained the head of the column, the Prince invited me to join him; and thus, for a considerable portion of the day's journey, I had the free enjoyment of his conversation, on a variety of subjects. In all its changes, I found new occasions to admire the capacities of his mind, and the noble purposes to which he unfolded them. My interpreter, (who, henceforward, was to be as my shadow,) assisted me in fully comprehending the animated discourse of his royal master. He discussed all the existing empires; dwelling particularly on their naval and military power, their discipline, their commerce, and their comparative wealth, as a means of political action. Indeed, it was not a little astonishing, to discover in a prince, seated far from the shores of northern Europe, (the interests of which, to common minds, might not appear to have any reference to his;) to see in him so correct a knowledge of all the leading political, or military acts, which have been transacted in Europe during these last ten years. His remarks were not less judicious, on the consequences of Bonaparte's second abdication, after the battle of Waterloo. The history of almost every age shows us, more and more, how the character of one man, who is supreme in a country, may impel, and even seem to inspire, the faculties of the nation he governs. Such leading personages have not been few in our own times; and during the frequent opportunities

which occurred, of these sort of conversations being repeated with his Royal Highness of Persia, I could not but think, that I saw before me the man whose powerful and liberal mind was to create a new epoch in the national consequence of his future kingdom.

The whole country was still deeply covered with snow; but from the manifest influence of the sun on it's surface, more genial weather might soon be expected. Our first halting-place was Bosmeech, which we reached early in the afternoon; a distance from Tabreez of three *farsangs;* a farsang being an hour's travel, or four miles. It is a neat village, watered by a stream of the same name, which flows into the Augi. In these places, the Prince is seldom better lodged than any khan of his train; and to such temporary inconvenience, he shows the unaffected indifference of a really manly mind. But before our entrance into Bosmeech, I witnessed a very singular kind of ceremony; a custom of this country, performed in honour of the sovereign's approach to any town, or considerable village in his dominions. A concourse of people appeared, coming towards us and leading forward a cow, which they brought near to the Prince, and instantly immolated at the feet of his horse. A signal from Abbas Mirza, to prevent so disagreeable a compliment, was not observed in the hurry of the scene; and the poor animal's blood flowed all over the path we must pass. Besides this, another act of respect is performed, by breaking a vessel containing sugar or honey, in the way of the Prince; after that, the cavalcade moves on.

I enquired of several of the best informed Persians, the meaning of the former ceremony. The latter, we can easily resolve into a figure of proffered gift of all the breaker of the vessel of plenty possesses; a tribute from the subject to the sovereign;

and when any thing similar is done to persons of less rank, such as showering sweetmeats upon them, it must then be considered a pledge of hospitality. With regard to the slaughter of the animal, the persons I addressed could give no account, only that it was an old custom, and, probably from the days of paganism. Two explanations, seem to present themselves; either that the immolation was originally intended as a grateful tribute to the gods, for the honour of the royal visit; or, that the act was one of idolatry to the Prince himself. If we are to take it in the latter sense, we may, perhaps, date the practice from the time of the Sassanian kings; who, styling themselves "a race of the gods," might accept with favour, such homage, as due to their divinity. The victims devoted vary in value, from a camel to a lamb, according to the consequence of the town or village that makes the oblation.

Signals from a bugle regulated the movements of the cavalcade, each time that we left our place of rest. It sounded thrice. The first signal was for the baggage to set forward; the last signal, which sounded generally about two hours after the departure of the first division, gave notice that the Prince's foot was in the stirrup. According to this rotation of movement, we set forward at an early hour from Bosmeech, and proceeded in the order of the preceding day.

Our course lay about S. 50 E. through the snow, and over a very narrow road, beaten into a path by the caravans which had travelled that way during the winter. Owing to the hilly line of the country, and the depth of the snow in the valley where the road was, the whole multitude of these caravans were obliged to range themselves in file, and so follow man after man, between the walls of snow, which had become too condensed to allow of

any deviation on one side or the other. The unsocial dimensions of the road, as well as the severity of the weather, so pressed our faculties, as apparently to "bind up every sense in alabaster;" and so evident was the effect, that even the usual clatter, and various noises, belonging to the goolam division in our rear, were hushed into some respect for the benumbing demon of the scene. In about an hour and a half's slow marching in this impeded way, we reached a very close defile, between rocks of a peculiarly wild and romantic character, shooting up into castellated towers and spires, projecting into huge buttresses, or receding into the sides of the chasm, deep and caverned. Amongst these picturesque battlements of nature, at the mouth of the ravine, we found the ruins of a caravansary. The situation of this pass might make it the gate of the valley; it being so happily formed, that a very small force could maintain it against the largest body. It is known by the name of the Pass of Sibley; and the line of the mountain it intersects, runs in a direction N. E. and S. W. We crossed the range, over all its wide compass of snow, with nothing in view but the heads of hills, rising one over the other, covered with the same hoary veil. The air cut like a sword, till we descended to lower ground, where we found a large circular dell, entirely surrounded with a high natural embankment, formed by the hillocks diverging from the mountain's sides. It is called Kooroogate, or the Dry Pond, and was the lake mentioned in this place by Tavernier. Not far from it, in a valley amidst the mountains, and bearing from hence N. E., may be seen a very singular cave. It runs to an unknown depth into the body of the rock; is very high from the floor to the top of its vaulted roof; and the rough ledges, along the whole interior, afford shelter for the nests of innumerable wild pigeons, and

other birds. The atmosphere is perfectly safe at the entrance of the cavern, and indeed to a considerable distance inward. But should curiosity prompt a traveller to pass a particular stone, which is set up as a warning, the change in the air becomes so instantaneous, as to destroy the trespasser with the first breath he draws. The experiment has been frequently tried by European travellers, on sheep, dogs, and other animals, and the threatened effect has never failed. That the deadly exhalation does not rise high in the cavern, is proved by the birds, which are its inhabitants, flying backwards and forwards over the interdicted spot, without suffering the consequences that might have been anticipated.

Having journeyed several hours through these narrow mountain-labyrinths, we gradually advanced into an open country; but limited, though at a great distance, with the usual gigantic boundaries. It is called the Plain of Oujan, and being one of the certain halting-places of the Prince Royal, between his own capital and that of the empire, about six years ago he caused a commodious palace to be built here, for the convenience of himself and his family. The free air of the plain, and the beauty of its circumjacent scenery, induced him to fix particularly on this spot, which he often makes his residence during the summer months. When His Royal Highness halted there, I proceeded with one of the European gentlemen in his service, to Kara-Baba, a village finely situated on the side of the hills. We had travelled this day, ten hours, a distance of nine farsangs. I found my quarters very good; but had they consisted of little more than bare walls, I should have experienced no want; for the Prince lost no time in sending whatever he thought it possible I might require; and he " seasoned the bounteous attention," with a gracious message

of regret, that I must find travelling, and particularly at so inclement a season, so much more incommodious in his country, than in my own.

Next morning, myself and my little party, accompanied by my new and valuable acquaintance Dr. De la Fosse, set forward at sun-rise. Kara-Baba being some distance from the main road, I deemed it proper to start before the usual hour, that we might be ready to fall in with the column, by the time His Royal Highness would join it. Our haste, however, was rather premature; for it brought us out on the road, just at a point to meet the ladies of the Prince's family. They always leave the royal quarters at dawn, to be less observed, and to arrive at the next Menzil (halting-place,) before the Prince himself. They were five in number, dressed in scarlet, with rich shawls over their heads and faces; and riding astride, on the most beautiful and spirited horses. We drew back, at the first glance of this fair vision, and waited till it passed. These ladies composed part only of the usual inhabitants of His Royal Highness's Anderoon; but they were selected to attend him, while at Teheran; and were guarded on the journey by ten or twelve eunuchs, with the addition of a well-armed company of horse.

Soon after the whole party were out of sight, the baggage-train made its appearance, bearing similar marks of the august personage to whom it belonged, being covered with red and blue cloths. A tack-i-ravan was in the procession; which is a brankard or litter, borne on poles between two strong mules; both it and them being also clothed in scarlet, with rich fringe and other ornaments. This equipage is intended for any of the women who may be fatigued, or indisposed. The peculiar construction and state of the roads during winter, make horse and

litter-carriage the only modes of travelling at that season of the year. But the Prince has an English chariot, which he always uses in summer, the roads being then in a condition to admit its progress without impediment; and, I am told, he travels in it at a rate equal to any expedition of the kind in Europe. He is particularly fond of its seclusion and celerity.

This day was more intensely cold than the preceding, because its extreme degree of frost was accompanied with a terrible wind from the east, which, in our line of march, blew almost direct in our faces. It is not the simple degree of cold, which in general occasions the fatal catastrophes, I have described a few pages before; these bitter winds are the assassins of life. They blow with a suddenness, and a fierceness, of which we, in more western climates, can have no idea; rushing down the long valleys between the snow-cased mountains, like streams of pointed ice, penetrating every pore, freezing the blood, and feeling to congeal the very brain. When I experienced all this so severely in my own person, I could not but commiserate those of the weaker sex, who were exposed to such pitiless elements. The custom of the country makes such exposure a necessity; or, rather, the mountainous surface of the country, by denying the practicability to these novice engineers, of constructing more commodious roads, has originated a custom, which habit only, to a woman, can divest of many horrors. It is at such moments, that a man appreciates the comprehensive value of European civilization, when he considers how it provides for every physical and moral want of humanity; how it subdues even nature herself; for no mountain-land, no waste wilderness, has ever yet been found to resist its smoothing footsteps. While I drew this comparison, so much to the advantage, not merely of European laws and regu-

lations, but of European roads and equipages, particularly where the softer sex were concerned, I could not but admire the manly spectacle of a great Prince, sharing every personal hardship, with the very meanest of his attendants, which rigorous skies and the most rugged paths could inflict.

We continued our march, this day, along the plain in the same direction with our route of yesterday; and passed a second picturesque caravansary, abandoned to decay, which stood on the side of a gentle acclivity, mingling its fallen arches with the grey rocks; the slanted beams of the wintry sun tinging them with a pale and cheerless light. An hour's further travel brought us in sight of a third caravansary; but this was in full preservation, very ample in its dimensions, and sheltered within a hollow of the plain. A little mountain-stream ran close by its towers. They were strong, and in perfect repair. Every thing was provided within, for the accommodation of the traveller. A blacksmith, with his forge, and all necessary implements, and a shop or warehouse, containing various articles likely to be required. It was the first establishment of the kind I had seen in Persia; and I stopped to compare it with others I had occupied on the other side of the frontiers. The examination was certainly in favour of the Persian; and I could not deny myself the pleasure of telling the Prince so, in the course of our conversation that day. To flatter men in their selfish pursuits, is one thing; to praise them for attention to public benefit, is another; and as the seed is sown, so will the harvest grow.

As we proceeded, we left the village of Tickmadash on our right. It is one of the regular posts for travellers from Tabreez to Teheran; but our quarters for the night were to be at Amadabad, which we reached after a march of six hours. It stands

in a valley, on the side of a hill, near to the little river Sharrary-chia. As we approached it towards sun-set, the appearance of the place, under the vague shadows of the mountain, wore an aspect of considerable consequence; we saw not only the appearance of a long stretch of houses, but one of the neighbouring heights was surmounted by a fortress of extensive walls, and a large tower in their centre. When we drew near, I found the village small, though neat, and the fortress a ruin. Of what date, I could not discover; for this old bulwark being constructed of mud dried in the sun, (like many others of the country,) the materials, when left to decay, moulder into mounds and ridges; obliterating all trace of their history, with the loss of their form; and hence, their origin is commonly forgotten, as soon as their neglect and ruin begins.

Next morning, being only the third of our journey, opened upon us with the weather equally severe, and a much more exposed route for the day. The first part of our road lay through the rocky valley of Amadabad, along the edge of its frozen river, and in a direction nearly due east. Having passed several well-built villages, scattered over the rising grounds on each side, we ascended a steep mountain, by a path curving to the north-east, which terminated in a plain on the summit. This kind of table-land, was broken by detached hills over its surface; amongst which we took our course north-eastward for some time, and then began to descend, on as abrupt a road as that by which we had gained the summit. This rough mountain-track brought us down into a long and very narrow valley, at the extremity of which lay the village of Turcoman-chia; a distance from Amadabad, of eight farsangs, and which we travelled in nine hours. The village is pleasantly situated on the side of a pretty stream, bearing the same name with itself.

We recommenced our march next morning, at seven o'clock, through a range of intersecting small plains, or dells, divided by low hills; a road that must be beautiful in summer, from the variety of its verdure and foliage; but the landscape, at this season, continued a monotonous white; and the path was as wintery as the prospect. With difficulty we travelled a distance of six farsangs in eight hours; and reached the town of Mianna almost frozen to death. From a peculiar circumstance connected with the natural history of this place, I have little doubt that it is the same city, which our often-marvellous, and sometimes veritable countryman Maundeville, mentions, as "lyinge in the way from Thauriso (Tabreez,) towards the East, where no Cristene man may long dwelle, ne enduren with life in that cytee, but dyen within short tyme, and no man knowethe the cause." This was written nearly five hundred years ago; but what was mystery then, has been explained in after-ages. And a knowledge of the "detheful cause" excited a more than ordinary degree of ire in myself and my honest interpreter against the mehmandar, who, as usual, had been sent forward to provide my lodgings. From excessive indolence, he had hitherto performed his office in a rather slovenly way; but caring for little beyond a dry and clean shelter, the matter passed away without more than a slight reprimand. But on my arrival at Mianna, I found he had so entirely neglected his duty, as to be only then looking out for quarters for me. At this place above all others, from the cause before intimated, this service ought to have been promptly and carefully executed. In short, it is at the hazard of a stranger's life, if the lodgings he is made to occupy be not perfectly fresh and clean; for the town, and its immediately adjacent villages, are infested with a plague, they have found it impossible to eradicate,

in the form of a small but poisonous bug. It breeds in myriads in all the old houses, and may be seen creeping over every part of their walls, of the size and shape of the bugs in Europe, only a little flatter, and in colour of a bright red. Its bite is mortal, producing death at the expiration of eight or nine months. Strangers of every sort, not merely foreigners, but persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves, or the adjacent peasantry, are either never bitten, or, if so, the consequences are not more baneful to them than the sting of the least noxious insect. The fatal effect of this bug, however, upon "payneme," as well "as Cristene men," if they are strangers, being known as an absolute fact, every precaution is taken accordingly by native and foreign travellers; and when myself, with my Persian interpreter, and servants, entered the town of peril, I lost no time in demanding our proper quarters of my mehmandor. On our addressing him, he did nothing but gape and stare about him, as if struck by some magician's staff into more than his wonted stupidity. Persuasions, exhortations, and threats, were tried in vain. But remembering that one wand might break the spell of another, for once I had recourse to the efficacy of my cossack's whip; and it was surprising to see the happy change. The man started as from a dream, bestirred himself with alacrity, and showed such an increase of respect in his deportment towards myself, as if he had required that act of authority, to assure him I was worthy the honour of his services. From that time, all went well with my mehmandar; and he soon procured me possession of an entirely new-built stable, perfectly clean and unoccupied; a more estimable lodgement, at Mianna, than an old palace. The lower part received my horses, with their attendants; and the

upper division, used as a dwelling for the horse-keepers, was speedily arranged for myself and little party. Carpets were spread, a good fire kindled; and the arrival of the royal fare made every restitution for the first hour's houseless wandering.

The town of Mianna is situated in a wide valley, closed to the south-east by the lofty mountains of the Koflan-Kou. It was formerly a place of so much consequence, as to incline some authors to ascribe to it the honour of having been the ancient capital of the famous province of Atropatia. But the best-informed writers, and Pliny amongst them, give that distinction to Gazæ, (l. vi.) that is, Ganzaka, or Tabreez. Mianna, at present, is a poor place, being best known by the ill-name of its bugs; though it carries on a tolerable trade, as the mart where a small and beautiful manufacture of carpets is deposited by the nomade tribes from the mountains. These wild people weave them with a strength and taste, that is quite astonishing, and gain from their sale a very considerable profit.

Our next day's route was over more interesting ground. We started at sun-rise; our road being up the valley, and bearing from Mianna S. E. towards the mountains which close its extremity at that point. We rode on, in this direction, full five miles. In our way, we crossed a fine bridge, built of brick, over the river Garongoo. This stream, which diminishes to a rivulet, or increases to a flood, according to the seasons of the year, rises in the hills to the south-west, and after traversing the plain of the valley, soon after loses itself in the spacious bed and rapid current of the Kizzilouzan. The broad track of the plain allowed our cavalcade to extend itself into the more diffuse order of march, in which they set out from Tabreez; and the various groups, which scattered themselves over the constantly changing

Asiatic landscape, formed the finest characteristic pictures, though in winter scenes, that could be imagined for the illustration of ancient or modern eastern story.

In this seemingly desultory, though in fact well-understood way of proceeding, (for no one really strayed from the column of march,) we gradually approached the foot of the chain of mountains at the head of the valley, which here separate the province of Azerbijan from Irak, once so considerable a part of the famous kingdom of Media. These mountains, as I have mentioned before, are called the Koflan-Kou. They are of very stupendous altitude; and are a branch of the sublime range which belongs to Kurdistan. Besides the grandeur of their form, which well accords with the character of a country whose ancient laws, like these everlasting ramparts, were immoveable, the varied hue of their rocks gives a magnificence to the scene, admirably adapted to the recollections of a man, on entering the more particular dominions of the great Cyrus. In one branch of these mountains, which is called that of Koolabose, are the royal iron, copper, and lead mines; a treasure of riches, which, if properly worked, would fill the coffers of the Persian monarch to overflowing.

The road up the side of the mountain which closes the long valley of Mianna, was steep, winding, intricate, and very dangerous, from the slipperiness of the ice; which, from that circumstance, is nearly impassable in these precipitous regions. About mid-way of the ascent, the ruins of an ancient and noble fortress presented themselves. Chardin conjectures it to have been a stronghold of Artaxerxes *alias* Ardashir. Its situation in the pass, sufficiently shows the use to which it was designed; and this commanding station, with the peculiar style of the formidable remains, leave no doubt in my mind, that it was an

erection of the earliest times, by some of the great captains of old, who so well understood how to "keep the gate" of their conquests. The principal road of communication between Media and Armenia, has always lain over this tremendous mountain; and parts of a wide stone causeway, said to have been built by Shah Abbas, are yet very traceable. The present Prince-royal has been at great labour to restore this pass to all its ancient practicability; and even to go beyond his predecessors, by making it capable for the conveyance of artillery. Impossible as that might seem, to an eye fixed on the daily accumulating impediments with which winter encumbers so alpine a road, I am assured, that in summer, cannon pass over its heights with very little difficulty.

On descending the south-eastern face of the mountains, we had an extensive view of the valley below; whose romantic low-land scenery, and the sublime immensity of its boundaries, I had not seen excelled in the most stupendous regions of the Caucasus. A fine river flowed through the beautifully undulating land, and a noble bridge, of three pointed arches, crossed it. This river, which was the Amardus of Ptolemy, and said to have been the Gozen of Scripture, owes its present appellation, the Kizzilouzan, to its yellow hue, the name being descriptive of such a peculiarity. Its course is very rapid, though in a serpentine direction; and being augmented by several streams which rise near the town of Banna, amongst the north-eastern branch of the Kurdistan mountains, it pours majestically along, through a vast stretch of hilly country northward, till it enters Ghilan; where, thundering forward amidst the most terrific scenery, it discharges itself at last, into the Caspian, to the east of Resht.

Having crossed the bridge, we set our foot on the land of Irak Ajem, a country so famed in Asiatic romance, classic history, and Holy Writ. Our road then lay north-east, directly over the mountains, which bound that side of the valley. The ascending track was winding, with abrupt curves, up very steep acclivities for full three miles, at the end of which we reached another commodious caravansary, built of brick. Near it, are the ruins of an older structure of the kind, which has been faced with hewn stone. The vicinity of this secluded spot has a painful interest attached to it, as having been the scene of a dreadful and mysterious murder, committed on the person of the celebrated traveller, Mr. Browne: this sad catastrophe happened about five or six years ago.

This gentleman was a man of indefatigable research; with a persevering industry, in acquiring the means of pursuing his object, equal to the enterprising spirit with which he breasted every difficulty in his way. Previous to his going to Persia, he had stopped some time in Constantinople, to perfect himself in the Turkish language; and before he left that city, he spoke it like a native. From a mistaken idea of facilitating his progress, amongst the different Asiatic nations through which he might have occasion to pass, in the route he had laid down for himself, he assumed the Turkish dress. Being thus equipped, he set forward, with an intent to penetrate through Khorasan; and thence visit the unexplored and dangerous regions south of the Caspian, closing his researches in that direction at Astrakhan. During the early part of his Persian journey, he had a conference with His Britannic Majesty's ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley; and at Oujon, was admitted to an audience of the Persian

King. So little was danger from attacks of any kind apprehended, by the persons best acquainted with the state of the country, that no difficulties whatever were suggested as likely to meet him; and, accordingly, he proceeded in full confidence. Having reached this pass of Irak, he stopped at the caravansary I have just described, to take a little refreshment. That over, he remounted his horse; and leaving his servant to pack up the articles he had been using, and then follow him, he rode gently forward along the mountains. Mr. Browne had scarcely proceeded half-a-mile, when suddenly two men on foot came up behind him; one of whom, with a blow from a club, before he was aware, struck him senseless from his horse. Several other villains, at the same instant sprang from hollows in the hills, and bound him hand and foot. At this moment they offered him no further personal violence; but as soon as he had recovered from the stupor, occasioned by the first mode of attack, he looked round, and saw the robbers plundering both his baggage and his servant; the man having come forward on the road, in obedience to the commands of his master. When the depredators found their victim restored to observation, they told him it was their intention to put an end to his life, but that was not the place where the final stroke should be made. Mr. Browne, incapable of resistance, calmly listened to his own sentence, but entreated them to spare his poor servant, and allow him to depart with his papers, which could be of no use to them. All this they granted; and, what may appear still more extraordinary, these ferocious brigands, to whom the acquisition of arms must be as the staff of life, made the man a present of his master's pistols, and double-barrelled gun; but they were English, and the marks might have betrayed the new possessors. These singular rob-

bers then permitted Mr. Browne to see his servant safe out of sight, before they laid further hands on himself; after which they carried him, and the property they had reserved for themselves, into a valley on the opposite side of the Kizzilouzan, and without further parley terminated his existence, it is supposed, by strangulation. They stripped his corpse of every part of its raiment, and then left it on the open ground, a prey to wolves and other wild animals. The servant, meanwhile, made the best of his way towards Tabreez, where he related the tale I have just told.

Abbas Mirza immediately dispatched several parties of horsemen; some into the pass of the caravansary, to search its neighbourhood and others towards the spot where the circumstantial details of the man, repeating what he had heard pass between the murderers, made it likely that Mr. Browne was to receive the fatal blow. After diligent search, the body was found in the latter place, in the condition I have described, and by the prince's orders brought carefully to Akhand, and buried with decency. His Royal Highness made every exertion to discover the perpetrators of this nefarious deed; but to this moment the individuals remain unknown; though hardly a doubt exists, that the people who committed it, were part of some roving and desperate band of Kurds, who could not resist the temptation of an almost solitary traveller. Previous to the reign of His present Majesty of Persia, and the active government, in this quarter, of his son, numerous parties of these brigands used to lurk near the bridge of the pass, and commit the most horrible ravage on the caravans, and all persons who fell in their way. But ever since these princes have enacted such determined laws against rapine and murder, this northern part of the kingdom,

in particular, has been so free from any disasters of the kind, that it is said, a traveller may now pass, at any time, on the high roads from Tabreez to the capital of Persia, and thence to Ispahan, in almost perfect safety. Mr. Browne depending, doubtless, on this known fact of security, as well as being too indifferent to the usual forms of proceeding, declined the attendance of a mehmandar, which the king had graciously offered to him in person. When His Majesty was informed of the melancholy story, he declared a great indignation against so bold an insult to his law; but he also intimated his disapprobation of Mr. Browne having refused the customary protection proposed; and indeed it is probable, that the presence of a regular Persian officer, appointed by the crown, would have prevented the whole affair.

Before I leave this subject, so lasting a cause of lamentation to his countrymen, and to the learned world, I cannot forbear offering two observations, that may be useful to travellers in strange countries. First, never to adopt the entire costume of any nation but his own; for, by so doing, he deprives himself of the safe conduct bestowed from respect to his country; and he loses all claim to the rights of hospitality, by assuming a character that he is not. There is nothing so dangerous to a man in a foreign country, as to affect mystery, and awaken suspicion. My second observation would suggest the propriety of a traveller never trusting his life within the protection of one man alone. In case of an assault from numbers, a single auxiliary would be no defence; and sometimes, that single arm, in a moment of temptation and opportunity, might be found too strong for an unguarded master. Nothing of this kind, however, can be charged on the faithful servant of Mr. Browne; and, mysterious as the circumstances are, it is sufficiently evident,

that a band of Kurds, too sagacious for detection, and too expert in retreat to be traced, were the assassins of our unfortunate countryman.

The remainder of our road, for this day, lay along a mountain-plain, between low hills, and through broken ravines, at the north-eastern extremity of which stands the village of Sarcham; a new establishment, built by the son of Mirza Bezourk, the present vizier of Abbas Mirza. Its inhabitants are Kurds, who, like most of their nation, lead a nomade life in summer, ranging about the country in search of pasture for their flocks. The river Deezy flows in a northern direction, close to the village; whence it takes a sinuous course, till it meets the Kizzilouzan, and becomes one with that fine river. Sarcham lies six farsangs from Mianna. About half a mile eastward on the road, stands an immense caravansary, built of stone, in which most of the Prince's horsemen were quartered. As His Royal Highness, and his train, would occupy almost every house in the village, the inhabitants made room for us, by betaking themselves to their summer abodes, the black tents; a terrible transfer at this inclement season. The place is neatly walled and towered, and commands a view of an extensive valley, nearly three miles in length, through which meanders the river in its way to Sarcham.

We quitted these elevated lodgings, at eight o'clock next morning, in the midst of a violent storm of sleet, rain, and snow, accompanied by a piercing easterly wind. The atmosphere was so obscure, we could not see twenty yards in any direction. Our road lay along the northern side of this upland valley, on the bank of the Deezy, which here flowed south-east, and where the heights in some measure sheltered us; but in about two hours we turned due north, crossing a ridge of high hills

in the very teeth of the tempest. Having descended their slippery sides at the risk of broken bones at least, for still nothing could be distinguished far before our horses' feet, we found ourselves in another part of the Deerzy valley, and again on the margin of that river, which had taken as winding a circuit as ourselves. Journeying on, we passed a caravansary fallen into ruin from disuse, and the crumbling walls of an old deserted village. At this point, the road struck off north-east, between low hills; and, in an hour more, we arrived at Kairan, a pretty village, situated on a gentle slope, surrounded by gardens, and watered by a small stream called the Kara-kairan. Wet and frozen, I gladly saw the open gates, and hurried to the refuge of a roof and comfortable fire.

In most of the village-houses, which had been my quarters during this winter-journey, I had found a regular hearth for whatever kind of fuel the family were accustomed to burn; but in some, where the fire-place had been omitted, a very sorry expedient presented itself, in the shape of a large jar, called a kourcy, which is sunk in the earth, generally in the middle of the room, with its mouth on a level with the floor. This, the people fill with wood, dung, or any other combustible; and when it is sufficiently chared, the mouth of the vessel is shut in, with a square wooden frame, shaped like a low table. The whole is then covered with a thick wadded quilt; under which the family, ranged round, place their knees, to allow the hot vapour to insinuate itself into every fold of their clothing. When very cold, they draw the borders of the quilt up as high as their chins, and form a group, something resembling our ideas of a wizard incantation. This mode of warming is very disagreeable, and often dangerous. In the first place, the immove-

able position, necessary to receiving the full benefit of the glowing embers; secondly, the nauseous, and often deleterious effluvia from the smoke; and, thirdly, the head-aches which are almost always the consequence. Many of the natives put their heads and shoulders under the quilt at night; but if the fuel have not been previously chared to the proper height, suffocation is the usual effect, and the incautious sleepers are found dead in the morning. This singular kind of *chauffoir* answers a double purpose; that of preparing the frugal meal of the family, either as an oven, or to admit the pot on its embers, which boils the meat or pottage. Barbarous as the usage may seem, the kourcy is not confined to the wild inhabitants of the mountains; it is found in the noblest mansions of the cities, but burning more agreeable fuel; and then the ladies sit, from morning till night, under the rich draperies spread over the wooden cover; awakening their slumbering senses from the soporific influence of its vapours, by occasional cups of coffee, or the delightful fumes of their kalioun.

We left Kairan at eight the next morning, in a direction south-east; and in spirits, like the changed atmosphere, light, and freed from gloom. The hills wore one untracked surface, from the snow of the preceding day; and our old annoyance, a strong east wind, continued to blow in our faces; but the weather was now clear; earth, and sky, could be seen to a vast distance around us; and we went cheerily on, over a succession of finely undulating hills and dales, till we reached the town of Zangoon, or Zanjahoon, a distance of about five farsangs from our last halting-place. This town is of considerable extent, and makes a very handsome appearance, as we approach its well-built walls, fortified according to the present style of the

country. As usual, they are of dried mud; high, and flanked with strong towers, pierced with long ranges of loop-holes, and funnel-like contrivances close beneath them, to act on an enemy in the manner of the machicolations in our ancient castle-gateways. Zangoon is the capital of a small district called Kumesey, which is under the government of Abdallah Mirza, one of the King's sons.

This royal personage had already left the place, for Teheran, when we arrived; and his elder brother, the heir to the Persian diadem, showed so much displeasure at finding no preparation had been ordered for his reception, he would not accept of any thing from the town; but commanded, that every thing his suite might require, should be purchased as if he had been a stranger. This was a delicate reproval of his brother's negligence; and we quitted the inhospitable residence of the young prince, at our usual hour the next morning. Our track was through deep snow, keeping a direction south-east, up the valley, which gradually extended itself into an extensive plain.

After marching about three farsangs, over this magnificent expanse of country, we beheld the dome and minarets of Sultania, rising in all the majesty of the old eastern architecture; and over which, the vague recollections of history, with traditional memory, cast a still more magnifying medium.

On approaching nearer to this once splendid city, we passed a lately erected summer-palace, belonging to the present king; it was situated on an elevated ground to our left, and overlooking the battlemented walls of a large castellated structure, intended to be the citadel of the new town of Sultanabad; which the reigning monarch hopes will in time rival the past glories of the fallen Sultania.

An hour's ride brought us into the midst of the ruins; amongst whose broken arches, and mouldering remains of all sorts of superb Asiatic architecture, I discovered the most wretched-looking hovels of any I had seen in Persia. Amongst these miserable dwellings, inhabited by a few poor husbandmen of the plain, the whole suite were to be scattered. But the Prince, sharing every disagreeable of the journey, entered one of the meanest huts; and, to my surprise, established himself there, instead of retiring to the splendid residence in the neighbourhood, which, doubtless, would have been at his command.

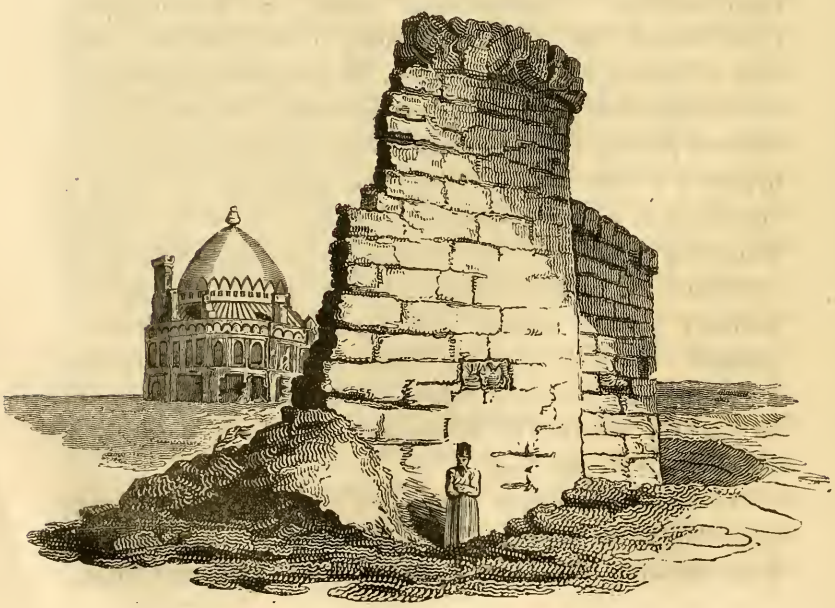
Sultania may be about six farsangs from Kairan; and, according to observations taken by some British officers in Persia, the ancient city is in latitude 36° 32′. It is situated on a fine plain, or, we might rather call it, one of those very extensive valleys, which spread themselves to a vast extent through the different intermediate ranges of this gigantic mountain-country. The fertility of the vale of Sultania has been noted for many ages; and, I am told, it still maintains that happy reputation. The miserable huts in the deserted city do not witness the same account; but, as I have hinted before, prosperity of every sort, in this part of the world, bears its acquisitions meekly. The plain is bounded to the north-east, and south-west, by chains of hills, of every picturesque form, and covered in summer with the most luxuriant verdure. Some writers give the city no older a date than the seven hundredth and fifth year of the Hejira; ascribing its foundation to Sultan Aldjiapton Mahomed, son of Urghan Khan, a prince, perhaps, better known by the title of Sultan Mahomed Khodabund. A Persian manuscript, written about a century after this supposed origin of Sultania, calls it "a new city, between Casvin and Zengoon, extremely splendid;

in the most delightful part of the country, with a celestial atmosphere; and numerous palaces, both for the king, his viziers, and emirs, adding to its magnificence." — "Without the city," continues the same writer, "are delicious gardens, supplied with excellent water from wells. The Sultan Abousayd (who was the son of Mahomed Khodabund, and the last of the Halukoo race, which ceased A. D. 1392,) began a superb building in the city, but died before its completion. His remains, however, repose within its walls. In ancient days, the Princes of Ghattham passed their summers here; and then it was called the plain of Scharoizk."

This writer, so near the time of the city's attributed origin to Sultan Mahomed Khodabund, allows that it had been a place of royal residence "in ancient days," before; and it seems hardly to be doubted, that the singular felicity of the situation, would, from all ages of the Persian empire, be occupied by some town; which might change its appellation according to the whim of the different princes, who, after embellishing the place, might choose to give it a new name. Besides, the aggrandizer of a city is very likely to be complimented with the title of its founder. Something of the kind may hereafter occur again, with regard to Sultania. His present Majesty is now restoring the city, by gradually building around, and amongst its ruins: should it proceed, as he designs, future Persian traditions may altogether forget the past towers of Sultania, and assert that the first city on the plain was that of Sultanabad, and that its founder, of course, was Futy Ali Shah.

The Persian manuscript I have just quoted, makes a mistake in attributing the unfinished structure in Sultania, to Abousayd: it was the work of that prince's father, Sultan Mahomed Khoda-

bund, the first sovereign of Persia who publicly declared himself of the sect of Ali. He built it, as a sacred shrine for the remains of that Caliph, and his no less holy martyr Hossien; intending, when it was finished, to translate the bodies, with all religious pomp, from Meshed Ali, and Kerbela, to their new tomb. But the pious Sultan did not live to complete his object; and instead of the venerated relics, his own ashes occupied the place, which he had hoped, when tenanted according to his intentions, would cause Sultania to be a point of future pilgrimage, as revered by the faithful of his own empire, as Medina had heretofore been to Mussulmans in general.



Mr. Morier's accurate delineation of this fine, though now mouldering fabric, has hardly left any thing more to be said; but to omit entirely its description here, because another had elsewhere done it so well, would leave so great a blank in my own account of the city, that I shall shortly describe the falling mausoleum, as it appeared to me a few years after it had been visited by Mr. Morier.

The height of the dome certainly exceeds one hundred and thirty feet; the diameter of the circle below is thirty-three paces. The whole interior of the building presents one uninterrupted space; but to the south, is a large distinct chamber, choked up with rubbish; under the floor of which, I was told, are three immense vaulted rooms; the entrance to them is now lost, under the ruins above; but in one, stands the tomb of the Sultan Mahomed Khodabund, raised from the earth. The inside of the whole mosque, which covers these royal remains, is beautifully painted, and tiled with varied porcelain. Much gilding is yet to be seen upon the upright and transverse lines of decoration; amongst which, it is said, the whole Koran is written in ornamented characters. It required a Mussulman's eye to find them out, in the varied labyrinth of arabesque patterns with which they were surrounded. Formerly, the whole building was inclosed within a square, of three hundred yards. Its ditch is still visible to a great depth; and at the north-west angle, stands part of a large tower, and a wall, forty feet in height, built of fine large square masses of hewn stone, excellently cemented together; the thickness of the wall being twelve feet. On the top, still remain a number of the pedestals, belonging to the machicolated parapet. Two Arabic inscriptions are yet distinct on the wall and the tower; but I could not find any person to translate them.

The late mollah of the place, who might have been the interpreter, had recently paid the debt of nature: but one of the natives told me, from memory, that the purport of the inscriptions were merely to say, that that mosque had been built five hundred and seventy-five years ago. All the proportions and decorations of this vast structure are in the most splendid Asiatic taste; but the blue, green, and golden tiles, with which it has been coated, are rapidly disappearing; yet enough remains to give an idea of the original beauty of the whole. The ruins of other superb mosques are still conspicuous in many parts of the city; and all seem to have been on so extensive a scale, that we can only stand in amazement at the former magnitude of a place, which at present scarcely numbers three hundred families. When the Holstein ambassadors were in Persia, A. D. 1637, even then, the waning city contained six thousand people. How has it been reduced since, in little more than a century and a half! The walls of its ancient houses, and spacious gardens, cover a great streatch of the plain; and in some places, we find large black mounds of earth, where, I imagine, the public baths stood.

Most of the village huts, which were our quarters, are built round the superb royal mosque, above described; forming a strange contrast with the venerable pile which overshadows them. The roofs of these lowly dwellings are a perfect half-circle, like a bee-hive, with a hole in the centre, to admit light, and let out the smoke; thus, in shape at least, differing from most other Persian villages I had seen, the roofs of which were either flat or of a conical form.

Having made my arrangements for the night, in one of the huts, I went as usual with my Persian, Sedek Beg, to pay my respects to my royal host, soon after sun-set, his time of evening

prayer; and I found the Prince of Persia, under a roof as humble as my own. He was sitting over a kourcy, almost enveloped in its cover; which was blue silk, richly embroidered. His back was supported by a package, containing the royal bedding; and a superb silver candelabrum, with a waxlight as large as a flambeau, blazed from the centre of the kourcy, on which it stood. His charming little brother, son, and nephew, occupied the same circle, all nearly buried in the folds of the wadded silken drapery. His Royal Highness smiled, on my entrance, at the evident expression of my countenance, on seeing him also, smothered up in one of the most wretched village hovels. I took my seat not far from him. In remarking on the rude scene around him, he drew an impartial comparison between Europe and the East, in those points which affect the daily comfort of all classes of people; repeating his regrets, that the season had presented his country to me, in so desolate a garb; and that the miserable accommodations I had every where seen, must impress me with only unfavourable ideas of Persia. He was aware of the ease and facility, and even luxury, with which we make our journeys in all weathers; and, he added, that "please God, hereafter, as far as ever his power might reach, he would have every caravansary on the great roads of the kingdom put into repair; besides establishing, in the different towns and villages, a house for the comfortable reception of those strangers of distinction, who may chance to pass through the land." The spot in which we were, a wretched hovel, in the midst of the still proud remains of a once great, and now depopulated city, did not fail to suggest the most interesting topics to his unprejudiced and enlarged mind. He described, in all the poetical language of Asiatic eloquence, the riches, splendour, and former consequence

of Sultania; and gave me a particular history of the tomb of Mahomed Khodabund, under whose lofty towers he was then conversing; with an account of the treasures, which would have been lavished on its decoration, within and without the mosque, had it received the sainted remains of Ali, and of Hossein.

Observations on what Sultania had been, and what he hoped Sultanabad would be, brought him round to his favourite discussions: the general state of Persia under its different dynasties, ancient and modern; its relative situation, with regard to the great European powers, in all times; and throughout, though the subject seemed ever in his thought, and therefore the most frequent on his tongue, the variety of his ideas gave a constant freshness to the theme; and this evening, like all others passed in his company, sent me to my own cell for the night, still more impressed with the expansion of his views, towards his own country; and the rare disposition, with which he contemplated the higher range in civilization, attained by the nations of Europe. No petty jealousy for a moment clouded his brow, when listening to me on the subject; nor while descanting on their power and fame himself. A noble emulation, to tread the same happy progress, seemed the simple feeling of his heart, in every minute inquiry, under every exciting reply.

Next morning, about seven o'clock, with the snow lying deep on every object in Sultania, we recommenced our march, over similar ice paths to the day before, and nearly in the same direction. As we went along, I was told an interesting circumstance, which had occurred in the neighbourhood about three years ago. Near to the summit of one of the hills, to the south-east of the city, a Kurdish peasant, at work, discovered a stone-coffin, and, on opening it, the skeleton of a woman, who had evidently been

of the highest rank. A gold diadem surrounded her head. It was set with various precious stones, of considerable size, and all in their places, excepting one, which must have been either originally omitted, or afterwards lost, from a very large space just over the forehead. On her wrists, and ankles, were bracelets of pure gold; and on her breast, lay a number of very fine pearls, in the highest preservation, and of the most perfect colour. The whole of these valuables were brought to the King; and the remains, of course, recommitted to the earth. I could not learn whether any vestiges of building had been found in the ground, which might have been formerly standing over the sarcophagus, nor could I hear of any trace of an inscription. Probably, this royal corse had slept in that spot, from the earliest times of Sultania; perhaps, ages before the foundations of the great sepulchral mosque were laid; but in what particular era she lived, it is impossible, from the scantiness of the information preserved, to form any reasonable conjecture.

The breadth of the valley, during the greatest part of our journey between its noble hills, might be about three miles. Several extensive villages, entirely deserted, and in ruins, lay scattered over the plain, and on the lowest slopes of the hills. The bitterest cold, for many hours, accompanied our ride; blasts meeting us at the mouth of every narrow dell, which opened along the sides of the valley, as we passed. In short, beauty, with desolation, both in place and climate, pressed on every sense, till we reached the sheltered and inhabited village of Sian Kala. We did not halt there; but the prospect, from that point, was cheering: over the track we had now to go, the snow had visibly decreased, and the road itself was considerably improved. Like mariners on a stormy sea, at sight of a haven, we sped gaily

forward; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at Kurumdara, our place of rest; having travelled a distance of seven farsangs and a half.

Kurumdara is a small respectable town, surrounded by several villages, little inferior to it in extent and neatness. A clear stream, formed, a short way from the town, by the union of numerous beautiful rills trickling from the adjacent hills, flows through it; and then taking a course along the valley, increases its waters by other streams, till, I am told, it falls into the Kizzilouzan; the Gozen, as I have remarked before, of the Scriptures.

The air being milder, in this more southern, sheltered region, we started next morning from Kurumdara, at six o'clock; on a road south-east, along a spacious valley, which soon opened to a breadth of six or eight miles.

After a march of rather more than an hour, we came in sight of the village of Abhar, but left it far to the right. It is the regular halting-place for travellers, between Tabreez and the capital; and was one of the noted cities of old Persia. Its mosques, and other ruins, bear clear and extensive memorials of mussulman antiquity; but Abhar is supposed to have a yet more ancient origin, as one of the cities on the river Gozen, in which the Jews were planted, on their removal from Jerusalem.

Every hour that we advanced, the cold, together with the snow, gradually disappeared; and while all enjoyed this change, so immediate on our entrance into the country of the captivity, I could not but remember the beautiful words with which the poet of Israel hails the approach of the vernal season, and feel with him, that "the winter was past, and the spring near at hand, when the flowers should appear on the earth, and the time of the

singing birds would come, and the voice of the turtle should again be heard in the land!"

But the marks, on ourselves, of the hard season, had not disappeared with their cause; every face, from the prince to the mule-driver, bore the stamp of an exposed winter journey. Our eyes had long felt the effects of the sun's glare upon the universal stretch of snow which covered the country; and our skin, from the alternate oven-heat of the places in which we lodged, and the cutting blasts from the outward air, had become so tender, broken, and scarred, that the pain of every rough change, was literally "vexing a thing that is raw."

This balmy alteration, therefore, in the aspect of nature, and its atmosphere, could not fail to be hailed by us all, as the only balsam for our wounds; and, indeed, it seemed to unchain the faculties also, of every living thing in the cavalcade, from man to the lowest beast of burthen. All was bustle and talk, with the neighing and prancing of horses, and one successive train of active and jocund motion.

Numerous flourishing villages, with each its little embastioned fort rising amidst the most romantic sylvan scenes, stood in smiling security, amongst their rich tracts of land, already shooting forth the first promise of an early and abundant harvest. This was, indeed, the "soft green of the soul," to our fatigued sight, dried, weakened, and irritated by constant fixing on a white and dazzling surface. Besides the amelioration of climate, the fertility of this charming vale must be attributed to the fine river, which waters the land to a great extent; but where the valley stretches itself beyond the influence of this fructifying element, and we left its banks, to traverse the more distant ground, we found the earth, so far from looking like winter just

past, retaining the burnt-up appearance of the preceding summer. From this point, begins the plain of Casvin, extending south-east, beyond Teheran, to the foot of a lofty line of mountains south of the Caspian, but to the north of this province; and well known by the long famous pass of Kawar, anciently called the Straits of the Caspian. The whole range bears the name of Elborz, or the Kohé Caucausân; and from amidst its towering peaks rises the still more gigantic head of Demewand. These mountains are noted in Persia by numerous legends respecting a malignant race of demons, fabled to possess their extremest heights; and true story gives evidence of a similar fact; for it was from amongst the wildest recesses of Elborz, that the fiend-like sect, so horribly famous in the histories of the crusades, under the name of Assassins, spread themselves from those remote eastern regions to the hills of Syria.

The faith of these people was a wild aberration from the Mahomedan creed, mingling with its laws and fatalities the transmigratory doctrines of the Hindoos; and, in consequence, they believed that their prince or imam was a successive incarnation of the Great Prophet, and that every behest of his to good or evil, must be obeyed as implicitly as the word of God himself. The first of the tribe, who arrogated these divine pretensions, was Hassan Saheb; a man, whose domineering passions, consummate subtility, and persevering spirit of enterprise, perfectly fitted for his plan of imposture. He appeared about the year 1090; and by various intrigues, and singular mysterious deportment, as well as so invincible a courage, that few dared to resist, that approached it, he inspired the ignorant barbarians around him with a firm belief in his mission, and an enthusiastic devotion to himself. His despotic authority followed of

course. Once secure of his empire over these mountain hordes, he secured every pass with fastnesses; and holding himself totally independent of the surrounding states, he spread his colonies over Elborz, and along the whole range of hills to beyond Tabreez; whence they issued forth, singly, or in bands, at the command of their imam, or his deputed emissaries, to destroy by open assault, ambuscade, or private murder, all people or persons, that were obnoxious, either to his ambition, or his avarice. Christians, Jews, Mahomedans of Omar or of Ali, all were alike the objects of his excommunication; and he sold his dagger, or rather that of his followers, to what ever party were vile enough to buy the blood of their enemies. There was a mystical obscurity about his person, and in the views of his widely extending government; with a dauntless determination of proceeding, which held the princes of that dark age in a kind of superstitious awe. Jealous of his sway, and abhorring his tenets; contemning his divine pretensions, yet doubting whether he did not possess some superhuman means of mischief; they dreaded a power, which seemed to hang over themselves and people with constant threatening, though never showing when nor where it would strike. He soon acquired from these appalled sovereigns, the vague but supreme title of Sheik-ul-Jebal, or lord of the mountains; while in the minds of the most superstitious of the people, he might well be considered one of the dreadful Deevs, or Dæmons of the waste. Al Jebal was the old Asiatic name for the whole of the very mountainous quarter of Irak Ajem, which lies between Hamadan and Kermanshah. It stretches far to the south-west of the Caspian range, above described, and comprises Mount Elwund, the Orontes of the ancients; this branch also, bearing the appellation Elburz. But

the title given to Hassan Saheb seemed to import chief of the mountains in general; as he commanded those formidable positions, not only in many parts of Persia, but over much of Syria, Palestine, and the high lands leading to Egypt.

It so happened, that for more than two centuries, in short, from their accession to their extinction, every successor of the first Imam inherited the same disposition to turn the blind zeal of their followers to the worst purposes. A colony of these fanatics, under the leading of one of Hassan Saheb's most odious representatives, settled themselves amongst the heights of Lebanon, and have been variously called Ismaelians, Bathenians, or Assassins. That colony is the best known to European historians, from the horrible enormities which its people committed in the towns and villages of the Holy Land; and not less so, on the persons and lives of some of our most gallant crusaders. It is woeful to read, who were the victims of those savages; but often much more horrible, to turn the page, and find who were their employers. Their universal violence, however, at last armed every hand against them; and, much about the same time, towards the end of the thirteenth century, they were rooted out of Syria, and Egypt, (whither they had extended themselves,) and from their original seats in Persia; leaving nothing but their appropriate appellation of Assassin behind them; no longer to be considered, what it had originally imported, the mere distinguishing name of a sect, but to be universally affixed, from age to age hereafter, as a peculiar brand of infamy, on every treacherous, secret, or hired murderer.

Halukoo, the Mogul conqueror of Persia, and of the family of the famous Zingis Khan, was the prince whose victorious arms, almost repaid to his new dominions, the devastations of his con-

quest, by the entire extirpation of the lawless race, which had so long preyed on the vitals of the country.

As we gradually entered on the extending plain of Casvin, the range of mountains on our left, lofty, receding, and cleft into precipitous ravines, presented at the mouth of every pass, and along the most commanding heights, the vast remains of the once menacing strongholds of these fearful people, now no more. On the summit of one of the highest hills to the north-west, I observed traces of a very extended line of towers, connected with walls, and so situated as to appear, to the gazer below, absolutely impregnable. This, my illustrious informant told me, had been the chief fortress of the Sheik-el-Jebal; it was called that of Almout, and had withstood many a siege; while the immediate tract around, bore the name of the Rood-bar country; in memory of the sanguinary people, who had rendered those passes formidable.

Our road was now at large over the plain, no regular path confining the line of march; so that the horsemen galloped to and fro, throwing the girid, firing their pistols and muskets, shaking their long bamboo lances, and forming into parties, affected to skirmish. All this was as much for their own amusement, as that of His Royal Highness, who was looking on. As we proceeded, and the day advanced, the scene became every hour more varied, by the approach of other cavalcades, headed by their chiefs, coming forwards in all directions, to pay their compliments to the Prince. That done, they fell into his train; and so swelled our host to a little army.

The gay, asiatic-romance appearance of the spectacle, must be seen, to be imagined. The beauty, fleetness, and perfect evolutions of the horses; the motion of their riders, in all the pic-

turesque martial costume of the East; the fire of their countenances, the animation of their shouts, and the dexterity with which they performed every practice of their various arms, kept the eye, and the admiration constantly on the alert. Nine hours march thus passed away; and I found that we were nearly approaching Sialidan, our quarters for the night, before I thought we had compassed half the day's journey.

At about two miles' distance from the place, I observed a larger cavalcade than any of the former, coming at a quick pace towards us. During its advance, the leader, a fine young man, splendidly dressed, dismounted, and ran forward. The instant Abbas Mirza perceived him, he threw himself off his horse; and in a few minutes they were in each other's arms. It was his brother, Ali Nackee Mirza, Governor of Casvin. The scene was a picture; the two princes embracing, between their separate bands. But the meeting was more: it could not be beheld, by even a stranger's eye, without touching the heart. Theirs was not the cold salute, of mere established ceremony; for the custom of male kindred kissing each other, is as old in Persia, as the times of the elder Cyrus: and, indeed, it seems to be even as ancient as family affections themselves; for older historians than Xenophon mention the same action between men, who were relations or friends, in greeting or bidding farewell. But it was not this custom alone, that we saw in the mutual welcome before us: it was the warm, cordial, and repeated embrace of two brothers sincerely attached to each other. After a few minutes' conversation, they remounted their horses; and, riding side by side, preceded the column, towards the town; and the suite of Ali Nackee Mirza, falling in with that of the Prince Royal, the whole went forward.

Siahdan is a flourishing place, extended over a large piece of rising ground, which, in that part, gently breaks the perfect level of the plain. During our last few hours' journey, it had widened from twelve to sixteen miles across. Here, though the climate had softened so much, we were reminded that winter was yet on the other side of the hills; for a chilling wind from the north, assailed us from between the mountains. It is called the *baude Caucausân*, or wind of Caucasus; and, I was told, it continues to blow at intervals, till the end of May; at which time the warm weather sets in with good earnest.

Saturday, the fourteenth of March, we left Siahdan very early in the morning, in a direction south-east; the plain still expanding eastward; which, while it allowed a greater play to the wind, opened so free and noble a view, with a sky of such bright azure, that a little extraordinary coldness in the air rather gave stimulus than annoyance to our senses. The horsemen, as before, amused us by galloping, charging, and repeating, with new varieties, all the feats of yesterday; for emulation between the trains of the two princes increased the actors, and added to the interest of the sight; the very horses seeming to partake the ambition of their masters. If blood prove pedigree, these fine animals fully established their descent from the ancient race, so famous for form, spirit, and swiftness, bred in these very pastures. We have ample testimony from the old historians, that the best cavalry of the East were derived from this part of the great empire of Persia; and the native breed were so highly prized above all others, that Alexander considered a Median horse as the most royal gift he could bestow; and the kings of Parthia chose the same, as the most costly sacrifice they could lay upon the altar of their gods.

When we had arrived within a farsang of Casvin, the residence of Ali Nackee Mirza, and where the Prince Royal meant to halt for a day, a new spectacle presented itself; but it was another domestic scene. A group of lovely children, five in number, the sons of the Prince-governor, stood on the grass, attended by their tutors, and servants holding their horses. They waited there to salute their uncle as he passed; and when he approached, they all bowed their little heads to the ground; and then were lifted up in the arms of their attendants, to Abbas Mirza, who kissed them with the greatest tenderness. They then mounted on finely managed horses, led by their servants, and joined the line of march with their cousins. Young as these princes were, some of them hardly beyond infancy, it was astonishing to see them sit these spirited animals without the least alarm or appearance of disuse. Their rich habits, baby figures, and large bright eyes, full of childish animation; with their lively prattle amongst themselves and their older cousins; and the affectionate smiles of the royal brothers, as they occasionally looked round; formed, altogether, a scene, which beautifully harmonised with that of the day before.

A very little time brought us within a mile of the town; and the whole of the inhabitants, I believe, issued forth to greet the return of its Prince-governor, with his royal brother. These loyal subjects thronged over the plain, and lined each side of the road in deep ranks, armed with spears, shields, guns, pistols, clubs, &c., some clad in mail, others in their best apparel. Flags of blue silk, shaped to a point, on which were blazoned the lion and sun, streamed in the air, which resounded with the shouts of the joyous multitude. The royal cavalcade having entered this living avenue, two most extraordinary moving

groups presented themselves before the horse of Abbas Mirza, as he rode forward: one, a party of wrestlers; the other, about a dozen brawny fellows, displaying their bald heads, and bodies bare to the waist, each armed with a couple of wooden machines called *meals*, in shape like a paviour's rammer, and not much lighter in weight; and which they unceasingly whirled in the air, with an amazing adroitness, as well as agility; their own, or their neighbour's head, appearing in imminent jeopardy at each swing of the club. These Persian athletæ in general faced the Prince; walking, or rather hopping backwards, during their whole exercise, and all the way to the town; excepting, now and then, when they relieved themselves of this incommodious retrograde motion, by a whirl or two, in company with the circling machine above their heads. By degrees, the multitude closed in upon us; and the dust, heat, fumes, and noise, arising from such a mingling of men and animals, made the abundant honours of this istakball so insupportable, that myself, at least, was glad to rein in my horse, and escape any increase of the ceremonies. These, however, were soon over; and as soon as the royal cavalcade, with the great mass of people, had squeezed into the city-gate, I followed; and found my mehmandar in waiting, to conduct me to my quarters. They were in the house of the learned Persian, who is chief governor to the sons of Ali Nackee Mirza, the lovely children I had seen; and it was the first place I had found in Persia, inhabited by a person under the rank of a minister of state, where the fitting up wore any appearance of what we might expect in a residence of one of the higher orders. Hence we may infer, that the preceptors of royalty, in this country, are as much respected as the ministers of state; and, indeed, there are hardly any of the latter august characters, in any nation, who hold a more

responsible situation, than he does, who is to form the heir apparent, and his brethren, to future sovereignty. He lays the foundation in the royal mind, whence the leading actions of all state-ministers are derived.

But to return to the habitation of my temporary host: the whole of the rooms were variously painted in arabesque, interspersed with looking-glass, gilding, and fretwork. In the great saloon of audience, were several pictures, in the high dry style of the native artists, consisting of scenes in the chace, portraits, &c. The elegance of the apartment gave a favourable impression of the polish of the owner; and I augured well for the future taste, at least, of the charming little creatures I had seen, who were under such judicious care. But, as I have implied before, the most effective part in the education of the present royal race of children in this country, is the privilege of being with their parents, at every opportunity of impressing them to advantage; and one such discourse as that which Abbas Mirza held with me in the poor hut at Sultania, to which his son and two young kinsmen listened with such wrapt attention, was worth a year of mere didactic tutelage from Aristotle himself. Teaching by example, is life to instruction.

I had scarcely seated myself in the apartments destined for my accommodation, before the master of the house entered, and paid me the usual eloquent greetings of the country. His metaphorical language possessed as many flowers, as the luxuriant hangings of his chambers; but, to adopt the same style, "there is a fragrance in gracious welcome, which gives sweetness to the homeliest fare." The complimentary style of Persian intercourse, is proverbial for its hyperbole. But there is almost always a graceful turn in their phrases, which prevents their evident flat-

tery from being nauseous; the person addressed, rather considering them words of polite ceremony, in which apt memory, original wit, or poetical fancy, contend for display, than any sinister design to propitiate vanity, at the expense of common principle and common-sense. The European traveller, who would think himself free to take lasting possession of a Persian's goods and chattels, because the polite Asiatic told him, at his entrance, " they were, henceforward, his property!" would not be less absurd, in this country, than if in his own, he were to believe himself privileged to command about every man as his lackey, who subscribed himself his " obedient humble servant." How the Persian nation, which has been so often over-run by people of the most rugged habits, came to acquire, or to retain, such *suaviter in modo*, is hardly to be explained. Besides, excessive refinement in the courtesies of life, being commonly considered, not merely the *acmé* of social polish, but a pledge that the country which possesses it, has arrived at every other perfection attendant on the progress of society; the like harmony, if expected here, would be found wanting. Persia is yet in its infancy, as a great and flourishing state; or rather, the noble tree, so often stripped of its branches, till it appeared bare to the root, is only now shooting the new-growth; which the succeeding generations of Futy Ali Shah, may cultivate into fruit as well as flowers.

Halting a whole day at Casvin, gave me an opportunity of visiting what was note-worthy in the town, before I went to the palace of Ali Nackee Mirza; which comprised every splendour, due to his station as Prince-governor, and to the royal personage who was then his guest. Casvin was a city of consideration many centuries ago; and is situated on the extensive plain, to

which it gives its own name, in latitude 36° 20′. Its foundation is attributed to Sapor II., in commemoration of his escape from captivity, and subsequent victories over the Emperor Julian. Haroun al Raschid, with his wonted architectural magnificence, augmented the number of streets, and so beautified them with palaces, mosques, and gardens, that he acquired the fame of having constructed a second city. The amiable, but weak Shah Thamas, when he abandoned Tabreez in the 955th year of the Hegira, made Casvin his royal residence. And Nadir Shah, after he had mounted the Persian throne on the neck of his abused master, increased its public buildings by the addition of an extensive palace. But, like the capital of Azerbijan, Casvin has more than once been nearly overwhelmed by earthquakes; so, that at present, little remains of its past grandeur, but broken masses of domes and towers, and long lines of mouldering walls. The existing town, however, is not unworthy a royal governor; having many fine edifices, and spacious gardens producing fruits of great variety and delicacy of flavour.

On Monday, the 16th of March, we set forth with the rising sun, marching along the plain, which gradually widened to an extent of thirty miles. The ground was broken in several parts, by ranges of *kanaughts;* a kind of aqueduct formed by deep wells, sunk in a regular line, but at a considerable distance from each other, and connected at the bottom by long subterraneous channels, through which the water passes from well to well; supplying hundreds of villages, which cover the sides of this extensive valley. Our course was along its southern side, where these villages, with their tributary wells, are very numerous; standing, as usual, amidst embattled mud walls and towers, and embellished with gardens. Nothing more distinctly marks the

difference between the political state of these Asiatic countries, and that of our nations in the west, than the sight of every little village, surrounded by military works, like a frontier town; a plain proof how close invasion, from one point or other, is thought to be to every man's door.

The level of the plain was still more varied by high mounds of earth, similar in form to the tumuli of the steppes, but much too immense to have been erected for the same purpose. These stood along the side of the valley, but too distant from the bases of the hills to spring naturally from them. This fact, added to the perfect regularity of their form, enormous as they were, put their construction by manual labour out of doubt; but how, or why they were erected, remained to be explained. There appeared no hollows any where, whence their component parts might have been dug; and the ground immediately round most of them, seemed particularly flat. Perhaps, the earth and stones thrown up, in making the wells and subterraneous water-courses, (a style of aqueduct which is very ancient,) may account for some of the materials; and the rest, it is possible, may have furnished employment for the captive Israelites, to bring from afar.

The direction of this day's march did not differ from that of our last; and thus moving continually onward to the south-east, we had the pleasure of keeping the *baude Caucausân* in our rear; and reached our halting-place, the village of Suffer-Kajar, at three o'clock, P. M. after a journey of seven farsangs and three-quarters, with no more fatigue than if we had taken only a morning ride. This place, though small, is honoured by having a royal residence in its vicinity; a country-seat of his present Majesty, which is built on the summit of one of the mounds, and

surrounded by fine gardens; the whole being enclosed in a strong wall.

We left Suffer-Kajar at seven o'clock next morning, still traversing the plain in a south-easterly direction. The country, though so extensive, changed nothing of its appearance, excepting that the artificial hills stood thicker, as we departed farther from the mountains. The lofty ridge of that part of the Elborz, at whose feet the celebrated city of Rages or Rey stands, grew in magnitude on our sight; as we crossed this magnificent vale, which divides that sublime chain into two ranges of mountains. The weather was delightfully pleasant, and every thing breathed the air of spring.

Having proceeded rather more than three farsangs, I perceived a mound, at some little distance from the high road, of greater altitude than any of the former I had observed; and which had the additional peculiarity of uneven ground about its base, and the vestiges of stone building. As we approached, I enquired of Abbas Mirza, by whose side I had the honour to be riding, what he thought of the origin of those heaps of earth. He had no doubt of their having been raised by man; but by whom, and for what purpose, he said, he knew of no written nor traditionary account. But he supposed they were the work of the Fire-worshippers of former ages, who usually erected their altars on high places; and there being none, naturally, so many farsangs from the hills, these idolaters had constructed mounds to supply the deficiency. When that worship was discountenanced by "the true faith," he thought it probable, the people of the land would turn that vantage-ground to purposes of defence; and rear their villages near, if not round each conical hill. These suppositions seemed the more likely, from the circumstances of the

mounds being found just in that position on the plain, where the alleged purposes would require them; far enough from the mountains, to render an artificial elevation of the kind necessary to persons who performed their religious rites in the open air, and on pyramidal heights; and also, so distant from the middle of the plain, where no water is, and to which none can be brought, that no human creature could find it possible to fix a habitation there. Hence, as these mounds must have been the work of man to some useful object, there does not appear a more probable intention for their origin, than the one which His Royal Highness suggested; each village having then its "high place," as it may now have its little mahomedan oratory of prayer.

This discussion brought us near to the subject of our discourse. It was one of the largest mounds I had seen; very steep; and at the top of the almost perpendicular side which fronted our cavalcade, there seemed to be a small level, of from twelve to sixteen yards in diameter. The Prince looked at it a moment; then turning to me with a smile, made a sign to me to follow him, while he set off at full speed. His brothers, son, and nephew, were not left far behind, nor myself neither; and he did not check his bridle, till he and his horse stood on the pinnacle; though he had looked back, more than once, to see how I enjoyed the expedition. Certainly, to one, of not quite so mounting a mind, or practice as our royal leader, it seemed an enterprize little inferior to riding up the side of a house; but the boys galloped on, with an eagerness and an ease which would have put a laggart to shame; and when I reached the top, His Royal Highness gaily enquired, how I liked his style of breathing a spring morning. We then viewed the surrounding prospect; which was more extensive and interesting, than rich or beautiful.

The absence of wood and water deprived it of all the graces of landscape; and the distance of the mountains, which edged the plain, denied it the grandeur which usually accompanies such gigantic boundaries. While the three young princes were enjoying their bird's-eye view, of the desultory march, and continued feats of arms and horsemanship, with which the goolams amused themselves; Abbas Mirza pointed out to me the spot where Teheran lay, as well as that of Rey, and the direction of Ispahan, Hamadan, &c. &c.; after which, we descended at nearly the same headlong rate as that with which we had mounted. Exploits of this kind are nothing extraordinary to a people who from the earliest times have been noted for excellent horsemanship. They charge over the most intimidating obstacles; and go at full speed along precipitous tracks, which a European would hardly venture to attempt, but in a state of madness or intoxication. I have seen the attendants of Abbas Mirza gallop over the most rugged paths, without incurring the slightest accident; and, indeed, so expert are these daring and practised riders, a horse with broken knees is a rare sight in this country. A Persian has the reins put into his hands, almost as soon as he quits his cradle, and mounts the most spirited animals, at the age when our boys are just bestriding a rocking-horse. One instance, I have mentioned already; where the very young children of Ali Nackee Mirza guided their fiery steeds over the plain of Casvin with all the ease of the best reputed horsemen. When we talk of fiery steeds, in this country, the term carries no comparison with what may bear that name in Europe. These are, indeed, horses of the sun; beautiful and fleet, and often fierce as the burning element. Some anecdotes, which I shall relate hereafter, will show that these words, when so applied, are something more than metaphor.

A few hours after this little expedition, when I joined His Royal Highness again in our ride, I perceived the usual smiling graciousness of his countenance had given place to an extraordinary gravity; but he immediately recommenced a conversation; talking of the palace of the king his father, at Sleymonia, where we were to halt for the night; and from whence, he hoped, to gain better intelligence on a subject, some accounts of which had just given him the greatest anxiety. In short, with a degree of manly feeling on his part, and a delicacy to mine, which I shall never forget, he told me he had seen a messenger, who brought tidings of the dangerous illness of a gentleman, whom he knew I was affectionately anticipating the sight of at Teheran. This was Dr. Drummond Campbell, with whom I had formed a friendship in Europe; a man, in the bloom of life; full of the most eminent talents, not merely professionally, but pointing to every line of Asiatic literature. He had been some time attached to the British embassy in Persia; and his perfect knowledge of the language of the country, rendered him one of the most valuable members of the mission. Abbas Mirza held these public qualities in great consideration, but he more particularly esteemed Dr. Campbell for his amiable private virtues; and while he repeated what the informant had told him, that the invalid was gone from Teheran to Kund, (a village lying a little out of the direct road, between that capital and Sleymonia,) for change of air; His Royal Highness anxiously added, that as soon as we should arrive at the palace, he would send Dr. De la Fosse forward, to ascertain, and bring him word, the true state of Dr. Campbell. On this intimation, I begged permission to accompany the medical gentleman; being now doubly impatient to see my friend; and promised, to fall in with the cavalcade the following morning, time enough to enter the capital with His Royal Highness.

At four o'clock P. M. we reached the palace of Sleymonia, a castellated structure, of such comprehensive dimensions, as to receive, not only the princes and their more immediate party, but the whole retinue. The plan of the palace consists of a succession of spacious courts, connected with each other, and surrounded by chambers, adapted to the rank of the persons expected to inhabit them. Gardens, also, sparkling with fountains, and embellished by lofty arcades, with a variety of winding paths, fill large spaces within the walls of the building. All these places were now occupied; men, horses, mules, and baggage, self-disposed in picturesque groups; some asleep on their nummuds, others at prayers; some cooking, eating, or smoking; others preparing their arms and accoutrements, for the following day; khans, and officers of state, passing to and fro; and the menials of the train unloading, or cleaning, the beasts of burthen.

After I had rested awhile in my own quarters, a person came from the Prince, to show me to his apartments, through some of the gardens, and the rest of the palace. The day was fine, and the little tour would have been as amusing, as His Royal Highness's goodness intended it, had not my mind been too much engrossed with the image of the friend I was to see in the evening, to pay much attention to any thing, however interesting, in the interim. Dr. De la Fosse, my intended conductor to Drummond Campbell, was also my intelligent companion throughout the various regions of this immense residence; and when I had seen enough, to satisfy my then languid curiosity, we ordered our attendant to show us direct to the Prince's quarters. He obeyed; and after passing through numerous courts and avenues, crowded, as I have described before; he brought us

to a spacious quadrangle, planted and watered in the customary Asiatic style; and into which the window of the great saloon, which contained the royal visitants, opened. A flight of steps, and a suite of anti-rooms, conducted us into the saloon, where we found Abbas Mirza, his brother the Prince-governor of Casvin, and the three young princes. His Royal Highness was pleased to hear that I had been over so much of this noble palace; which, in dimensions at least, reminded me of the superb ruins of a similar regal edifice amongst the remains of Anni. One morning, in mentioning Sleymonia to me, the Prince had spoken of several family pictures it contained; and expressed a wish that I would give him my opinion of their merits. They were the work of Persian artists. He now recalled to me the circumstance; telling me, that was the apartment which contained them, the great hall of audience; and he did me the honour to add, that he had reserved to himself the pleasure of showing it to me, and explaining the portraits.

The whole of its capacious floor was, as usual, covered with carpets and nummuds of the most costly fabric. The windows, whose height and breadth occupied nearly two sides of the room, were filled with stained glass of every shape and hue; while the opposite quarters, exhibited two large pictures, reaching from the ceiling almost to the floor: one, representing Futy Ali Shah, his present Majesty, seated in all the blaze of state, upon his throne. To his right and left, in the same picture, were ranged about twenty of his sons; beginning with Mahomed Ali Mirza, Prince-governor of Kermanshah; and finishing with the young Malek Kassum Mirza, who had been our fellow-traveller from Tabreez. Abbas Mirza, with the liveliest interest, de-

scribed each personage on the canvass; telling me, they were painted by the best artists that Persia could boast. A European connoisseur might have truly said, "Then, bad is the best!" But such naked truth would hardly have been deemed delicate in the sincerest country of Europe; and it certainly would not have been decent, to censure the prized works of his country, to the amiable prince, who took so much condescending pains to yield every gracious hospitality to a stranger from our more refined Europe. The style of painting was hard and dry; and the portraits of the heir-apparent, and his two brothers, who at that moment were confronting their effigies, were so little like themselves; that if the spectator may conclude of the degree of resemblance in the rest, from these specimens, it might as well have been a family piece of Shah Abbas, as of the present monarch of Persia. And yet, the figure of the king himself, though executed in so tea-board a manner, was fine; and showed so much majestic grace, I could not doubt his royal son's assurance, that it was like his father.

The other large picture, which hung on the opposite side of the room, amongst several of less dimensions, contained a portrait of the late king, Aga Mahomed Khan, surrounded by his kinsmen and courtiers. In the first class were his seven brothers, who had all distinguished themselves in arms; and were therefore habited in armour, though of a strange costume, mingled with the present ordinary fashion of Persia. The face of Aga Mahomed Khan, is as unprepossessing, as that of his brother Futy Ali Shah appears to be the contrary. Even the harsh pencil of the artist could not deprive the features of the latter monarch of the beauty, sweetness, and benignity, which his son told me are their characteristics; and from this fine head, descends a long

beard, black and bright, and of a peculiar form, the proudest appendage, to a Persian taste, of royal personal dignity.

About eight o'clock in the evening, Dr. de la Fosse and myself set forth, attended by an escort of horsemen, to visit my invalid friend at the village of Kund; a salubrious spot, delightfully situated on the side of the mountains north of Teheran. The night was beautiful; a bright moon, through as clear a sky, cheering us on our way. It was past midnight before we reached the quarters of poor Campbell. He was asleep when we arrived; and being careful not to have him disturbed, we did not see him till five o'clock the next morning. When I entered his melancholy chamber, and again took my friend by the hand, I was shocked to find him far more reduced, than even the messenger had described. His pleasure was great, at the sight of us; and we did our best to enliven him with hopes of recovery. But he shook his head, though with a kind smile, that showed his resignation, and feeling of our motive in thus seeking to cheer him. Our visit was short; but yet as long, as his weak state could bear; and we started early, that Dr. de la Fosse might make his report of our friend to the Prince, before he should be encumbered by the ceremonies of his approach to Teheran. According to the divinations of the wise, His Royal Highness was to depart from Sleymonia after midnight, to enable him to reach the capital three hours after sun-rise; that being the most fortunate moment of the day, agreeable to astrological calculation.

When we came up with Abbas Mirza, the information we brought, evidently gave him as much pain as we felt in narrating it; and the rest of the ride was performed in almost silence, till we met the joyous tumult from Teheran. The Prince's royal

brothers, who were gathered together for the solemnity of the festival, appeared at the head of the procession; a great concourse of nobles, and half the population of the city, followed them; and yet the ceremony of the *entré* was not so bustling, though much more splendid than that of Casvin. On my arrival, I of course became the guest of His Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Captain Willock, and was lodged in the palace of embassy.

Half a century ago, Teheran, the present metropolis of all Persia, would hardly have been considered a town of sufficient importance to be styled the capital of a province. It occupies a central situation, in the north-eastern districts of Irak-Ajem; an extensive division of the empire, comprising the greatest part of Media, and a lesser share of Parthia; or, rather, certain lands which the Princes of the latter country had conquered and annexed to their own. Parthia Proper was a very small tract, lying east of Khorasan. So much more has the spirit of a people, than their numbers, to do with making them a name, and gaining them possessions. Irak-Ajem is bounded on the north, by Azerbijan (which also was part of Media), Ghilan, and Mazanderan (ancient Hyrcania); to the south, by Farsistan and Kuzistan (ancient Susiana); to the west, by Kurdistan; and to the east, by Khorasan, and the Salt Desart.

Teheran, according to observations made by several British officers, lately resident in that city, is in latitude 35° 37′ N. Mr. M'Donald makes its longitude 50° 52′ E. It stands on a very low tract of ground, near to the foot of the Elborz mountains; which at this part have an older and more romantic celebrity attached to them, than the gloomy fame they derive from Hassan Saheb, and his sanguinary race. The ancient Hyrcania,

a country of warriors, who are reported to have carried a *charmed life*, lying immediately north of these hills, their passes became the scenes of more than mortal combats, between the simply brave heroes of Persia and these magician chieftains: they are also noted for having been the place of refuge of the illustrious Prince Zal, who, having been exposed, when an infant, to perish in these wilds, was nurtured by a simorgh or griffin; and afterwards marrying a great king's daughter, became the father of the yet more renowned Rustum, the champion of Persia.

In the midst of regions so memorable in tradition, Teheran continued long an obscure spot; but the wheel of fortune turned, and it started at once into the first consequence, under the auspices of Aga Mahomed Khan, uncle to the present Shah, and who was the first Persian sovereign that made Teheran a royal residence. Its vicinity to that monarch's paternal country of Astarabad, which has been styled the Garden of the East, and is entirely inhabited by the Cadjar people, the royal tribe of the king, was one cause of the distinction bestowed on this once humble village. It likewise lies in a central situation, between the provinces to the north-west, which border on Georgia, and those to the east, which are subject to incursions from the Turcomans, and their restless allies of Afghanistan. Indeed, for a position of general surveillance, the Persian monarch could hardly have chosen a better situation, than that of Teheran; though a pleasanter one might have been presented, by almost any one of the former capitals of the empire. The numerous spring torrents, which pour from the adjacent heights, at the beginning of the warm weather, saturate the low ground about the town, sink into its vaults, and send up such vapours and dampness, as to render it very unhealthy during that season of the year. The unpleasant-

ness of the place, however, lies wholly in this unwholesomeness; for its aspect is far from disagreeable. The very humidity of the soil produces early verdure, and clothes the gardens with a more abundant shade. Then, immediately behind the town, the high ranges of Elborz stretch to the eastward; and over their picturesque heads, in almost a direct line northward, rises the towering peak of Demewand. The wide plain, we had just traversed, affords an open and a noble view to the north-west; while the faintly-discerned chain of hills, skirting the horizon to the south, and which divide the fertile land from the Salt Desart, hardly bound the eye in that quarter.

Teheran, though modern as a capital, and comparatively obscure as a town, has nevertheless had some note of its existence, so far back as the fourteenth century. A Persian writer of that period, remarks it as "a large village, with productive gardens, in the vicinity of the city of Rey; its inhabitants having their dwellings under-ground, for two reasons; to avoid the excessive heat of summer, and the attacks of their hostile neighbours, from the Roudbar mountains." Nearly three centuries after this, in the year 1637, the secretary of the Holstein ambassadors mentions Teheran, as "one of the *towns* which enjoyed the privilege of maintaining no soldiers." The cold, I am told, is severe in the winter months. The weather, towards the spring, I found to be delightful; but early in June, the heat becomes so intolerable, that the city is almost totally abandoned: the court flies to the more temperate plains of Sultania or Oujan, and the people either to tents or villages amongst the hills. Nearer to the base of the mountains, and a little on the ascent, the earth is free from any degree of noxious moisture; the water is good, and the air perfectly salubrious. Hence, we cannot but lament,

that the founder of the new capital had not had sages about him of sufficient wisdom, to advise his planting the royal pavilion there, rather than in this summer swamp. The proximity of the commanding heights, as formerly they might have been called, since the introduction of modern art in defence and attack, need never have been an objection in a military view; at least, they would be none under the present reign; the Prince-governor of Azerbijan having brought the knowledge of European tactics to a practice which, never before, had been thought of in this country.

Teheran is surrounded by a deep ditch, towers, and a mud-wall, embracing a circuit of eight thousand yards, with four gates: that to the south, leading to Ispahan; that to the north-west, to Tabreez; the other two, look towards the hills in the corresponding directions. They are very plain in their structure, with the exception of a few blue and green tiles, by way of ornament. At about two hundred yards in front of each gate stands a very large circular tower, protected by a fosse; the earth of which must not only have assisted in elevating the body of the works, but has formed a glacis on its outer bank. These bulwarks might serve two very opposite purposes; first, to check the advance of an enemy; and then, if carried, to be turned as a line of circumvallation against the town; egress from the gates being perfectly at the command of these out-works. With the exception of Khoy, Tabreez, and Erivan, none of the embattled towns of Persia have embrasures in their walls; supplying their means of defence with small loop-holes for musquetry, and bell-shaped projections, running along both towers and curtains a few feet from the top, to act as machicolations.

It is generally supposed that the greatest part of this new city was erected from the ruins of Rey, which lie about five

miles distant. The principal materials in the construction of both places, are certainly sun-dried bricks ; but it seems to have been an unnecessary length of way, to have brought so many thousand ass-loads, as must have been wanted to complete the purpose. Cart-carriage is a convenience not known in this country ; therefore, if the builders required the spoil of any other place to assist their labours, the remains of numerous ancient villages of the same fabric, lying much nigher at hand, would, most likely, have been made to yield their substance to the modern erection. Neither mosque, nor palace, break the equal line of the city ; the residence of the king being situated in the citadel or ark, a distinct quarter of itself, occupying a square of twelve hundred yards, and surrounded by its own bulwarks, which close upon the north wall of the town. The streets of Teheran, like all other that I have seen in this country, are extremely narrow, and full of mud or dust, according to the season being wet or dry. When a khan or any great man goes out to take the air, or for any other object, he seldom condescends to be seen on foot ; but, mounted on horseback, sets forth with a train of thirty or forty ill-appointed followers on foot, and a servant preceding him, bearing a fine embroidered horse-cloth. One of the fellows in the rear generally carries his master's kalioun ; but of what use the others are, except to fill the scanty way, and raise a dust to suffocation, I have never been able to learn. Successions of such groups, loaded camels, mules, asses, and not unfrequently one or two of the royal elephants, are continually passing to and fro ; sometimes jamming up the streets, to the evident hazard of life and limbs, both of man and beast. Ancient and modern cities of the East, all show the same narrow line in the plan of their streets. To compress many inhabitants, in a similar small space, was

deemed expedient, in Europe also, when the state of the times rendered fortified places the only secure places; and this occasional necessity may account, in some measure, for the wretched alleys I have just described. But the natives give another reason; that were they wider it would be impossible to pass along them, under the unshaded fire of the summer's sun. This may appear feasible; but the evil is only half averted; confined heat, crowd, and odious smells, producing effects, to European feelings at least, more intolerable than the most vertical beams in a free atmosphere. Where any place does present a little more room than ordinary, or under the covered ways attached to the shops, we generally find one of the national story-tellers, surrounded by groups of people; some well-clad, others in rags, and not a few nearly naked, attending with the most lively interest to tales they must have heard a thousand times before. He recounts them with a change of gesticulation, and a varied tone of voice, according to his subject; whether it be the loves of Khosroo and Shireene, the exploits of Rustum their favourite hero, or any number of historic couplets from Ferdoussi, the Homer of their land. From the humblest peasant, to the head that wears the diadem, all have the same passion for this kind of entertainment. His present Majesty, and also the several Prince-governors, have each a court story-teller; in listening to whose powers of memory, or of eloquence, the royal personage frequently passes the leisure of the day; and when on a long journey, this necessary officer is always within call, to beguile the tedium of the way. Such a living chronicle of noble exemplars is certainly a more creditable adjunct to a great man's train, than the saucy motleys of our old courts; whose wit might as often be a vehicle of mischief, as of innocent pastime, to the invited

guests. These story-tellers of Persia have a mixed character, something between the bards of antiquity, and the troubadours of more modern days.

On entering Teheran from the Casvin gate, and after proceeding two or three hundred yards into the town, a large open space presents itself, full of wide and deep excavations, or rather pits, sunk in the earth. Within the shaft of these well-like places, and round its steep sides, are numerous apertures, leading to subterraneous apartments; some, the sojourn of poor houseless human beings, who, otherwise would have no shelter; others, a temporary stabling for beasts of burthen, under the same circumstances. In these gloomy recesses, we doubtless find the village of Teheran, as it was described in the fourteenth century, by the Persian writer quoted a few pages before.

I could not learn, with any degree of precision, the population of the town; but I should suppose, from my own observations, that during His Majesty's winter and spring residence there, it may amount to between sixty and seventy thousand souls. Of course, I do not calculate in this number the extraordinary influx from the provinces, which draw to the capital at the celebration of the Nowroose.

The three or four days which intervened between my arrival, and the solemnity of the feast, were in part dedicated to exchanging visits with the ministers and superior khans. Amongst the former, was Mirza Sheffy, the well-known prime-minister of his late majesty, and of the present King. Mr. Willock, the British Chargé d'Affaires, was so good as to accompany me in the performance of this expected courtesy, to the residence of his Persian Excellency, about four o'clock, P. M.: and a scene presented itself, which would have formed an excellent study

Sir Robert Porter.

L. Clark sc.

The City of Teheran from the Ispahan Road.

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for the pencil of Rembrandt, in painting the Repose of an Avare. We found the old man in a small, dark, and even dirty, apartment, belonging to the quarter of the palace which is called the treasury. He was lying on as dingy a nummud, dosing off the effects of the opium pills, with which Persians of all ranks, when they advance in life, indulge themselves. This humble couch was pressed upon, on every side, by iron-braced boxes, some open, and others shut, filled with ducats, tomauns, and other coin current of the country. Not far from him sat his treasurer, a one-eyed personage, with paper, pens, and ink-horn, before him; and a large pair of scales, which he used, both in receiving, and sending forth, any part of the contents of the circumjacent coffers. Indeed his attributes, both personal and appending, were very corresponding to those of the blind goddess herself.

When we took our seats, this attentive deputy roused his master; who, starting from his slumber, without the least shade of recent sleep on any of his faculties, welcomed us with the usual florid compliments of his country. This nobleman is about seventy-five years of age; rather short in stature; his figure spare and stooping; a thin, pallid, and withered visage; with small sparkling eyes; his beard rather long, pointed, and dyed a bright red. He is a man of considerable talent, and tact; the latter being a most essential addition, in turning the first to any important degree of advantage. The world has given him another lesson too; and, perhaps, it does not belong more particularly to the Asiatic world, than to that of the great European states in general; who, almost all, virtually acknowledge, that power is the ambition of life, and that wealth is power. This principle of the world has taught this Persian minister to grasp

gold as the machine of Archimedes; and, from seeking to amass it for his prince, he has habitually learnt to love it for itself. Hence, presents are, as "light to his eyes;" they are never repelled; but his mental sight is too strong to allow such matter to blind it. Excepting another cotemporary politician, who, long "seated in the West," first on the right hand of a wild republic, then at the side of a rigorous despotism, and lastly, by the throne of a limited monarchy, preserved his place with all; perhaps there is hardly another man, who, like Mirza Sheffy, could have maintained his station steadily, under the sceptre of two princes so perfectly different in the principles of their sway, as Aga Mahomed Khan, and Futteh Ali Shah. Indeed, whatever may be the shades, which habitual avidity has thrown over the daily acts of this minister, he understands the business of his office, and performs it diligently; and, being considered the second man in the kingdom, (who has proved the loyal object of his wealth by having made the Shah his heir!) he is treated, by all ranks, with a degree of deference, hardly inferior to that of royalty itself. A little anecdote that was told to me the other day, of this minister, will show the master-passion, and the humour with which he sometimes turns it into sport. His station near the sovereign gives him a kind of reflecting consequence, that makes a nod or a smile from him, so full of a similar quality, that it may shed honour *ad infinitum* downwards; graduating dignity, according to its distance from the original fountain of favour. First one happy courtier, and then another, had received these marks of peculiar grace; and, in consequence, became the little centre of a temporary adulation from hundreds; many of whom envied the favour they sought to conciliate, even at second, or third hand. Amongst the latter order of suitors, was a rich, but

otherwise inconsiderable individual, who had long attended Mirza Sheffy's levees, without having received the slightest notice; but chancing one day to find the minister alone for a few moments, he seized the opportunity, and thus addressed him:

"I have had the honour of placing myself, for these many months back, in your Excellency's sight, in the midst of your crowded halls, and yet have never had the happiness of receiving a single glance. But if your Excellency would condescend, in the next assembly of your visitors, to *rise a little*, on my entrance, such a distinction would be the height of my ambition; I should thenceforth be held of consequence in the eyes of the khans. And for this honour, I would give your Excellency a consideration of one hundred tomauns."

It was an argument his Excellency liked so well, he closed with the proposal, and the time for the solemn investing-dignity was arranged for the next day. The happy man took care not to make his appearance till the divan of the minister was pretty well filled. He then presented himself on the most conspicuous part of the carpet, big with ideas of the ever-growing honours, of which that moment was to make him master. He looked proudly round on the rest of the khans, while Mirza Sheffy, half-raising himself from his seat, by his knuckles, and fixing his eyes gravely on him, to the no small astonishment of the rest of the company, exclaimed, "Is that enough?" The man was so overcome with confusion, he hurried from the room; leaving his distinction and his money alike with the minister; but taking with him the useful lesson, that bought honours are generally paid with disgrace. The laugh for once went, without doubt of sincerity, with the great man; and his smiles became of still higher value, since it had been proved that he set them above price.

The 21st of March, the impatiently anticipated day of the most joyous festival of Persia, at last arrived. It is called the feast of the Nowroose, or that of the commencement of the new year; and its institution is attributed to the celebrated Jemsheed, who, according to the traditions of the country, and the fragments yet preserved of its early native historians, was the sixth in descent from Noah, and the fourth sovereign of Persia, of the race of Kaiomurs, the grandson of Noah. To Jemsheed the Persians ascribe their best laws, the origin of their useful arts, and the establishment of their chief cities. In short, they give him a reign of seven hundred years. During which period, he plants vineyards, and becomes the inventor of wine; he divides his people into classes; he institutes holy festivals; and becomes so prosperous in all his deeds, that he forgets he owes his good fortune to any superior being than himself; and arrogating the powers of a God, he commands his people to worship him. In consequence of this impiety, Divine vengeance pursues him; he is driven from his throne; and at last dies at the feet of a ruthless conqueror. All this is a great confusion of real events, falsely attributed to one man; but which we find recorded in the sacred and profane histories of the countries which once formed the great Persian empire, not of one prince, but of a variety of persons, from Noah until Alexander. This preposterous mistake may, however, be easily accounted for, when we recollect the exaggerating genius of the people; and that all their present records of those times arise from tradition, and a few scattered remnants of former annals, compiled into heroic verse by the imagination of a poet, who lived four hundred years after the archives had been destroyed by the jealousy of the Mahomedan conquerors of Persia; and, consequently, the present narrators

may be excused, for the errors of bewildered memories, the difficulty of reconciling fragments, and the creations with which enthusiastic fancy attempted to supply the defects. But to return to the feast of the Nowroose. It is acknowledged to have been celebrated from the earliest ages, in Persia, independent of whatever religions reigned there; whether the simple worship of the One Great Being, or under the successive rites of Magian, Pagan, or Mahomedan institutions. But the account given of its origin is this:—Jemsheed, after dividing time into two kinds of years, civil and religious, and introducing an intercalary month to keep the calendar in due order with the seasons, established the festival in question, to commemorate the act, and to take place on the first day of the new solar year; which, according to his arrangement, was to commence at the time of the natural reproduction of all things that conduce to the subsistence of man. The calculation of the year, commonly in use at present in Persia, is by the moon; which makes it some days shorter than our year of Europe. Each month begins and ends with the moon, by whose changes the religious fasts and festivals of their prophet are regulated. But the solar year, which was the division by Jemsheed, begins the moment the sun enters Aries; (from which time is dated the first day of the spring also,) and consists of twelve months, of twenty-nine, and thirty days each. It is at the commencement of this solar year, that the Nowroose is celebrated. Jemsheed fixed upon his capital, as the place of solemnity; and that, probably, was the city of Balk; it having been the residence of his ancestor, Kaiomurs; and afterwards long known as the metropolis of the early Persian monarchs. The feast was to continue six days. On the first, and in the whole assembly of his people, the king bestowed marks of his

favour on the humblest class of his subjects, addressing the throng in these terms:

"This is a new day, of a new month, of a new year! I have thus arranged the time, and call you together, that we may be the better enabled to follow nature in her progress. Also, to cement those ties closer which have hitherto united us; and, like the inseparable succession of the seasons, to enjoy in our hearts those blessings which unity ensures."

On the second day of the festival, he rewarded his counsellors, and ministers; on the third, he dealt out similar benefits to the learned and skilful; the fourth was appropriated to the reception of his royal relations, and the general mass of nobility; whilst the two remaining days, were dedicated to universal rejoicing, feasting, and shows. Thus far, the accounts of the poet Ferdoussi, and the few scattered fragments of history, from which he drew his tale. But in the festival itself, which is on all sides acknowledged to be of so ancient a celebration, that tradition must go back to the patriarchal ages for its institution; and from its being found near the very spot whence the descent from the ark was made; I must own that I see sufficient evidence to admit the probability that it even originated with, or rather was re-appointed by, the venerable antediluvian Patriarch himself. In this light, it may be an interesting subject to all mankind; as a memorial of the creation of the world in six days, of the first spring to man, of the general equality of his race; excepting the filial homage, due to its paternal head; who, before the flood, might at the great anniversary of the world's birth, have thus called the fathers of the families of the earth together, to remind them whence they sprung. In such a case, there can be no doubt that Noah would receive the sacred ordinance, in a direct line

from Adam. And after his descent from the ark, which took place at the same vernal season of the year; when the world seemed created afresh, from the destruction of the deluge; and mankind were to spring again, as well as the earth; it does not appear unlikely, that in re-establishing the ancient usage, he would cause it to be considered in a double view, that of commemorating two such similar events, as the creation of the world, and its restoration. Indeed, some writers call the Nowroose *the feast of the waters*; which bears well upon the idea of its having been a memorial of the Deluge. Similar traces, of commemorating the same event; some signal calamity having befallen the world, and its as extraordinary recovery to newness of life; may be very generally found, in the customs of all nations. In pagan countries, the *Saturnalia* was one instance, out of many, which evidently pointed to this circumstance; the birth of the world, and the equality of mankind, in the golden age. And, at almost the same period of the year, we find the feast of the Passover amongst the Jews; which commemorates to them, a mighty deliverance of that people, from a state of civil death in Egypt, to a happy existence, in the possession of Canaan. And we have Easter in the Christian world, as an everlasting remembrance of the awful event at Calvary, and the consequent regeneration of all mankind. Hence, as all these several great festivals, of every age, and every people, were celebrated at the same season of the year; and all evidencing, by record or implication, some grand renewal of benefits to man, I cannot but consider the precedent of them all, as having primarily descended from Adam to Noah; and thence dispersed abroad, by use, and tradition, throughout every nation of the earth; to be followed, by the succession of blessings before enumerated.

Amongst other gratulatory testimonies of good will, eggs dyed, or gilded, are mutually presented by the assembled multitude at this feast, in the same way that they are interchanged at the festival of Easter, by the members of the Greek church. I recollect the same custom, at the same sacred anniversary, in the northern counties of England. But I have never been able, abroad nor at home, to obtain any explanation whatever of the usage; and the only conjecture I can offer is, that eggs made of gold, having been a very ancient mode of tribute in the East; eggs, natural or artificial, might originally have been brought, in this character, by various degrees of persons, to be paid to the sovereign presiding at the great spring festival; and afterwards, when Christianity was introduced to this part of the world, and Easter instituted, the sign of former homage to one man, might change its direction, and, dispersed about, become a mark of common brotherhood.

I shall now describe the great fête of Persia, as it is celebrated in these modern times. On the evening preceding the day of its commencement, the King sends abroad his kaalats, shawls, &c., as badges of honour, to the persons highest in his consideration; and the British Chargé d'Affaires, with myself, were included in the honourable distinction. Next morning, we equipped ourselves in the royal insignia, wearing it over our uniforms; and awaited the arrival of the officer from the court, who was to conduct us to the presence. This was no less a personage, than the chief executioner; and such an attendant was to be esteemed one of the greatest marks of respect which could have been shown by the Persian monarch.

It was a fine morning, and at eight o'clock we mounted our horses; proceeding through narrow streets, and a part of the

bazar, which terminated at the outer gate of the ark. After passing over an open space, we crossed the bridge of the citadel, and thence were conducted into a very large square. A dome-shaped building of wood open to the eye, appeared in the middle of the place; and under its roof stood the enormous brass cannon, which Chardin mentions having seen in the Maidan-shah, at Ispahan. It was brought from that capital several years ago, and stationed here, on a huge, and apparently immoveable carriage. Old guns, of various calibre, all equally awkward and unmanageable, and mingled with a few of modern fabrick, stand round the sides of this central structure. Not far distant, about two hundred swivels lay in rows on the ground. They belonged to the camel corps, who were on duty to salute the king on his entrance into the great assembly of his people. And, indeed, it might well have that title; for persons of all ranks were thronged together, within the walls of this outer court. Persians of the lowest orders, some decently attired, others in the rags of mendicity; khans in kaalats (the robe of honour) covered with gold and brocade; servants in gorgeous coats; and soldiers in their military garbs; all pressed on each other in one equalizing mob. It was not practicable to get our horses through such a mass of human beings; so we dismounted at the entrance of the square, and following the necessity of shouldering our way to the opposite egress, tried by that wedge-like motion, to make a passage to the royal portal. Awe of the chief heads-man, did not widen the path an inch; neither did the hard-plied sticks of the Chargé d'Affaires' domestics in front, effect the slightest breach; they might as well have battered a wall. However we got through at last, with no small impression made upon our court-apparel, and the shawls of our waists rent into

as many strips as we had had tugs in our passage. Leaving the throng behind, we turned under a narrow and dark arch-way, to a low and very small door, and entered through it at once upon the quarter of the palace. It shewed a spacious area, shaded with trees, and intersected by water. In the centre, stood the splendid edifice where his Majesty was to sit to receive the homage of his subjects. We were led towards the southern aspect of this place, the grand saloon fronting that way, where the ceremony of royal presentation was to be performed, and were carefully stationed at the point deemed the best for seeing and hearing the Great King. Before his Majesty appeared, I had time to observe the disposition of the scene, in which this illustrious personage was to act so conspicuous a part.

Rows of high poplars, and of other trees, divide this immense court, or rather garden, into several avenues. That which runs along the midst of the garden is the widest; enclosing a narrow piece of still water, stretching from end to end, and animated here and there, with a few little *jets d'eau;* the margins of which were spread with oranges, pears, apples, grapes, and dried fruit, all heaped on plates, set close together, like a chain. Another slip of water, faced diagonally the front of the palace; and its fountains being more direct in the view of the monarch, were of greater magnificence and power, shooting up to a height of three or four feet! a sublimity of hydraulic art, which the Persians suppose cannot be equalled in any other country. Along the marble edges of this canal and fountains, were also placed fruits of every description, in pyramids; and between each elevated range of plates, with these their glowing contents, stood vases filled with flowers, of a beautiful fabric, in wax, that seemed to want nothing of nature, but its perfume. In a

line, beyond these, were set a regular row of the finest china bowls, filled with sherbet. So far, the refreshments of the fête.

The company were thus disposed:—in two parallel files, down the sides of the wide centre avenue, stood the khans and other Persians of rank; many of whom we had been constrained to elbow, in our way to the place of ceremony. They were arrayed in their most costly attire, of gold or silver brocades; and some of them wearing, in addition, the royal kaalat, which usually consists of a pelisse lined with fine furs, and covered with the richest embroidery. Their heads were bound with Keshmere shawls, of every colour and value. All these persons had been arranged in their places, by the master of the ceremonies; or rather, according to his own consequence, we might style him grand-marshal of the palace; for the duty he performed, was much in the way of our ancient heraldic officers at royal feasts; and besides, he was of such high personal dignity in himself, as to be son-in-law to the king. He was preceded in the exercise of his office, by a man bearing before him an enamelled wand, surmounted by a bird of the same delicate construction. This now insignia of delegated authority, may be some remains of the glorious eagle-standard, which Xenophon mentions as the early ensign of Persia. It consisted of a golden eagle, placed at the end of a long pike, and was used by the Persian monarchs in his time, both as a sceptre, and a military rallying point. How, then, do things change, since this badge of the proudest sovereignty, is lowered to the humble duty of a staff of office, in the hands of a deputy *mâitre des ceremonies.*

The royal procession made its appearance. First, the elder sons of the King entered, at the side on which we stood; Abbas Mirza taking the left of the whole, which brought him to the

right of the throne. His brothers followed, till they nearly closed upon us. Directly opposite to this elder rank of princes, all grown to manhood, their younger brothers arranged themselves on the other side of the transverse water; and as they were marshalled according to their age, I recognised my little travelling companion in the last. They were all superbly habited, in the richest brocade vests and shawl-girdles, from the folds of which glittered the jewelled hilts of their daggers. Each wore a sort of robe of gold stuff, lined, and deeply collared with the most delicate sables, falling a little below the shoulder, and reaching to the calf of the leg. Around their black caps, they too had wound the finest shawls. Every one of them, from the eldest to the youngest, wore bracelets of the most brilliant rubies and emeralds, just above the bend of the elbow. The personal beauty of these princes, was even more extraordinary, to the eyes of a traveller, than the splendour of their dresses; there was not one of them, who might not have been particularised any where else, as most eminently handsome. A fine line of features, large dark eyes full of lustre, graceful stature, and a noble mien, made them, indeed, an object of admiring wonder in themselves.

At some distance, near the front of the palace, appeared another range of highly-revered personages; moullahs, astrologers, and other sages of this land of the East, clothed in their more sombre garments of religion and philosophy. Here was no noise, no bustle of any kind; every person standing quietly in his place, respectfully awaiting the arrival of the monarch. At last, the sudden discharge of the swivels from the camel-corps without, with the clangor of trumpets, and I know not what congregation of uproarious sounds besides, announced that His Majesty had entered the gate of the citadel. But the most extraordinary part of this clamour, was the appalling roar of two

huge elephants, trained to the express purpose of giving this note of the especial movements of the Great King.

He entered the saloon from the left, and advanced to the front of it, with an air and step which belonged entirely to a sovereign. I never before had beheld any thing like such perfect majesty ; and he seated himself on his throne with the same undescribable, unaffected dignity. Had there been any assumption in his manner, I could not have been so impressed. I should then have seen a man, though a king, theatrically acting his state ; here, I beheld a great sovereign feeling himself as such, and he looked the majesty he felt.

He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him ; but the details of his dress were these : A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the Great King. It was entirely composed of thickly-set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed, as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls, of an immense size. His vesture was of gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery ; and, crossing the shoulders, were two strings of pearls, probably the largest in the world. I call his dress a vesture, because it sat close to his person, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, showing a shape as noble as his air. At that point, it devolved downwards in loose drapery, like the usual Persian garment, and was of the same costly materials with the vest. But for splendour, nothing could exceed the broad bracelets round his arms,

and the belt which encircled his waist; they actually blazed like fire, when the rays of the sun met them; and when we know the names derived from such excessive lustre, we cannot be surprised at seeing such an effect. The jewelled band on the right arm was called *The Mountain of Light;* and that on the left, *The Sea of Light;* and which superb diamonds, the rapacious conquests of Nadir Shah had placed in the Persian regalia, after sacking Delhi, stripping Mahomed Shah, the eleventh emperor of the Moguls, of his dominions, and adding to Persia all the provinces of Hindostan, north of the Indus. In the horrible spoliation of the Mogul capital, which took place hardly eighty years ago, upwards of a hundred thousand Indians were massacred; and the treasure transported thence to Persia, is computed to have been worth sixty million tomauns; but no part of it was so highly prized as these transcendant precious stones. Here, again, we cannot but recall the observation, that the character of a sovereign, in most cases, has that of his people, politically speaking, in his hands. Let us remember what the Swedes were, under Charles the Twelfth and Gustavus Adolphus; what Russia was, under Peter the Great and the Emperor Alexander; what Persia was under Cyrus, and even groaning beneath the yoke of this monster, Nadir Shah; and what may it not become under a race like this of Futteh Ali Shah; when a merciful and liberal mind, attempering the severities of war, would attach countries and people to its empire, which ambition, blinded by ignorance, thinks can only be maintained by making the conquered land a desart!

The celebrated throne which Nadir Shah tore from under the Mogul emperors, was not brought forth at this festival; that from which Futteh Ali Shah viewed his assembled subjects, was better

suited to the benignant nature of the meeting, than such a trophy. That was gorgeous with Indian magnificence, and, might we not say, red with the blood of its defeated princes! This was a platform of pure white marble, an apt emblem of peace, raised a few steps from the ground, and carpeted with shawls and cloth of gold, on which the King sat in the fashion of his country, while his back was supported by a large cushion, encased in a net-work of pearls. The spacious apartment in which this simple seat of majesty was erected, is open from the roof of the building nearly to the earth, on the side opposite to the assembled people; and supported, in front, by two twisted columns of white marble, fluted with gold. The interior of the saloon was profusely decorated with carving, gilding, arabesque painting, and looking-glass; which latter material was, in a manner, interwoven with all the other wreathing ornaments, gleaming and glittering in every part from the vaulted ceiling to the floor. Vases of waxen flowers, others with rose-water, &c. were arranged about the apartment; though they could scarcely be seen, from the close ranks of the very young princes, who crowded near their royal parent.

While the Great King was approaching his throne, the whole assembly, with one accord, continued bowing their heads to the ground till he had taken his place. A dead silence then ensued; the whole presenting a most magnificent, and indeed awful appearance; the stillness being so profound, amongst so vast a concourse, that the slightest rustling of the trees was heard, and the softest trickling of the water from the fountains into the canals. As the motionless state of every thing lasted for more than a minute, it allowed me time to observe particularly the figure of the Shah. His face seemed exceedingly pale, of a polished marble hue; with the finest contour of features; and eyes dark, bril-

liant, and piercing; a beard black as jet, and of a length which fell below his chest, over a large portion of the effulgent belt which held his diamond-hilted dagger. This extraordinary amplitude of beard, appears to have been a badge of Persian royalty, from the earliest times; for we find it attached to the heads of the sovereigns, in all the ancient sculptured remains throughout the empire.

In the midst of this solemn stillness, while all eyes were fixed on the bright object before them, which sat, indeed, as radiant and immoveable as the image of Mithrus itself, a sort of volley of words, bursting at one impulse from the mouths of the moullahs and astrologers, made me start, and interrupted my gaze. This strange outcry, was a kind of heraldic enumeration of the Great King's titles, dominions, and glorious acts; with an appropriate panegyric on his courage, liberality, and extended power. When this was ended, with all heads bowing to the ground, and the air ceased to vibrate with the sounds, there was a pause for about half a minute, and then His Majesty spoke. The effect was even more startling than the sudden bursting forth of the moullahs; for this was like a voice from the tombs, so deep, so hollow, and at the same time so penetratingly loud. Having thus addressed his people, he looked towards Captain Willock the British Chargé d'Affaires, with whom I stood; and then we moved forward to the front of the throne. The same awful voice, though in a lowered tone, spoke to him, and honoured me with a gracious welcome to his dominions. After His Majesty had put a few questions to me, and received my answers, we fell back into our places; and were instantly served with bowls of a most delicious sherbet, which very grateful refreshment was followed by an attendant presenting to us a large silver tray; on which lay a heap of small coin called a shy, of the

same metal, mixed with a few pieces of gold. I imitated my friend in all these ceremonies, and held out both my hands to be filled with this royal largess; which, with no little difficulty, we passed through our festal trappings into our pockets.

When the rest of the gratulatory compliments of the day, had been uttered between the monarch and his assembled nobles, the chief executioner, our former herald, gave us the signal that all was over for that morning. We then retired, as we came, under his auspices; but, if possible, with still more pressure and heat than we had battled through in our approach.

The celebration of the feast was to last six days; several evenings of which were dedicated to the display of fireworks; and the mornings, to the reception of presents to the King, from his sons the Prince-governors of the provinces, also from his ministers, khans, &c. These offerings generally consist of mule and camel loads of gold stuffs, shawls, or any rare and valuable commodity, which money or good fortune may throw in the way of the donor. I am told that the amount brought into the royal treasury by this various tribute, is enormous; and that it rather increases than diminishes, on every succeeding anniversary. One day is allotted to horse-racing; but, for some reason, it was postponed at this fête to a more distant period. With the taste common to my countrymen, for such exhibitions in general, I more particularly wished to see the style of that entertainment in a kingdom of the East, where the horse, like our own, is one of the boasts of the country; but at this time, I was so little in a frame of mind to enjoy the sight, or indeed to take that interest in the progress of the week of the Nowroose, which I otherwise should have done, that after my first appearance at the fête, I devoted the greatest part of every day, and much of the night,

to the cause of my anxiety; my poor friend Drummond Campbell, who had returned to Teheran from the hills, rather worse than amended by either of the changes.

Captain Willock, and myself, attended him closely; but notwithstanding all our care, and the very best medical assistance which Persia could afford, for the anxiety of the Prince Royal was almost equal to our own, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of March he breathed his last. We stood by his bed-side with his kind physician; and it was one of the severest pangs I ever endured, to see a young man, thus in the morning of his life, and full of the brightest talents, yield up that useful life in a foreign land; far from a kindred who loved him with the tenderest affections, and who, even at that time, were looking towards the honours he was deriving here, with the fondest expectations. And our pang was the more, in thinking that when they should hear of his dying, thus distant from them, and far from the rites of his religion, they might doubt of his having had one human being of his own faith to perform the last solemn duty, of closing his eyes. But the Chargé d'Affaires, afterwards, took care to give his bereaved parents the comfort of knowing that Heaven had brought to their son's pillow, not merely his countrymen, but men whom his virtues had long made his friends.

We followed him to the grave, with the sincerest mourning, and saw him interred with all the respect which the limited Christian establishment in this country would allow. He was buried in the interior of the Armenian church at Teheran, not far from the altar; the funeral service being performed, first by the priest of that faith, and then, according to the protestant ritual, by Captain Willock. When we took our leave of the spot, which contained the remains of our lamented friend, I

could not but feel, that no sepulchral monument that ever bore the name of Campbell, could cover the ashes of one more formed to reflect honour on the illustrious clan from which he sprung. He had scarcely attained his twenty-fifth year, when he bade us and the world farewell; and no European, dying in these dominions, probably was ever more deeply regretted by the Persians, from the King himself to the humblest of his subjects; his kindly disposition having been as prompt, as his talents were various; and therefore powerful to serve, from the highest to the lowest rank. The Kyme Makaum, Mirza Bouzoork, whose friendship is not more esteemed from its great influence, than for the distinguished nobleness of his character, loved Campbell as if he had been his son; and Abbas Mirza held him so near to his heart, that when Captain Willock and myself went to him after the sad event, his first words were, "I know not whether to offer my consolations to you for the irreparable loss we have sustained, or to ask you to give me yours."

Above a fortnight elapsed after our friend's obsequies, before the day arrived which had been appointed for the grand horse-race. During the interval, his Majesty had been fully informed of my objects in coming to his country, and in the most gracious manner he acceded to all I wished, with regard to visiting the interior of his dominions; while the remarks he made on the subject, made me often recognise the near affinity between him and his son, even more by the similarity of mental intelligence, than the general resemblance in their persons.

But I had yet much to see in the city and its environs, before I pursued my journey; and I received facilities from every quarter. My old acquaintance, Abul Hassan Khan, whom I

had known at St. Petersburgh, during his stay there as ambassador, was politely eager to return me every hospitable attention at his sovereign's capital, and to point out the most interesting objects in its neighbourhood. Hence I had a variety of kind, and well-informed cicerones; and lost no time in visiting every note-worthy spot in the town, and the many sumptuous palaces, with their boasted gardens, which formed the circumjacent scenery; besides the interesting objects of antiquity, which stretched along the Elborz, from their fabled heights, to the base of the mountains, where lay the ever-venerable ruins of Rhey.

In the midst of these occupations, my attention was recalled to the horse-race; and it took place on the 11th of April. Soon after six o'clock, in a beautiful spring morning, we rode to the field of action. It was about two miles from the city, beyond the Casvin gate; where, I was told by one of my Persian friends, I should see "the fiery coursers of Iran, pass over the untouched earth with the velocity of lightning." When arrived at the spot, we found a superb pavilion, which had been pitched the night before, for the reception of the King. It was lined with brocaded silk, and carpeted with the most splendid manufacture of Kerman. A chair of state, embroidered with precious stones, with the imperial kalioun, and a little vase or *crachoir*, all embellished in the same costly style, stood under the canopy, facing its opening. Already hundreds of khans, on gorgeously-caparisoned horses, with their respective trains, had ranged themselves in front of the tent, leaving an intermediate space for the race.

A volley from the swivels of the camel-corps, proclaimed when his Majesty mounted at the gate of his palace; and soon

after, a cavalcade, like a little army, appeared in that direction from the city. About four hundred of these soldiers of state, seated on their fine camels, and each armed with his swivel, moving on a pivot at the point of his saddle in front, immediately preceded the rest of the royal procession. The uniform of this corps is red, and something like the fashion of our British regimentals about twenty or thirty years ago. They wear a bright brass cap, of a cone shape, with a bunch of cock-feathers stuck in the pointed top. There was nothing martial in their appearance; and so little of dignity, from the incongruity of their oddly-mixed half European costume, with the Asiatic animals they rode, that the troop rather recalled to my risible faculties, certain impressions connected with cavalcades I had seen in England, accompanying our splendid shows of wild beasts, than suggested the respectful ideas which belong to a regal escort. This corps were followed by a great number of horsemen, in no very regular line; and then came a long train of *tchatters*, or running-footmen, clothed in light blue, who immediately preceded the royal personage himself. His Majesty rode quite alone, mounted on an eminently beautiful steed, naturally of spotless white; but, according to a particular badge of sovereignty, the creature was stained of a gaudy orange colour, all along the lower part of his body, in a direct line from the swell of the chest to the tail. The King's appearance, as before, possessed every thing of perfect majesty; but here it was all derived from his own person, his dress being more simple than any of his assembled nobles; all his ornaments consisted of pearls; and, though of the highest value, they gave grace, but not splendour to his habit. Abbas Mirza, as heir apparent, with the rest of the royal family, and the court, closed the rear of the

train. And as soon as the King reached the pavilion, and his foot touched the earth, another volley from the advanced-guard proclaimed aloud that his Majesty had alighted. He then took his seat in the regal chair, and, till the opening of the sport, conversed with several of his ministers.

My curiosity was fully on the spur to see the racers; which, I could not doubt, must have been chosen from the best in the nation, to exhibit the perfection of its breed before the Sovereign. The rival horses were divided into three successive sets, in order to lengthen the amusement. They had been in training for several weeks past; going over the ground very often during that period; and when I did see them, I found so much pains had been taken to sweat and reduce their weight, that their bones were nearly cutting the skin. The distance marked for the race, was a stretch of twenty-four miles; and, that his Majesty might not have to wait when he had reached the field, the horses had set forward long before, by their three divisions, from the starting point; (a short interval of time passing between each set;) so that they might come in, a few minutes after the King had taken his seat. Hence, these high-mettled coursers had been galloping all night; and, in regular order, the different divisions arrived at the goal; all so fatigued and exhausted, that their former boasted fleetness, hardly exceeded a moderate canter, when they passed before the royal eyes.

I do not exactly know how it happened, but the Shah's horses generally won; and, I am informed, that when it falls out otherwise, the owner of the fortunate steed always presents it to His Majesty. The poor beasts were ridden by boys of all ages, sizes, and weights; some in shirts, and others in their usual attire, with handkerchiefs bound round their heads; so that no equality

of burthen was preserved, and under every disadvantage the whole party strained alike over the course. My pity for the fine animals, which had apparently been so injudiciously managed, was proportioned to my disappointment; but on making some remarks on the subject, I found, that swiftness over a certain portion of ground in a given time, was not, as with us, the object of a Persian race. The aim here, is to possess a breed of horses, so trained as to be able to go a regular rapid pace, under privation, and carrying any sort of weight, for a great many hours together; a sort of horse which is essential in this country, for the dispatch of business, the swift march of armies, and often, in cases of military reverse, to save the lives of its great men. As soon as the third division swept by, His Majesty rose, and mounting his steed, returned to the palace in the same state with which he left it.

Having, for the most part, described the royal residence in the ark, attached to the city, I shall not say any thing more of its details, but proceed to the *agrémens* of two much more delightful palaces, in the neighbourhood. One, called the Tackt-i-Kajer, is situated about three miles to the north-east of the town; being intended as a summer retreat from the toils of state, whenever the King might find it expedient to pass the whole year at Teheran. But this rarely happens, Khorasan, or Sultania, or Oujan, being, in general, his abodes during the very warm months. Tackt-i-Kajer, however, is constantly inhabited by any number of his ladies of the harem, whom he may not choose should accompany him on his farther journeys. It stands on an eminently pleasant point of the adjoining mountains, being built on a detached, and commanding hill, on the great slope of the Elborz. The edifice is lofty, and when seen from a distance,

presents a very magnificent appearance. The stateliness of the structure itself, is very much increased in effect, by the superb ranges of terraces, which connect its spacious gardens, as they diverge from the base of the building, downwards, towards the bottom of the hill. They are laid out in parallel walks, planted with luxuriant poplars, willows, and fruit-trees of various kinds, besides rose-trees in profusion. In the centre of these shady labyrinths, stands a kind of grotto or temple, which, from its construction, materials, and distribution of water, must, in summer, be delightful from its coolness and seclusion. Few of the flowers were in bud, when I first visited this charming spot; but the balmy season, advancing with singular rapidity in these higher tracts of Persia, soon covered every mountain's brow with rich herbage, and filled the whole air with perfume from the full-blown gardens. The spring, at Teheran, is not only the pleasantest of its seasons, but the most healthy; which I found by experience; while I was there, during the months of April and May, the thermometer of Reaumur never mounting to more than from 70 to 80 in the shade. In the short space of those few weeks, the whole country put on its fairest garb, looking enchantingly, and breathing sweets from every quarter; and how often did we then think of our poor friend, whose eyes we had so recently closed; and wished, he could have borne the last lingering severities of departing winter a little longer, to have inhaled new life in this balmy relenting of nature!

One of the delicious spots to which I paid the most frequent visits, after the commencement of the genial weather I speak of, was the garden of Negauristan, another palace of the King's, in the same direction as the one just described, but only half a mile from the city. Its near neighbourhood, as well as superior

beauty, often attracts the Shah to walk to it from the ark, and to pass hours there, in the most delightful relaxation of mind from the cares or ceremonies of state. The general character of the garden, is like that of Tackt-i-Kajer, only the grand avenue up the centre of this, is much wider than that of the more distant residence, and is terminated at the higher extremity by a view of the palace; while a Kooleh Frangy, or temple, appears here also between the spacious arcade of trees. Narrow secluded walks, shaded above, and enamelled with flowers below, with cuts of clear and sparkling water, silvering the ground, and cooling the air, vary the scene, from parts which the hand of neglect, (or taste, assuming graceful negligence,) has left in a state of romantic wilderness. The trees were all full grown, and luxuriant in foliage; while their lofty stems, nearly covered by a rich underwood of roses, lilacs, and other fragrant and aromatic shrubs, formed the finest natural tapestry of leaves and flowers.

On my first entering this bower of fairy-land, (indeed I may call it the very garden of Beauty and the Beast!) I was struck with the appearance of two rose-trees, full fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent, that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume. Indeed, I believe that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia; in no country is it so cultivated, and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants, their rooms ornamented with vases, filled with its gathered bunches, and every bath strewed with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever-replenished stems. Even the humblest individual, who pays a piece of copper money for a few whifs of a kalioun, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with

a bud from his dear native tree! But in this delicious garden of Negauristan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose. The ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of multitudes of nightingales, whose warblings seem to increase in melody and softness, with the unfolding of their favourite flowers; verifying the song of their poet, who says: "When the roses fade, when the charms of the bower are passed away, the fond tale of the nightingale no longer animates the scene."

At the upper end of the garden, is a small and fantastically built palace, enclosed in a little paradise of sweets. The Shah often retires thither, for days together, at the beginning of summer, before he removes to more distant and temperate regions; and accompanied by the softer sex of his family, forgets, for awhile, that life or the world have other seasons than the gay and lovely spring. This building was of a light architecture, and, with its secluded garden, presented altogether a scene more congenial to the ideas I had conceived of one of these earthly imitations of the Houris' abodes, than any I had yet met in the East. The palace was nearly circular, full of elegant apartments, brilliantly adorned with gilding, arabesque, looking-glasses, and flowers natural and painted, in every quarter. Some of the largest saloons, were additionally ornamented with pictures; portraits of the Shah and his sons; of the chief personages at court; also of foreign ministers; and amongst the rest, were General Sir John Malcolm, Sir Hartford Jones, Sir Gore Ousely, Monsieur Gardanne, &c. &c. &c., all pourtrayed in high costume, and all like one and the same original. The carpets and nummuds of these apartments, were of the most delicate fabric, and literally, as we moved, we felt treading on velvet. But the place of

greatest attraction to an oriental taste, certainly was the summer-bath. It seemed to comprise every thing of seclusion, elegance, and that luxurious enjoyment, which has too often been the chief occupation of some Asiatic princes; and perhaps will ever be the favourite recreation with them all. This bath-saloon, or court, (for it is difficult to give it an exactly appropriate name,) is circular, with a vast basin in its centre, of pure white marble, of the same shape, and about sixty or seventy feet in diameter. This is filled with the clearest water, sparkling in the sun, for its only canopy is the vault of heaven; but rose-trees, with other pendant shrubs bearing flowers, cluster near it; and, at times, their waving branches throw a beautifully quivering shade over the excessive brightness of the water. Round the sides of the court, are two ranges, one above the other, of little chambers, looking towards the bath, and furnished with every refinement of the harem. These are for the accommodation of the ladies, who accompany the Shah during his occasional sojourns at the Negauristan. They undress or repose in these, before or after the delight of bathing; for so fond are they of this luxury, they remain in the water for hours; and sometimes, when the heat is very relaxing, come out more dead than alive. But in this delightful recess, the waters flow through the basin by a constant spring; thus renewing the body's vigour, by their bracing coolness; and enchantingly refreshing the air, which the sun's influence, and the thousand flowers breathing around, might otherwise render oppressive with their incense. The royal master of this *Horti Adonidis*, frequently takes his noon-day repose in one of the upper chambers which encircle the saloon of the bath; and, if he be inclined, he has only to turn his eyes to the scene below, to see the loveliest objects of his tenderness,

sporting like naiads amidst the crystal stream, and glowing with all the bloom and brilliancy which belongs to Asiatic youth. In such a bath-court, it is probable that Bathsheba was seen by the enamoured king of Israel. As he was "walking at evening-tide on the roof of his palace," he might undesignedly have strolled far enough to overlook the *anderoon* of his women; where the beautiful wife of Uriah, visiting the royal wives, might have joined them, as was often the custom in those countries, in the delights of the bath.

Love of women appears to have always been one of the most dominant passions in the East; and, what it was in the earliest times, it remains now, next to ambition for power, the master-passion in the heart of man. In those countries, a plurality of wives was tolerated every where, whether amongst Jews or Heathens. Christianity alone restricted man to one female helpmate; while Mahomed, limiting the number also, extended it to four legal wives; but granted slaves and concubines, to the will of the keeper. These supernumeraries are counted proofs of the owner's consequence; hence, vanity may sometimes fill a harem; but, in general, the motive is too constantly, the old frailty of the climate. The young beauties from all parts of Asia, who belong to the present Shah, in this character, (I have been given to understand,) are not to be equalled in number, and variety of charms, by the harems of any other prince in the East.

Before the caliphs had extended their principles, with their power, over every part of this country, the reverse of this system of polygamy was prevalent in Atropatia, (now restored to its more ancient name of Azerbijan;) for there, the ladies estimated their dignity according to the number of husbands they could boast.

Half-a-dozen at a time were deemed an inconsiderable conquest; and the woman disgraced, past living in the best society, who could not number more than three or four. There is something too preposterous in such an arrangement, to remark on it seriously; so I shall pass again to the infinitely less absurd, though nearly as extravagant a practice, still in use amongst our friends of the East.

The personal charms of Asiatic women seldom exceed a term of eight or ten years; for mental fascinations, they seldom possess at all; after which period, the lately luxuriant and sportive beauty, full of smiles and inviting glances, becomes thin, withered, rheum-eyed, and every way a hag. In short, the brief summer of their bloom begins even as early as the age of eleven or twelve, and ends soon after twenty; every year, following that fatal period, adding wrinkle to wrinkle, till what had been the "Light of the Harem," is entirely clouded over. Although so many romantic tales still dwell on their tongues, where love is almost the sole theme, and which are listened too by all ranks of persons with the most rapt attention; yet I doubt that any such sentiment now remains amongst them. A violent transitory passion, mere beauty may awaken; and, perhaps, the less it has to do with mental attractions, the more overpowering is its ephemeral reign. But the charms of mind are necessary to expand those emotions of an hour, into the delicate affections, which form the dearest ties of life. Hence, no tender remembrances follow the fading of these once lovely objects; one succeeds to another, in the favor of her master, with as little previous notice, and no more regret when discarded, than he feels in looking out from his window, on the lately blooming, and now earth-strewn roses; emblems, indeed, of the scene whose fountain they had

shaded, where so many fairer flowers laved their youthful charms; to pass away, even like their bright reflections in the stream, leaving no trace behind.

From all this, it may easily be understood, why divorces are uncommon amongst the higher orders, in this country; the husband having it always in his power to gratify the fickleness of his fancy, in the constant succession, which his wealth commands, of beautiful slaves. The lower ranks, seldom being able to support more than the privileged number of wives, are often ready to change them on any plea, when time, or any other circumstance, has a little sullied their freshness. According to the law of the Koran, a man may repudiate his wife twice, and resume his relinquished rights over her, with little difficulty; but if he part with her a third time, and then wants to take her back, he cannot satisfy this caprice, till she has in the meanwhile been married, cohabited with her new husband, and been legally divorced from him. But even then, she cannot rejoin her former spouse, until a term of three months have elapsed; which probation, is to give time to ascertain whether she might not be in a way to bring something besides herself to her ancient lord; and, in that case, she remains divided from him, till she has brought forth her offspring; which is immediately taken away, and provided for at the expense of the father. A woman, on the death of her husband, cannot re-marry, before the expiration of four months and ten days. When matrimonial differences arise, of sufficient magnitude to occasion a wish to separate, the grievances are stated by both parties before the judge or kasi; and if duly substantiated, and the complainants persist in demanding a divorce, he furnishes both with the necessary certificates; the woman holding whatever dowry she may have brought with

her, if she be the injured party; but if the man be plaintiff, and the cause, that she has "played him false," he then retains half her fortune. A certain number of oaths are required on the side of the husband, to establish her guilt; and an equal number on her part, in assertion of innocence, are sufficient to free her from the punishment the law awards to adultery.

The full establishment of a harem, consists of wives, concubines, and slaves; and the children born to a man by these three degrees of alliance, are all equally legitimate; the station a man holds in society, arising solely from the rank of his father, without any reference whatever to the condition of his mother. The sons and daughters share alike in the property of their father; and when we find any one richer, by inheritance, than his brothers, such wealth generally arises from the added dowry of the mother; women having it in their power to bequeath what they brought, to which ever of their children they please.

The mode of matrimonial courtships, in this country, does not allow the eyes of the parties to direct their choice, till they are mutually pledged to each other; hence, that wives are not always the most favoured of the three orders in the harem. may be less a subject of surprise. At least with very young people, this blind plan is usually adopted; older people may negociate for themselves; and then it is generally a sordid business on the side of the man; but the most creditable mode is the first, which has been long sanctioned by custom. An elderly female is employed by the relations of the youth, to visit the object selected by his parents or friends, or guessed at by himself; and this good dame's office is, to ascertain the damsel's personal endowments, and all other subjects suitable to their views in the connexion. If the report be favourable, the friends

of the proposed bridegroom dispatch certain sponsors, to explain his merits and pretensions, to the relations of the lady, and make the offer of marriage in due form. If accepted, the heads of the two families meet; when the necessary contracts are drawn up; the presents and ornaments, and other advantages, proposed by the bridegroom's parents, discussed and arranged; and when all is finally settled, the papers are sealed, and witnessed, before the kasi.

In the morning of the day, in which the wedding is to be solemnized, the lover sends a train of mules, laden with the promised gifts for his bride, to the house of her parents; the whole being attended by numerous servants, and preceded by music and drums. Besides the presents for the lady, the procession carries all sorts of costly viands, on large moon-like silver trays, ready prepared to be immediately spread before the inmates of the house. The whole of that day is spent in feasting and jollity; when, towards evening, the damsel makes her appearance, enveloped in a long veil of scarlet or crimson silk; and being placed on a horse or a mule, splendidly caparisoned, is conducted to the habitation of her affianced husband, by all her relations, marching in regular order to the sound of the same clamorous band, which had escorted the presents; and must not cease its gratulatory uproar, one breathing time, from the moment of its arrival. When alighted at the bridegroom's door, the lady is led to her future apartments within the house; whither she is accompanied by her female relations, and waiting-maids. Her friends of the opposite sex, meanwhile, repair to those of the bridegroom; where all the male relations on both sides, being assembled, the feasting and rejoicing re-commences; with the drums and other musical instruments still playing the

most conspicuous part. When the supper-feast is over, the blushing bride is conducted to the nuptial-chamber; and there the impatient lover first beholds his love! The marriage, without further ceremony, is consummated; and, not long after, the bridegroom returns to his party; and an ancient matron, in waiting, leads the lady back to the room which contains her female friends. A prescribed time is allowed for both sets of relations to congratulate the young people on their union, after which the happy pair retire to the bridal-chamber for the night; leaving their separate companies to keep up the revelry, which generally lasts for three days. It then all ceases; until the hero of the scene, tires of his mate; and, going through a similar ceremony, pleases to add, from time to time, as many wives to his first, as the law allows, or he can afford to maintain.

From the nature of the attachment, which in general subsists between parents united by such capricious impulses, we might be led to suppose that little paternal interest can exist in their breasts for the offspring of such heartless bonds. But the case is not so. In no country have I seen greater tenderness shown to young children; nor more regard paid by fathers to the welfare of sons approaching to manhood. And the filial reverence which sons, of all ages, here pay to their parents, might be a useful lesson to countries of much more civilised pretensions. A spirit of slavery, and the principle of subordination, are different things, though they are often confounded; and this singular deference to parental authority, and to the experience of age, leads me to form a better expectation of what the nation may yet become, than if I found the reverse its characteristic. Besides, education is far from being neglected by any class of the people. I have already mentioned the style of tuition, in which

the young princes are reared. All persons of high rank, so far follow the example, as to have their children instructed by moullahs, and other preceptors, who attend their pupils at the houses of their parents. The lower orders, and often the considerable Persians, who are under the condition of nobles, send their sons to the public schools; which are planted in every town. They are commonly held in the mesjids, and sometimes in the houses of the teachers, who are mostly moullahs. The expense of each child's education, annually, hardly amounts to a tomaun; not half a guinea! a price much in favour of the advancement of learning. The scholars sit round their master, on the matted floor, all conning their lessons aloud, as they learn them; and not stopping their noise, even when the teacher is officially hearing one of their brother-pupils read. This little seminary presents a curious sight to a European; for besides the rapid motion of their lips, they keep their bodies in one continued see-saw; without which cabalistic movement, a Persian conceives it would be impossible to learn any thing. When idleness, or any other misdemeanour, requires chastisement, the young culprit undergoes the same punishment as that which royalty at times inflicts upon any offending nobleman; namely, the bastinado on the soles of the feet. The children are taught reading and writing; and, as soon as they can commit to memory, they learn passages from the favourite poets of the country; many of which are fraught with the noblest sentiments, and the most amiable feelings of human nature. At the same time, they are taught prayers from the Koran, in Arabic; a language which they do not in general understand; but the meaning of the prayer is explained to them; and they are directed on what occasions to repeat it. Youth of the higher classes, often subjoin the

knowledge of Arabic, and also the Turkish language, to their deeper studies. The usual list are—arithmetic, geometry, moral philosophy, astronomy ; and, not unfrequently, astrology ; which are all cultivated with considerable assiduity and success, by most of the Persian gentlemen; who never fail to add the manly exercises, to these mental acquirements. When I converse with such men, and listen to the liberal views of the King, and the Prince-Governors, his sons, on these subjects, I cannot understand the ruin and neglect into which the colleges of nearly all their great cities have fallen. The once noble establishments of Ardebil, Casvin, Ispahan, Shiraz, &c. are mere shadows of what they were. Aristotle, anciently translated into Arabic, is the fountain whence all their philosophy springs ; but, at present, the whole stream runs very shallow. However, that the science of practical improvement in government, seems every day to be gaining ground, may be gathered, by comparing the present manners of the Persians, with what they were under one of the most celebrated of their sovereigns, the great Shah Abbas. From his time, to that of Kereem Khan, the royal palaces, and the houses of the ministers, were filled with the most distracting revels. Although wine is so strictly forbidden by the Koran, the King himself sanctioned the violation of the law, by his most flagrant example; and the scenes which ensued, may be more easily imagined than described. But while the rich, and powerful, thus abandoned themselves without constraint, to the most shameful practices; the lower orders, out of the sphere of temptation, went soberly on, according to the wary rule of their prophet. A complete reverse, to the first of these accounts, is seen in the court of the present King of Persia ; Futteh Ali Shah, and his sons, being strict observers of the ordinances of their

religion; and, in consequence, the great men of the country following the example, have recovered their dignity, and the respect of the people.

It is a rarity, in these times, to see a Persian of any class intoxicated with drink. Yet, I do not mean to pay them the compliment of saying that this abstinence arises wholly from regard to religious precept. Being naturally of a lively and ardent temperament, they have a constitutional indifference to all inflammatory cordials; and indeed, so far from in general requiring stimulants of any kind, they seem fond of checking the impulse of their blood, by the use of the kalioun and opium; either of which, in different degrees, produces a sort of dreamy repose of the senses. Yet, I am also aware, that there are exceptions to these observations, both amongst the high and the low; and with the old, more than the young; for, when age lays its freezing hand upon the man, even our glowing Persian shrinks at the touch; and we find some few, secretly applying to the genial flow of the grape, for temporary restoration. Whether it be taken thus as a resource, or drank with less innocent motives, the act is always clandestine; while the transgressors of the law, vary to themselves, when in their power, the degree of guilt incurred, by drinking wine of Christian fabric; rather than that which is doubly drenched in sin, by having been the manufacture of a Mussulman. So great is the horror of a Mahomedan vintage, that whenever jars of the wine of Shiraz are discovered, the chief officers of the town are ordered to see them broken to pieces. But all this strictness, relates to the Persians alone; foreigners are neither laid under restriction, nor suffer obloquy, for taking the indulgences which their own customs allow them; and, what is yet more liberal, Abbas Mir-

za, who has many Russians in his service, not only tolerates every man in the privileges of his religion, but has licensed a wine-shop in that city for the use of the battalion. This accommodation to one party, however, is likely to produce a gradual change in the sober habits of his people. The Russian soldiers being followed by their Persian comrades to the wine-house, the latter, lured by example, swallow similar potations, till with little more than what merely refreshes the cold sons of the North, their blood takes fire, and quarrels frequently ensue, to the most tragical conclusions. But when Abbas Mirza ever hears of such an abuse of his indulgence, and that Mussulmans have been caught drinking within its walls, he never fails to order the delinquent a severe flogging; a punishment that may check, but will hardly cure the evil, since its temptation now lies level to every door. That they fall into it at all, seems to contradict a former remark, on the natural indifference of these Asiatics to such inebriation. But when we consider, how prone man is to imitation, and how use renders that palatable, which at first is quite the reverse; and also, from what small beginnings, infinite effects may be produced; we need not wonder, should this very wine-house prove, hereafter, the source of a tacit oblivion, in Persia, of the one truly wise law of the Koran.

We have just seen, that not merely the use, but the excess of wine has once been tolerated in this country. And under the same race who sanctioned the one vice, we find another authorised in the most open way, by licensing brothels. The existence of such infamous places, is now hardly known in the country; but the Sefi princes drew a great increase of revenue from their numbers and noteriety. At Ispahan alone, in those days of unblushing licentiousness, no less than thirty thousand females,

paid an annual sum to government for permission, thus to ruin the morals and the constitutions of His Majesty's subjects. The governors of the provinces granted the same mischievous privileges, for the same mercenary considerations; and thus there was hardly a great town in Persia that had not one of these pest-houses within its walls. That such places should have any visitants at all, amongst a people, who, by the license of their religion, may possess every variety of female beauty at home, seems hardly to be credited. But it shows, that by an admirable law of nature, indulged vice becomes its own punishment; and that though a wretched sense of joyless satiety, after a short time becomes the constant attendant of lawless appetite, yet the craving increases by every disappointed gratification; and the door of profligacy having been thrown wide open in the kingdom, there was no stop in any quarter. The miserable beings who were thus licensed to be the bane of the country, bore a very appropriate title, which might well have been shared by those who signed its patent; namely, *cahbeha*, or the worthless: and a European traveller of about a hundred and fifty years ago, thus describes the publicity of their profession. He is writing of Casvin. "Soon after the merchants' shops are shut at night, another set are opened to a very different object; the trade being carried on by a class of women, who hold a license from government to carry on the most degrading traffic of their persons to any casual passenger. They are posted in certain known places of the city, sitting in rows, and veiled. Behind them stands the old shepherdess of this devoted flock, who is known by the name of the *delalat*, (they by that of *cahbcha*;) she holds an extinguished candle in her hand; but whenever a customer presents himself, she immediately re-lights it, and precedes him down the

line of her nymphs, raising, in rotation, the veil of each, till he makes his choice; when the old hag dispatches the pair together, attended by a trusty domestic, to a lodging in her house, which usually stands close by the way side."

Having thus given a sketch of the passed manners of Persia, to enable my reader to understand something of the improvement which has taken place during the last half-century, I gladly follow the good example of the present princes, and dismiss this part of the subject from my pen.

Though the reigning monarch has never been celebrated for that activity of character, which demonstrates itself in ambitious projects, or attachment to the pleasures of the chase, yet he manifests on every occasion, that promptitude in the dispatch of public business, and watchfulness in maintaining the laws he has enacted for the security of the persons and properties of his people, which bear every testimony to the soundness of his judgment on the duties of a king; at least as far as the light on that subject, has developed itself here; while his encouragement of Persian literature, and his taste for poetry and the arts, show him to be a scholar, and a man of genius. And, that his views are liberally directed towards the improvement of his people in every useful acquirement, is made still more evident, by the many Persians he has sent into Europe, to study the arts and sciences most wanted in their own country. These men generally conduct themselves well when abroad, and the quickness of their intellects soon making them masters of their objects, they return to their home in the prime of their lives, doubly endowed for their country; bringing back not merely the learning and practice for which they were sent out, but certain seeds of moral, mental, and national improvements; which, becoming

gradually sown in the minds of a people, nothing on earth can repress from growing to its natural harvest.

The long tranquillity which has reigned in the interior of the empire, ever since the death of the last sovereign, Aga Mahomed Khan; and the comparative flourishing state of the whole country; with the increase of its population, and the augmentation of the revenue; all prove, what I have just asserted of the present monarch: and, so far from his having imbibed the tyrannous style of ruling, so common with many of his predecessors, the arm of blood is never raised by his orders, but over the heads of the robber and the murderer.

Yet, perhaps, his passion for riches is not less strong, though not indulged by violence, than that which impelled those short-sighted tyrants to become masters of a wealthy subject's treasures, at the expense of his life. Gold has long been the sceptre and the sword of all nations; therefore, we cannot be surprised to find its possession one of the leading objects of a prudent prince, who, though in the midst of Asia, sees himself surrounded by European wealth; and European policy, to transmute that wealth to whatever metal it pleases.

But the King is not the only man in the country, who would be glad of Aladdin's lamp; the whole of the higher orders turn their views to the same talisman. Some, amassing their gold with as clean hands as the most honourable man in Europe; while others, would descend to any meanness, rather than allow a single tomaun to escape the clutch of their fingers. Of course, the lower classes are great sufferers by this; a general system of exaction in those above them, depressing their industry, by extorting its fruits. Till the princes of the land, know the extent of these proceedings, and the tendency of such oppres-

sions to dam up the sources of their own revenues, this once great kingdom must remain comparatively poor and powerless. But should the true secret of government be ever fully understood here, — that it is founded on the people being protected by just laws, and as just rulers, from the power of oppressing each other; then may Persia boast an empire, as little likely to be at the beck of others, as any of the states which deem its glories over.

During this, my first visit to Teheran, I was honoured with many opportunities of judging for myself, with regard to the personal character of Futteh Ali Shah; and the result always was, that I came away with renewed impressions of the *amiable* in the man; one of the most essential qualities in the composition of a sovereign, whose will is, virtually, the law. His as noble-minded son, Abbas Mirza, had prepared my way to these conferences with his royal parent; and one of the returns, which my sense of the high favour impelled me to make, was to comply with His Royal Highness's earnest desire, that my pencil should at least attempt to give him a truer image of his father, than any we had commented on together, in the various pictures he had shewn to me. The wish had been imparted to the Shah; and His Majesty, with that *bienseance* which as eminently belongs to the Persian court as ever it did to that of Louis XIV., paying me a compliment, that might have elevated my pencil and the hand that held it, to a place amongst the stars, did me the honour to appoint a day when I was to transfer his image to paper.

It happened to be on the morning of a review, that was to take place in the court of the citadel; and I went betimes to be a spectator of the evolutions. Abul Hassan Khan, my friend the

ex-ambassador to England and to Russia, was to bring me to the presence; the vizier, whose duty it would have been, being at that time indisposed. In our way to the grand saloon of the palace, we passed through the great maidan, where the artillery was stationed. It was crowded with military, infantry, and cavalry; the latter being in readiness to march, individually, man and horse, before His Majesty. Their arming was curious, hardly two alike; some, bearing muskets; some, long spears; others, shields, sabres, and pistols; their costumes varying with their weapons; some, in shirts of mail, with the high black cap of the country; others, in iron scull-caps, with the linen dresses in ordinary use. These, certainly, looked more like half-dressed actors, than soldiers regularly banded for the lists of a great sovereign. But there were others, in warlike garb from top to toe, being completely arrayed in chain-armour, with lofty helmets, gallantly plumed, and wrapped round the frontlet with shawls.

A small elevated building, overlooking the south side of the maidan, contained the open chamber, whence the Shah was to review the assembled troops. A clangor of trumpets announced his entrance, when the cavaliers immediately set forth to gallop singly across the square, flourishing their arms, shaking their spears, and going through all the accustomed exercise of firing, charging, &c., at full speed. These desperate chargings were performed through an avenue of gazing grandees, and as many of the common populace as chose to be spectators of the sight.

His Majesty was seated at a large open window; and looking with marks of approbation on the dexterity of his troops. His dress was the same style in which I had ordinarily seen him, since his state-appearance at the feast of the Nowroose; and,

choosing such simplicity for his transmission in a picture, was no indifferent specimen of his good taste. His head was covered with the cap of his country; a black lamb-skin, worn alike by prince and peasant. His robe was of fine gold brocade, having a deep cape of dark sable falling on his shoulders. His under-garments were composed of red Kashmere shawls of the richest work. Another shawl, of deeper hues, but of greater value, bound his waist; in which was stuck a curved dagger, blazing with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and hung with a tassel of the largest pearls, with which he occasionally played while he discoursed. Behind him was placed one of his magnificent cushions, totally covered with orient net-work, and tasselled also at its corners with bunches of the same costly ornaments. Two Persian noblemen stood a few paces from him; one bearing the royal mace, or sceptre; the other, the shield and sword; each insignia of empire being thickly studded with every kind of precious stone. The boss of the shield was one entire ruby; which, for size, colour, and perfection, probably, is not to be matched in the world.

We had taken our station in the saloon, during the review, standing at some little distance from the King; and, when it was over, after a few minutes' general conversation with us all, His Majesty entered on that which was the object of the morning, and desired me to draw as near to him as I would deem necessary, and *to be seated.* This command was considered the highest personal honour he could confer on any man. Formerly, strangers were not only permitted to sit in the presence of the Shah, but to eat and drink with him. These customs are now so totally done away, that none but embassadors, who are esteemed

the representatives of sovereign princes, are allowed the royal distinction of being seated in the presence of the Great King.

As I traced His Majesty's features, line by line, I ascertained every detail of his physiognomy, and felt new interest in the varieties of its expression. His complexion, as I observed before, is exceedingly pale; but when he speaks on subjects that excite him, a vivid colour rushes to his cheek; but only for a moment, it passes so transiently away. His nose is very aquiline. His eye-brows, full, black, and finely arched; with lashes of the same appearance, shading eyes of the most perfect form, dark and beaming; but at times, full of a fire that kindles his whole countenance; though, in general, its expression is that of languor. His beard, black as jet, ample and long, and tapering to a point considerably below the hilt of his dagger. The almost sublime dignity, which this form of beard, adds to the native majesty of his features, is not to be conceived; and the smile which often shone through it, ineffably sweet and noble, rather increased than diminished the effect. The British Chargé d'Affaires, with Abul Hassan Khan, were my companions to the presence; and, the Shah conversing with them during my occupation, the changes of the subjects gave his fine physiognomy every play. Yet the enervating style of his life, was evident, both in the languid movement of his eye, when he sat quiescent; and from the usual hollow tone, of his otherwise sonorous voice; but which, like the occasional flashes from his eyes, became powerful when under the influence of animating discourse.

When my little sketch was made, I put it into the hands of Abul Hassan Khan, who presented it on his knees to the Shah. His Majesty declared himself highly pleased; and, if the rhetoric of his country were in the compliments he paid me,

I was not the less gratified, seeing them verified by the expression of his countenance. Before we withdrew, I promised to make a finished drawing from the sketch, for His Majesty's self; and, soon after, our little party left the palace.

The warm season was now fast approaching, when Teheran would be no longer habitable: and, even at the time of my sojourn there, though April had not yet expired, the weather was so hot, that few liked to expose themselves to the sun, beyond the early morning hours. Many of these hours I dedicated to viewing all that was either picturesque, or interesting, in the environs of the city; every surrounding object, deriving much of the former property, from being in the view of the majestic mountain Demawund. It bears N. 65° E. of Teheran, about forty miles distant; and is seen, raising its lofty and pale summit to the north-east of the town; forming a magnificent pyramid, that shoots up from the high range of Elborz; which bounds the wide plain in that direction, and curving southward, becomes cleft into several long, narrow, and deeply-scarred valleys; along the entrances to which, and over their broad broken rocks, are spread the ruins of the famous city of Rhey — spelt sometimes Rhé, or Rey.

The names of Rhages, Europa, Arsacia, and Rhey, have all, at different periods, designated this ancient metropolis; each name giving just grounds for anticipating the richest succession of antiquities, if curiosity might be permitted to explore the huge mounds which cover its buried remains. The Persians ascribe its origin to Houshong, the grandson of Kaiomurs; therefore, only third in descent from the first monarch of that dynasty, who, by every calculation, must have been several centuries before the age of Cyrus. Our scriptural accounts of Rhey or Rhages, during the captivity of the Jews in this part of

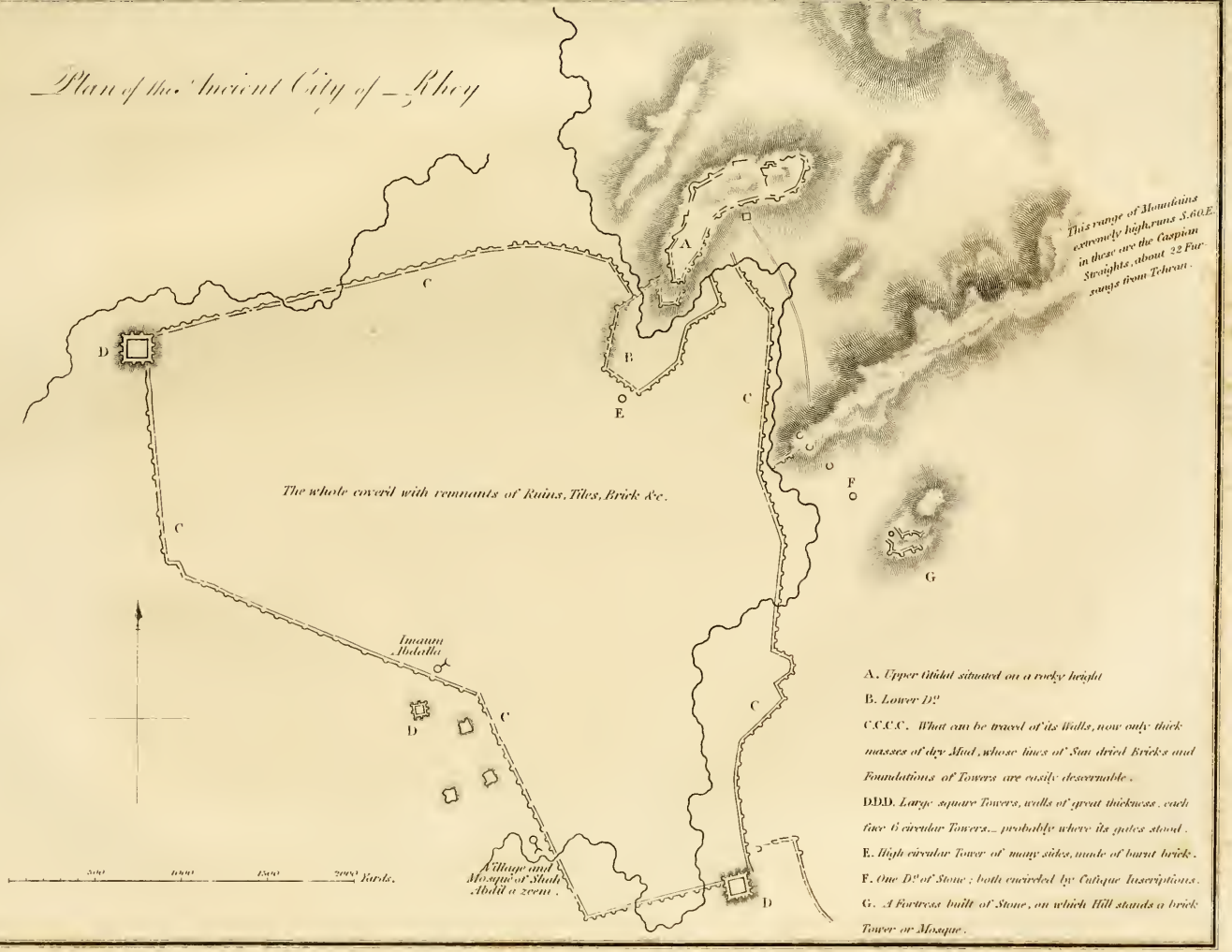
the Persian (or rather, at that time, of the Babylonian) empire, fully proves that Rhey was a very considerable city, at least two hundred years before their deliverance, by that greatest of all the monarchs of the East. Therefore, in calculating the antiquity of its foundation, even the exaggerating traditions of the Persian poets may not have far exceeded the truth. Rhey has, at different times, been the residence of the sovereigns of the empire; or, as the capital of a province, of its own Prince-governors. It has been distinguished with palaces; it has been sanctified by fire-temples, or mosques; it has been elevated by one conqueror, to the honours of a capital; it has been sacked by the next, as only worthy of his vengeance. Hence, the city which an angel and a prophet blessed with their presence, is now become a scene of such desolation, that the footsteps of man are hardly discernible, except where they have left traces of war, and mark his grave.

However, as I am not aware of even the few noble relics which yet remain, having been particularly described by any European traveller, I shall attempt a sketch of what I saw. The ruins lie about five miles south-east of Teheran, extending from the foot of the curving mountains, and running in that direction across the plain in an oblique line south-west. The surface of the ground, all over this tract, is marked by hollows, mounds, mouldering towers, tombs, and wells. The fabric of all, being chiefly of that burnt, and sun-dried material, which seems to bid defiance to the last oblivious touch of time. A very strong citadel, appears to have occupied a high and rocky promontory that juts out considerably beyond the other huge buttresses of nature, which here start from the different clefts in the mountains. Along the perpendicular sides of this height,

we easily discovered the foundations of its embattled works. And, directly from its base, a line of massy fortification appeared, reaching southward, and apparently defending the eastern face of the city, till it terminated in an immense square bulwark, flanked with towers, and making a fortress in itself. Thence, the wall curved round in an irregular oblique sweep towards the north-west, till it met another similar enormous square tower, flanked in like manner with six round ones. This tower, terminated not only that line of wall, but another, which had also started from the base of the promontory, and formed the northern front of the city; the whole fortified space between the three walls, taking the shape of a triangle. Its vertex touching the citadel-promontory, its base stretching south-west, from the one large square tower to the other. These walls are still many feet in height, of prodigious thickness; and have been additionally strengthened by proportionably sized towers, connecting the wall, and placed at point-blank arrow distance from each other. The two enormous fortress-like towers before mentioned, which terminate the south-eastern, and the north-western points of the triangle, are united with the walls; but in going along the outer side of the longest line, which stretches from the one square tower to the other, we find a third tower about the middle of the wall, but standing out at some distance from it. It is nearly of the same dimensions with the two others, and supported in the same way, with round flanking towers. Probably a ditch and a bridge lay between this great bulwark, and the principal gate of the town; this entrance lying in almost a direct line with the citadel. The remains of other fortifications are near it, as if still more to protect this ingress, which opens to the south-western side of the plain. I have no doubt that

these three square towers commanded the three great entrances to the city. The northern, holding the communication with Azerbijan and Mazanderan; the southern, that towards Khorasan; and the south-western, pointing to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana: therefore, by this last gate, it is probable that Tobit's celestial messenger entered, on his embassy to Gabel. At the foot of the great promontory which crowns the apex of the fortifications, and projecting within their area, is another range of equally strong walls, embracing a considerable space, and forming a lower citadel; within which, in all likelihood, were the royal palace, and other buildings of state. Another wall, exterior to the city-rampart, connects the height on which the first great citadel stands, with another rocky projection of the mountain, where every tenable spot has been strongly guarded by outworks; linking themselves, across the gorge of a deep ravine, to the side of a third citadel or fortress, finely built of stone, and on the summit of an immense rock, which commands the open country to the south.

In traversing the interior of the city walls, just without those of the second or lower citadel, we observed a very lofty tower of brick, of admirable masonry, but of a singular shape; being round, and divided into twenty-four parts; each part forming the two sides of a triangle four feet and six inches in depth, the whole surface presenting a continued zig-zag. The top is encircled with a Cuphick inscription, nicely executed in the brick; and the entrance, which points to the south-east, exhibits a high Saracenic arch, with a square portal, richly, and curiously ornamented. I should calculate the height of the whole structure, to be about sixty feet within; it is now quite open at the top. About a few hundred yards from the south-eastern



Engraved by Sidn. Hall, Bury Str. Bloomsbr.

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wall of the city exteriorly, and at the mouth of the long and narrow glen, which I mentioned before as dividing the rock of the third citadel from the mountain, stands a round tower, similar in shape to this last described, but built entirely of stone, like the great fortress just above it. This tower is not so high as the one in the city, but equally open to the sky, and in diameter about thirteen yards. It has two hollow ways, beginning about thirty feet from the ground, and scooped in the wall itself, leading up to what must have been its battlements. Around its top, too, we find a Cuphic inscription, executed in brick. On the adjacent rock, amongst the remains of the stone citadel, stands a low circular building, decorated with various coloured tiles, evidently either a tomb, or some small Mahomedan religious edifice. The mouldering relics of two or three mosques, are discoverable amongst the hillocks of heterogeneous ruins, which cover the earth within the *city walls*. If, indeed, the area which those triangular sides embrace, may be deemed of sufficient extent to admit so high a title; its dimensions, at the broadest part, not being more than three British miles: a limit far too confined, to measure with the accounts given us by old writers, of the ancient extent of this capital, who compared it to nothing less than that of Babylon or of Nineveh. The Persians themselves say, that its magnificence and trade were so great, that fifteen thousand caravansaries were too few for the reception of the merchants, and travellers, who resorted to its bazars; and came from afar, to admire the wonders of the city. Hence, though we may not give implicit belief to the whole of this abundant enumeration, by the Persian writers, yet, from the corresponding evidence of graver pens, it does not appear credible, that the remains of the ramparts which we see now,

were the walls which bounded the entire town. It rather seems likely, that the whole space within the fortified triangle, formed the habitable part of an extensive citadel; the commanding structure on the promontory, having been, what in more modern description, we would call the keep, or last resource of the garrison; and being to it, what the entire fortress itself was to the city at large, the heart of the place. Besides, we are told, that when Ashk, the founder of the Arsacesian dynasty, slew the viceroy of the Seleucesian kings, and established his residence at Rhey, that the princes of the provinces repaired thither to him, to form a confederacy for the purpose of recovering Persia entirely from the Grecian yoke. May it not then be probable that these chiefs, with each his warlike followers, and Ashk their leader at their head, might deem it prudent during their different consultations there, to abide in a stronghold within the city, distinctly appropriated to themselves. In that case, the trigonal area I have described, (which would form an immense fortress, but a very inconsiderable capital city,) might, of old remains, be duly fortified, to afford a secure residence, worthy the dignity of the assembled princes to whom history has given the great name of the Moolook-u-Tuaif, or the Commonwealth of Tribes. But, whatever were its purpose, it certainly has no more claim to the title of comprising the whole of the capital, bearing the name of Rhey, than the scanty spot, which is called the *city* of Paris, or that, which has a similar appellation at London, would have, to the character of containing all the magnificent buildings, or numerous population, generally attributed to Paris or to London. Hence, if the walls I saw, were only this common nucleus of a great metropolis, then might the town itself have stretched nearly

to the confines of Teheran; and the information might not be so perfectly incorrect, as I supposed when viewing the place only from a distance, which states that the new capital was built out of the ruins of the old.

In ascending the promontory on which the chief citadel, or castle, must have stood, Captain Willock led me to a spot of particular interest; the side of the rock covered with a colossal bas-relief. The surface had been smoothed to about sixteen feet in height, and twelve in breadth. The execution of the sculpture is rude; and perhaps appears more so, from its having been left uncompleted. It represents a horseman in full charge, couching his spear. Long drapery flows from his thigh; and on his head, which is very unfinished, there is something like a tiara surmounted with a balloon-shaped mass; the same that is seen on the medals and coins of the Sassanian sovereigns. On his left shoulder another globular object rests; while a similar one lies on the neck of the horse, a little behind his ears. The latter members of the animal, are but slightly traced in the stone; as are also the fore-legs, which are hewn out only to the knees; the hinder legs being but chiselled to the hocks.

There is also the head of another horse, by its position evidently intended to have borne the antagonist of the royal hero; but no further outline is seen. What has been traced of this group, on the plane of sixteen feet just described, occupies an elevation of a little more than half that height. A sketch, I should suppose, to have been begun by order of some of the Sassanian monarchs; and by none, more probably, than the hero who founded that dynasty, on the subversion of the race of the Arsacides; and who might wish thus to engrave a trophy of his great achievement, on the very rock which had upheld the

first throne of the beginner of the sovereigns he had for ever deposed.

When we turned from these ruins, so full of interest from memory; and so full of treasures, united with that interest, in themselves, might those mounds and hollows be laid open to investigation; I could not but more deeply lament the suspicion which prevails over all Mahometan countries, that no man can put a spade into any ground, (that is not for building, or agriculture, or digging a grave,) without the hope of finding some golden or jewelled deposit within. They can seldom be made to believe it possible that we could put ourselves to the trouble of exploring these, or any similar ruins, merely with the view of finding a lettered fragment, or a few old coins, bearing with them the connecting memoranda of the place's history; and which would be equally valuable to us on common stone, as on marble; on copper, as on gold. The last blow which sealed the fate of this city, was received from the insatiable avarice and thirst of blood, which marked the dominion of the immediate successors of Zingis Khan; and, before the lapse of two centuries after their direful sacking of its walls, it was so lost, as to be no more named as a residence of man.

To set forth on any distant journey, in this country, requires no small preparations; the traveller being obliged, almost literally, to take "house and home" along with him. To be ready against all exigencies, that might happen on a road without other inns than, in general, the bare walls of a caravansary. And, often, not even those; when he must either depend on the tent he may have provided on the backs of his mules, or be content to bivouac at their side. In starting from Tabreez with the Prince-Governor, all journey-preparations for Teheran were

unnecessary on my part; but now I left my munificent royal host behind me; and must carry, with myself, those means of comfort, which, when present, he had so abundantly provided me. Hence it occupied me some time, to collect and assort my travelling train and its appendages, my servants, horses, mules, &c. The Shah did me the honour to appoint my mehmandar; and furnished him with a paper called a rackam, or firman, for my use; empowering the possessor to be provided with a certain quantity of provisions, for himself and suite, and forage for his cattle, throughout the whole country subject to His Majesty's dominion. This imperial document is stamped with the royal seal, besides the similar impression of nine or ten of the principal ministers of state. Indeed, all these great signatures are as indispensable to the authority of the smallest written order, for the most trifling public contribution, as to the power of the most comprehensive decree. This, at first, may appear a very troublesome formality; but the protection it affords, in these countries, to the persons and properties of the lower classes, who might, otherwise, be ground to absolute poverty by endless wanton exactions, renders it a precautionary measure worthy the most scrupulous respect.

Having completed all preliminaries to the prosecution of my tour to the south of the empire; and taken leave of the court, and of my European and Asiatic friends at Teheran; I set forth on Wednesday, the 13th of May, 1818. My party consisted of nine persons, including their leader: namely, myself; the King's mehmandar; Sedak Beg, the secretary and interpreter, Abbas Mirza had appointed to attend me during my sojourn in Persia; my two Russian servants; a Georgian, I had hired at Tiflis; a couple of Persian grooms; and one muleteer. These

three latter personages were to take charge of my horses and mules. Every man was well mounted, on the noble steeds of the country; myself only excepted, who usually rode the "good horse" I had bought of the Tcherkasses, just before I crossed the Caucasus. Our baggage was on mules; no wheeled carriage, since the scythed chariots of old, having any thing to do in this equestrian land. Our accoutrements too, were in perfect character with this cavalier-appearance; every man being armed with carbines, pistols, swords and daggers; which we disposed with no small ostentation, having been made to understand, that the farther we should journey from the immediate personal influence of the Shah, the less and less would we find the execution of his laws against robbers able to reach their objects; and, therefore, the greater the show of defence, the more securely were we likely to travel.

I quitted Teheran soon after breakfast, about 9 o'clock, under the auspicious omen of a beautifully brilliant morning, with a gentle breeze from over the white brow of Demawand, which delightfully cooled the air. In the range of mountains which overlook the city, and on whose storied heights I now turned my back, is situated the celebrated Pylæ Caspiæ. It lies in a direction north-east from the town, and differs in almost every point, from the description which Pliny gives of it, in lib. vi. c. 17. The pass is extremely narrow, and, evidently, would never have been a pass at all, had not the labour of man opened a way for nearly two hundred yards, by hewing through the solid rock. Its appearance is very tremendous. In travelling towards it from Teheran, the distances are these: by a mountain-road immediately behind the city to the north-east, you ride eleven farsangs to the village of Demawand; then curving to the south-

west, through the villages of Bomene and Jezerood; and taking another sinuous turn, eleven farsangs to the eastward, brings you to Ferooz Koh village; towards which the Caspian straits directly point, at scarcely a farsang's distance. Arrian (l. 3. c. 30.) tells us, that when Alexander pursued Darius from Rhey, he reached the Caspian straits in one day's march, and, passing through them, entered Parthia on the following day. This agrees exactly with the distance that lies between the pass, now called Kawar, and the ruins of that ancient capital.

In commencing our journey from Teheran, we took a direction due south, across the level country, leaving the solitary and arid heights of Rhey about five or six miles to the left; but with mountains before us, along the horizon, whose much more rugged defiles we hoped to reach by mid-day. While we kept the plain, our eyes were regaled on every side by the freshness of the verdure, brightened and grown to luxuriance under the recent spring rains. Hundreds of fine horses belonging to the Shah, were grazing in picturesque groups, at various distances; or scouring over the ground, neighing, tossing their manes, and rejoicing in their annual liberty. For it is an established practice in Persia, to give their horses grass, during a month or six weeks in the vernal season; and when opportunities for turning them out to pasture cannot be obtained, then the disappointed animal is obliged to eat his green food in the stable. As the day advanced, the sun's power increased to a most scorching heat; but still we persevered across the unshaded plain, although its verdant and open scene of animated freedom gradually changed to dust, and to droves of ill-assorted military; promiscuously armed with daggers, swords, musquets, short spears, and shields; and mounted on asses, laden already with

every necessary moveable that belonged to their riders. They passed in desultory succession, to the number of one thousand men; and, my Persians informed me, were on their march to join the royal army, then collecting, which usually accompanied the Shah in his summer encampments, whether they be in Khorasan, or towards the more temperate breezes of Sultania.

The throng of the road, and the burning beams from the heavens, made the remainder of the day's journey almost insupportable. But the object of my setting forth would not have been answered, had I always given way to the custom of the natives at this season, which is travelling by night only. They would have had me start a little before sun-set, with a moon, or without it; and journeying forward through this indeed *cloudless clime*, and *starry skies*, not have sought a resting-place till sun-rise next morning. Luminous as these nights are, and however beautiful might be the occasional effects which their long shadows, and silver lights, cast upon the varying lines of the mountains, their heights and depths; yet those indistinct visions, if I may so term it, of the country, would not have been giving me the true picture; which I, therefore, sought of its fair unveiled face, in the open sight of day.

Towards eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we gained the foot of the mountains seen from Teheran to the south-west, and which form the south-eastern ridge of the Kofflin Kou; branching a little farther, than where we halted, towards the east, where it loses itself in the sandy hillocks of the great salt desert. Having crossed a narrow stream, we began to scale the pass called that of Kiniagirid, which is both rugged and winding; sometimes with its over-arching rocks, affording us shelter from the almost vertical sun, but oftener, by their perpendicular sides, collecting

his heat to all the fervour of an opening oven. So much for the way up, but the descent on its southern brow, delivered us at once to the furnace of the day, by leading us forth on an immense plain, without a leaf of shade. The sky had not a cloud, and I felt, rather than thought of the bold metaphor of a *brazen* heavens. This was a fire I had not been accustomed to stand, and, yielding to necessity, was even gladder than my companions, to find our quarters so early in the day as three o'clock.

We halted at a commodious caravansary, the erection of the present king; and situated so close to the village of Kiniagirid, as only to be separated from it by a pretty little brook. It is distant from Teheran about five farsangs. Spacious as the building was, we found it overflowing with the troops travelling thither; yet a room was provided me, in honour of the royal firman; though it had not the same power to spread my board, or fill the mangers of my cattle. Such an especial grant, not annulling the privilege which the keeper of the caravansary had purchased, by a composition with the agents of His Majesty, to pay to the crown two hundred tomauns annually, for an absolute exemption from these sort of hospitable imposts; and an exclusive right, in his little neighbourhood, of selling provisions, provender, &c. &c., to all persons lodging within the walls of his jurisdiction. Thus, as our sovereigns of two or three centuries ago, used to eat up their toll on their subjects by a yearly progress, with a train to boot, over all the great estates in the kingdom; so the Persians, sometimes, do the same by proxy; making the stranger, who visits their dominions, the consumer of the tribute, which the monarch himself neither puts into his

own stomach, nor thinks fit to consign to the more capacious swallow of his courtiers.

Next morning, May 14th, we started soon after sun-rise; that we might not pass as many hours as we had done the preceding day, under his most roasting beams, before we should reach the regular halting-place. The air now was comparatively cool, and for a space of about two farsangs, the country appeared green and cheerful, enjoying a pretty fair cultivation from the happy influence of numberless brilliant little rivulets, which intersected this upland plain like fairy rills. But after two hours' ride over the fresh sward, we suddenly lost sight of all this verdure, by only making a transition from heighth to depth, which carried us down upon a dun and drowthy vale, without a blade of grass; that barren glen conducted us to another; and so on, descending through a succession of similar parched wastes, bedded with sand, and following each other like a chain of dryed-up lakes. Not a plant was to be seen anywhere, notwithstanding the spring-rains had been unusually heavy. However, they had done us the service of giving a temporary consolidation to the sand; otherwise, the wind being very brisk when we crossed these valleys, the light particles, if blown in our faces, would have annoyed us grievously. The same character of country lay before us, till we came to a considerable stream, flowing to the north-west, and so copiously that with difficulty we forded it; tantalized all the while with finding so desirable a mass of waters, salt as brine. From thence we began an ascent over a range of stony hills, rising in rough united heaps from the uneven surface of the arid vale we had just traversed, and stretching several miles towards the east and west; appearing more like some gigantic dyke in the way, than

an impediment, worthy to be classed with the unmeasured mountain ranges we had lately passed. Having atchieved this rocky wall, we came at once on a vast sandy desert, interminable as the horizon to the east and south-west. It was the same that Chardin travelled in his way to Sava. Its large tracts of salt appeared in the distance, spotting the burning plain, like so many shining lakes. The view was full of an awful grandeur, to one who had never seen an absolute Eastern desert before; such as he had read of in holy writ, in the passes between Egypt and Palestine; such as Greek story, or the subsequent histories of the crusades, had repeated to him, with all the terrible additions of consuming blasts, overwhelming sands, and thousands of human beings perishing beneath the fiery deluge.

At one o'clock in mid-day, we reached the caravansary of Houze Soultan, which opened to us the prospect of another sweep of sterile heights to the south-west, lying along the desert in the line of our route for the morrow. This halting-place is another work of the present Shah's; and its keeper enjoyed the same privilege as our last monopolizing host. Soon after we arrived, part of the contents of a covered tank of rain-water, which was sunk a few yards in front of the building, were brought forth for our use: the water was dirty and ill-tasted; but it proved a very welcome refreshment to both men and animals, thirsty with long travel, and parched between the burning soil and atmosphere. Here, again, we encountered more of the native military; but they put us to no inconvenience, neither encroaching on our quarters, nor abridging our provisions or provender, nor committing the smallest theft from man or beast; a tolerably good specimen of their discipline. Our journey this day might be about six farsangs, or twenty-four miles.

May 15th. To-day, as usual, we were on horseback by five o'clock. Our road pointed direct south, where numerous and wide spaces covered with salt, spread over the plain, white and even as snow. They were not a mere surface, like the sprinkling of a hoar frost, but the saline particles lay on the ground nearly half an inch thick, smooth and level as a mirror. And, indeed, these lucent tracts of the desert resemble a mirror in more ways than one; reflecting the sun with almost the power of a lens, and sometimes producing optical delusions, more extraordinary than any that ever were represented in a magic-glass.

In this way we journeyed forward, full three farsangs more, before we arrived at the south-western edge of the plain; which was bounded by the new ridge of hills we were to cross. At their foot, we found part of the shell of a caravansary, just begun, by order, and at the expense of the Ameen-i-dowlah, the second minister in the empire. It bids fair to possess every convenience usual in the best places of the sort; and is to have water conveyed to it by means of kanaughts, from a great distance amongst the hills; but notwithstanding this care, the stream will be almost useless; for when I tasted it, at the source, it was more than brackish. The well-spring was far on, amidst the rocks, in the road over the hills; which we lost no time in mounting, and were as much disappointed as the Ameen-i-Dowlah may hereafter be, at finding the little fount savour so much of the soil through which it flows.

Having passed these bladeless heights, we descended into another plain, which showed something of a tinge of vegetation; and reached our *menzil*, the caravansary of Poohl-Dowlak, about ten o'clock in the forenoon; having marched a distance of four farsangs, or sixteen miles. Here our eyes were refreshed by the

sight of a rapid stream, called the Roudkonah Konsar, which runs from west to east; and is crossed by a stone-bridge, said to have been built by Shah Abbas the Great, and, since that time, repaired at the private charge of the public-spirited barber Poohl-Dowlak. The caravansary stands close to the bank of the river, and is delightfully cooled by that near neighbourhood to so rapid a stream. Shah Abbas has the credit of being its founder; and the Ameen-i-Dowlah has lately restored all its decayed walls; but still, the memory of the honest shaver so prevails over the titles of these two great personages, that both the bridge and the hostel bear his name.

May 16th. At the usual hour, five o'clock, we left our night quarters, crossing the bridge. The river, at this point, was not more than twenty yards broad. It takes its rise in the vicinity of Sava; and, from that circumstance, is sometimes called by the same name, but that of Konsar is its most common appellation. This side of the screen of hills we had just passed foretokens an approach to a more genial country; two or three streams breaking the dusky hue of the ground, and here and there enlivening it with a few spots of verdure. But from these brooks partaking the saline properties of the soil, the general fertilizing effects of "many waters" are not to be found. Our troop had scarcely ridden from the bridge a hundred yards, before we had to ford one of these streams; which, after washing the walls of the holy city of Koom, and winding through that less arid plain, finds its way to these barren tracks, where it mingles its waters with the Konsar. Another river, called the Khour Shutur, which springs out of the line of mountains that overhang Koom, also works its path to the Konsar.

Our road lay south-west; at first amongst low meagre bushes,

and straggling stunted trees, which sufficiently showed the temper of the soil; but at the termination of a couple of farsangs, we lost even this scanty and scathed appearance of vegetation; and entered a succession of close, stifling ravines, between a low cluster of sand-hills. These winding paths led us out into a more open tract, within two or three miles of Koom, where the face of nature began to wear a less rigid aspect; grass grew in many places, and spaces of cultivation, with trees here and there, happily varied the painful glare of the unshaded sands.

In our immediate approach to the city, we passed over a bridge of ten arches, which crosses the Hakah Ferak river close to the town. This stream takes its rise amongst the mountains to the south-east, called the Khoula Khaja. This range forms a sterile back-ground to the city, presenting piles of rocks and broken ridges of earth, deeply marked with salt and sulphur. The country to the east is one unvaried line of desert, stretching for hundreds of miles, to the utmost verge of Khorasan.

At about seven or eight farsangs distance, north-west of the city, the well-known insulated mountain, called *Gaitan Guelmas*, rears its immense rounded head. The name means, "Go! you return not." This mountain is the Kou Talesme, mentioned by Chardin; but its present appellation might very well suit a numerous description of travellers, who journey to Koom; and if any of them are brought that way, they literally "go, and return not;" the most frequent caravans to this holy city, bearing with them trains of the dead; who were anxious, while alive, to make their last bed in this sacred ground.

We entered the city of Koom, or Kom, about eleven o'clock in the day; and, notwithstanding all I had heard of its religious magnificence, I thought it one of the most desolate-looking

places, to be called an inhabited city, that imagination could have pictured. It lies in latitude 34° 15″, longitude 50° 29″. Some authors suppose it to have been the Choama of Ptolemy, but Mr. Macdonald Kinnier says, it was built in the year of the Hegira 203, out of the ruins of seven former towns, which had been destroyed by war. Its present appearance is little better than a ruin of itself; both within and without the walls, the most conspicuous objects are old houses fallen into rubbish, crumbling mosques, and other edifices, all tumbled into heaps, or gradually mouldering down to that last stage of decay. In fact, this once populous city, renowned for the sanctity both of its living and its dead, is now little more than a large straggling wilderness of ruins, with here and there a few inhabited dwellings; amidst gardens and corn-fields, shut up, even within the old ramparts. The huts, which grew up at the foot of the hoary structures of Sultania, humble in their appearance, and few in number, were lost in the stately grandeur of the towers which surrounded them; and neither the awful harmony of the ruins, nor the solemn stillness of their repose, were broken by the few human beings which sheltered themselves within their mouldering aisles. But every thing at Koom, was anomalous. It was to be considered as still a city; and buildings of every period, and of every description, noble and mean, half repaired or falling into squalid neglect, mingled with the modern dwellings of the Persian gentlemen or the artizan. And a common every-day bustle, going on in the streets, though without the promising appearance of any sort of trade, by divesting the ruinous city of the usual solitariness and silence found in such places, deprived its mouldering remains of that solemnity which gives dignity to fallen greatness; and left nothing in their stead, but a disagreeable

impression of dilapidation, poverty or indolence, and a wretched insensibility to living in the midst of decay.

Upwards of two hundred ruinous places were shewn to me, as once dedicated to the Imaum Zadis, the Sons of the Saints, or what we would call the Fathers of the Church. There are also the remains of above forty mosques, with tombs innumerable, and other edifices, formerly attached to the consecrated character of the city; but all in like manner open on every side to the blast, and to the casualties of an utter abandonment to desolation. The only exception to this rule, is the mosque and shrine of Fatima, the descendant of Mahomet; which has been repaired, enriched, and splendidly overlaid with thin plates of gold, by order of his present Majesty; in consequence of a vow he had made to that effect, before he ascended the throne. Notwithstanding that Koom has long been considered the third city, in point of reverential sanctity, in the empire, yet the hostile followers of the same prophet, never spared its walls; and the Afghans, in one of their incursions, about a century ago, gave it a blow, from which it has never recovered. Besides the shrine of the fair saint already named, it contains the holy relics of numerous other beatified persons; and the tombs of two monarchs of a very different character: Shah Abbas the Second, of Bacchanalian memory; and his father, Shah Sefi, equally renowned for the same vice, and its sanguinary impulses. The remains of these princes are deposited within the golden mosque; while every quarter near its sacred precincts, or that of any succeeding saint, are filled with graves of different degrees of note. In short, whoever can pay for the high privilege, may mingle their clay with these holy and illustrious personages; hoping, perhaps, to pass into heaven in their suite unexamined,

and therefore free of all chastisement for sin! Pilgrims and lamenting relatives used to come from all parts of the country, with offerings to the several shrines; and to weep over the tombs of the departed. But these mummeries are gradually going out of fashion; though the clinging after a happy immortality, which influenced the first devotees, to purchase holy sepulture, continues as strong as ever. Those who are not rich enough to bequeath their relics, with the due consideration, to partake the sanctity of Hossein at Kerbela, or to draw on that of the holy Ali, at Mesched, are content to seek Paradise under the auspices of the female saint at Koom. During the course of our last day's march to this city, we overtook a train of mules; one or two of which were loaded with a couple of coffins, nicely balanced on each side of the pack-saddle. The muleteer was the only attendant on the caravan, the only horse-driver, the only mourner of the deceased; and, which triple-dutied gentleman, seemed to pay as little respect to the fulfilment of the two last, as if his beasts carried the commonest ware. Ridiculous as the spectacle might appear, it was not the less a sad one; to see those poor cased-up remains, once the animated bodies of beings like ourselves, consigned to the sole care of a common carrier; thus depriving it of the last offices of affection, to fulfil a superstitious wish on one side, and as an absurd compliance on the other; when, ten to one, that after all, the dead, so brought, would be interred even within view of the places, to lie in whose sacred inclosures, probably some enormous sum had been paid.

Besides this traffic of holy supererogation, Koom was formerly celebrated for an extensive commerce in silks. But every manufacture has ceased; and nothing is now done in the way of employment by the present inhabitants, but cultivating a little

corn or rice, in and about the city. The bazars, which once resounded with the busy hum of merchants, and extended from one extremity of the place to the other, now present hardly more than forty shops.

The heat was intense during my short sojourn in the town; and I was told that, owing to its proximity to the great salt desert, the summers here are absolutely insupportable. Indeed, the aspect of its immediate neighbourhood, would alone seem to account for this extraordinary furnace state of the place. Immense naked rocky mountains, closing it in, to the southward; and the scorched surface of the sandy plain, throwing its reflections on the town from every other side.

But at Koom, I found, for the first time, the full advantages of the royal rackam. It provided me excellent quarters in the house of an absent Persian nobleman; where I had every thing at my command, for myself and my party; all which comforts were enjoyed with double relish, by comparing what we now had, with what we had not, in the scanty accommodations of the caravansaries. The apartment I inhabited was level with the ground, and opened into a delicious garden, full of fruit-trees redundant in beauty and blossom. The thick branches of the mulberry, the broad leaves of the fig, and the pendant foliage of the willow, formed a shade over the front of my saloon; while a musky, and yet refreshing breeze, sweeping along the flowery parterres into the wide window, almost made me forget I was then in the hottest region of Persia. Roses bloomed in abundance over the garden; and the servants of the house did not neglect to strew them profusely over the carpets of my chamber; as if I were equally enamoured of their sweets, with the nightingale, who at that time —

Thro' the sleek passage of her open throat,
A clear unwrinkled song, with tender accents,
In controverting warbles softly shared,
Chanted her ditty to the list'ning moon!

But these were not the only delicacies with which my present servitors sought to regale my taste, and to make the *Frangeh* (for so they call all Europeans) feel himself at home. In short, I soon learnt by so many peculiar attentions, that I was not the only European guest who had lodged under their master's roof; and, that the Frangeh name they so highly honoured, was that of General Malcolm. It was delightful to me, to begin a journey so tracked; for everywhere that I went in the empire, where his mission had led him, still I found his remembrance in the hearts of the inhabitants. In many of the villages, the people date their marriages, or the births of their children, from the epoch of his visit amongst them; for, wherever he appeared, his goodness left some trace of himself; and the peasants often said to me, that "if the rocks and trees had suddenly the power of speech, their first word would be *Malcolm!*" All this, from the lips of the highest to the lowest, wherever I followed his steps, could not but be more grateful to his countryman, than even the blandest breezes under the most sultry skies. At home, we exult in, and share the reputation of a brother: abroad, every one of our countrymen is our brother; and though we may never have seen him, his fame warms our heart as if it were our own. And rightly so, for it seldom happens that we do not benefit by its influence.

May 17th. Having a long, and very fatiguing day's journey before us, I managed to get my people on horseback by four o'clock, just as the sun appeared above the level of the desert.

In our way to the city gate, we traversed long tracts of ruinous streets, and passed several mosques, on whose dilapidated domes the storks had built their nests. This bird is held in such veneration by the Persians, as to have obtained the epithet of Hadjée; an appellation of sanctity, usually appropriated to the pilgrims who had visited the shrine of Mecca.

For about one farsang, our road lay a few degrees to the eastward of south; and for a considerable part of it, the cultivation was rich, the barley high, and of a vivid green, forming a striking contrast to the boundless sandy plain on our left. To our right, rose the chain of mountains continuing from the vicinity of Koom, and taking the wildest, most shattered, and cliff forms, till they ended abruptly in the flat country, like the declivity of a pyramid. The whole were rugged, naked, scragged, and almost colourless; as if something had suddenly torn from the face of nature her fertile covering, not merely leaving her naked, but baring her to the very bones. Strong indications of sulphur, copper, and iron, with here and there a glittering spot of talc, were plainly perceptible as the eye wandered over their crude masses.

After three hours' march, we reached the very singular remains of a town called Lanker-rood. They consist of large buildings, totally separated from each other; each constructed of several central arches, supporting a pointed dome; while smaller divisions, divided again into cells, project from the body of the edifice; the whole being finished with the greatest care and neatness. Nearly a hundred of these insulated structures, mingled with old walls, and towers, fallen to the most picturesque ruin, surround the low-roofed dwellings which form the present village of the name. Gardens in disordered beauty

and luxuriance, still enrich this comparatively deserted spot; from amidst whose thick variety of shade, a species of very large cypress, with wild pine, and mulberry trees, rose most eminent. A rapid, full, and clear stream from the mountains, poured down through this romantic scene, in one part washing the feet of its mournful groves, and tomb-like edifices, and in others assisting the industrious peasant to spread vegetation wherever its waters touched. Large spaces of ground were covered with the growing barley, where I was shown several little watch-towers, (similar to some I had observed near Koom,) erected on different stations near the cultivated lands, and designed for the abode of certain officers of the crown, whose business is to mark the progress of the crop, and to watch over its safety when ready for the sickle. When land is hired from the crown, as this is, it pays rent according to its produce. For which reason the above-mentioned sentinels are placed, not merely to preserve the harvest from the depredations of strangers, but more particularly to prevent the tenant from stealing his own property; a manœuvre that has been adopted to lessen the payment of rent, by offering the excuse of a robbery having been committed on the produce of the land.

Continuing our ride for nearly a farsang farther, we reached the dried-mud remains of a very strong fortress; and proceeding a mile or two more, came up to the large stone caravansary of Parsangan. At some distance on the plain, to the south-east, extended a long black line of ruins; the only interruption to whose almost horizontal level, was the dome of a lonely mosque; marking all that now exists of the once considerable town of Kassamabad, through which Chardin passed in the year 1686. It was then fully inhabited; now, not an individual, excepting

a casual traveller, is to be found within miles of the spot on which it stood. For some time, our track had lain near the base of the mountains; which, in every point of the desolated but interesting scenery I have been describing, added their lofty and frowning back-ground, to the melancholy memorials of the successive devastating wars which had put to silence the towns and villages below. Gradually, the road turned due south; and then, at about two farsangs' distance from Lanker-rood, we crossed the point of these hills, which is most extended to the eastward. We had still some hours to travel, and over difficult ground, before we should reach our halting-place; and the heat poured upon us with a fervour that made us all earnestly wish ourselves beyond the influence of the desert. In our way, we came upon the dry bed of a mountain torrent; at the bottom of which flowed a small and clear stream of salt-water; and, on gaining its opposite bank, our day's journey was completed; having travelled seven farsangs, that is, twenty-eight miles, by eleven o'clock, the time at which we halted. A newly-erected caravansary, taking its name from the brook Shoor-Aub, we had just passed, stood very invitingly, in the gorge of a narrow rocky valley, leading into the heart of the mountains. This was to be our quarters; and though its neat brick-work bore no harmony with the gloomy heights by which it was surrounded, it was very congenial with our present taste; and gladly we turned our horses' heads under the hospitable porch. The entrance to the valley had, formerly, been defended by a strongly towered castle; whose dark ruins rose in heavy, but majestic masses, over the light structure that was now our shelter from the sun.

May 18th. I did not get off till five o'clock this morning; the road still due south, winding amongst the hills, with little

variety, till we reached the remains of an extensive turreted enclosure. Thence we descended into the plain, having a view, as we passed, of another deserted town, which is called Dhay Nain. It stands on the slope of a high ground, commanding one of the pleasantest prospects in the whole range. The chief buildings were of the same character with those at Lanker-rood; and in one of them I found the remains of a handsome saloon, with stuccoed walls, richly painted in the usual Persian style. The arches of the structure, (for such a temple-shaped edifice, it is difficult to consider, and name as a house,) were decorated in a similar fashion; and in several of the pinnacled recesses of the room, were the vestiges of whole length portraits, in fresco, of men and women, executed in a much better taste than any I had seen at Teheran. The name of the place would imply its having been celebrated for the growth of pomegranates; and, indeed, the walls of the numerous extensive gardens which used to be covered with those brilliant trees of "emerald and ruby hue," still stretch far to the south-eastern side of the hills. On every enquiry respecting the depopulation here, and the devastation there; why the mulberry-tree, no longer cherished its silk-worms; or the golden fruits of Dhay Nain, fell ungathered to the ground; I have but one answer, — "Invasion, from one side or other!" And these invaders were Turcomans, Tartars, and Afghans! We, here, would call them barbarians. But, indeed, the more I see of these numerous ruined tracts, and recollect what blood-stained lands I have lately traversed in Europe, the more am I impressed, that a spirit of conquest is a remains of the spirit of barbarism. The perfection of policy is to make your own station a good one; and of bravery, to maintain your place. But to trample on the lands and the rights of our neighbours, whether in the private

chapow, or the public invasion, can have but one character ; a barbarous seizure by strength, of the properties of the feeble. And, often, to what end ? The ruins of this valley can make the true reply.

Though we had gained the plain, we did not quit our mountain land-mark on the right, whose elevations seemed to increase as we proceeded. We had journeyed by their side, all the way from Koom ; sometimes within a mile of their base ; at others, traversing the lower defiles, or crossing the minor hills ; and the same lofty chain to the west, with the desert on the east, were to be our flanking lines, to the gates of Kashan. There, leaving the desert to the north-east, we were to plunge at once into the very heart of the great mountain-road ; through this immense south-eastern branch of Taurus, but which, in this country, bears a variety of local names.

Advancing at the foot of the hills, from Dhay Nain, we found cultivation in a very respectable state ; and, in about an hour's ride, arrived at the caravansary of Sin Sin ; a spacious building, lately erected by order of the Shah, of the best stone and workmanship. The town from which it derives its name, is a complete ruin ; but still possessing the remains of many domed edifices, sufficiently entire to show that they bore the same style of architecture with those I had remarked at Lanker-rood, and at Dhay Nain. At the first of these places, I was at a loss to guess their purpose ; the form being something of a temple or mosque shape ; but finding them divided into domestic apartments at Dhay Nain ; and seeing them again, here at Sin Sin, and so numerous ; I cannot now doubt that so extraordinary an architecture for dwelling-houses, was, nevertheless, the general taste in this part of Persia, at the time these towns held their greatest consequence. At the distance of a few hundred

Pl. 7

Sir Robert Porter. I. Clark sc.

Caravansary at Nasserabad.

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yards from the caravansary, appear the massy fragments of two castellated bulwarks, now battered down into little more than rude heaps. The fertility of this part of the plain, was much superior to what we had lately seen; and the difference was easily explained, by the countless little streams which, pouring from the mountains in a variety of directions, spread fruitfulness wherever they touched; the salt tracts alone excepted, which unalterably maintained their cold, white, desolate appearance.

We reached Nazirabad at ten o'clock in the forenoon; and our mehmandar estimated the distance between it and our last quarters, in the caravansary at Shoor-Aub, at seven farsangs, that is, twenty-eight miles; an amount I cannot credit, from the shortness of the time, only five hours, in which we must have travelled it. The immediate neighbourhood of this place is particularly animated, by a succession of populous villages scattered all along the foot of the adjacent mountains. In one of the most extensive we halted. It possessed a noble caravansary, the erection of one of the inhabitants, at his own cost; and which, both for magnitude and accommodation, far exceeded any I had hitherto seen.

The people were all in the greatest joy; making festivals amongst themselves, and returning thanks to God, for the blessing of so much rain as had fallen this spring. Indeed, I had witnessed similar testimonies of gratitude during the whole way of my travel from Teheran; wherever I found inhabitants, in towns or villages. And well might they express such feelings; having only the year before, suffered the most grievous calamities attendant on the failure of the seasonable rains, famine, and all its connecting miseries. In the midst of their present rejoicings,

they shuddered in relating the horrible scenes of the summer of 1817. The sterility had extended all over this part of the empire, and spread even to the borders of Azerbijan. Two successive years without the usual rains, had produced this universal barrenness; and on the third, the famine was so at its height, that cats, dogs, asses, mules, and horses, were devoured by the starving natives. At Kashan, an unhappy pair were so reduced from poverty and famine, as to kill two of their female infants for food. And a woman was found expiring on the high road near the same town, with a small bag lying near her; which, on examining, disclosed the remains of her only child, whom she also had murdered to support her own miserable life. The *maun* of barley (seven pounds and a half), at that time was sold for one real, but at last not a grain was to be had. Its usual price, at this part of Persia, was three shyes the maun; and twenty-five shyes make one real; eight reals amount to one tomaun; six tomauns to one ducat: the real, at present, is equivalent to one shilling and three-pence British money. But to return to the melancholy subject of the famine. Abbas Mirza, at that terrible season, most conspicuously manifested his truly princely qualities; and gathering together all that might be spared from the wants of his own province, he sent a large quantity of corn to the royal camp at Sultania; and, from the same bounteous source, enabled the governor of Teheran to supply the famishing inhabitants of Kashan with a hundred culverts. Amidst the general distress, thousands attempted to fly to other places, where they thought the famine might be less severe; but their strength failing them, the roads were covered with the dead and dying. Is it in imagination to conceive such scenes as these? War and pestilence are terrible evils, but

neither, nor both together, can be compared with the horrors described to me of this famine.

About midnight, I was disturbed by the loud yells of the jackalls, prowling close under the walls of the caravansary. One of them contrived to scramble up to the roof, where, pacing about, he continued his responsive screams to his hungry companions below; but not content with that achievement, he found his way down into the quadrangle of the building, and then I soon heard two fine grey-hounds which I had brought with me, in full chase after the interloper. It must have been easier for him to descend than to mount again, for the race was repeated several times round the court before he could make his escape; and then it was by earthing himself under a heap of large stones, which had been piled up on one side to complete a yet unfinished part of the building. By the time I could join the fray, my people had got every thing mounted for our march; and leaving the poor animal in his sanctuary, the gates of our quarters were thrown open, and we set forth in one of the most lovely nights, or mornings, I know not exactly which to name it, that I ever saw in my life. The extreme heat of the preceding day, had given me due warning not to tempt a similar fire. And, as the nights were now so little inferior to day, in lightsomeness sufficient for the purposes of observation, I was very well pleased to change five o'clock, with a hot sun, my former time of starting, for three hours earlier, with generally a cooling breeze.

Hence, at two o'clock (May 19th,) we rode out from the gate of our caravansary, under the guidance of a moon so bright, that with ease I could discover the hour and the bearings by my pocket-compass. Our road lay nearly south; and at

every step, while looking above me and around me, I could not forbear ejaculating to myself, Southey's exquisite apostrophe, in his Thalaba, to a similar Asiatic scene, — " How beautiful is night!" &c. As we advanced on the plain, the villages increased in numbers, and the culture of the ground bespoke the flourishing condition of the government of Kashan. The high range of mountains still at our side, appeared with peculiar magnificence; their varied heads shooting up into the cloudless and luminous blue of the vaulted sky, reflected the moon's rays on their summits, with all the pearly hue and lustre only to be seen in oriental climates; while the deepened shadows at their base, gave a profounder majesty to these heaven-tinted brows. But it was only in parts, that such very dark shadows prevailed; a broad and silvery light, in general rested on the whole country. The sun, however, rose upon us in the midst of our ride; and, as we hoped to be housed before his beams could become very powerful, we felt no apprehensive drawback from our pleasure, in contemplating the beauty and splendour with which his bright car seemed to mount the horizon of the desert.

By six o'clock, having travelled about three farsangs in four hours, we saw the northern gate of Kashan, which is covered by the royal garden; and amidst whose cooling shades we immediately plunged, to find our appointed quarters in the Khooleh Frangy.

Kashan, or Cachan, is situated on the plain, at some distance from the foot of the hills, and lies in latitude 33°. 54′. 32″. The town is of large extent, and surrounded by walls and towers in good repair. At present, as in former times, its silk brocades are celebrated all over Persia, and bring very profitable returns to the place. A particularly rich shawl, of silk fabric, is also

made here, and in as great request. The worms which produce the raw material, are carefully bred and watched by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages; and they never fail to amply remunerate the industry that rears them. A manufactory of copper utensils, is also an article of commerce between the town and its adjacent provinces; and, upon the whole, I think we may look upon Kashan as one of the most thriving places in this quarter of the empire.

The thermometer according to Fahrenheit, was only 82; an atmosphere by no means oppressive anywhere. But where we were quartered, it was rendered delightful, by the refreshing shade of thick rows of cypress, mixed with the wide branches of a species of cedar, not unlike that of Lebanon. In the course of the day, the gardens became thronged with people of all ranks from the town, who came there to enjoy the sultry hours of leisure; lying or sitting under the green canopy of the trees; some reposing on their many-coloured carpets; others seated on the grass; and not a few lolling amongst the high and humid weeds. The groups were very picturesque; their attitudes and employments being as various as their figures and habits. Some were sleeping, some talking, others singing, and most smoking their kaliouns decorated with their favourite flower; but there was one occupation, which, perhaps, we may find more or less every where but in England. Happy country! to be so exempt (at least in our times) from any share of that most disgusting of the plagues of Egypt, which some of the lower order of Persians were then hunting from their persons, as if they too had been curst "in all their quarters." With respect to the vocal performance, with which the before-mentioned native rivals of the nightingale, with up-turned eyes, seemed

wooing the roses from their spray, I can only say, that not one in ten of them had any thing of a voice; and so little of an ear, that without an idea of a tune, they went bawling on, sometimes singly, sometimes in concert, in one loud uproar, occasionally broken now and then by a guttural shake, not unlike the guggling of water in a bottle.

I was told by their own countrymen, that the inhabitants of Kashan are over-reaching, to a proverb. A vice that seems indigenous to mere local trafficking; it being difficult to make petty dealers understand the mutually enriching consequences of the broad principles of reciprocal confidence, on which great commercial establishments transact business. Kashan has another sort of reptile within its walls, a terrible breed of scorpions of the most venomous description. Fortunately for me, I lodged without the city; and to that, probably, we owed our escape from making a disagreeable acquaintance with both. Indeed, I have every reason to thank God, that neither myself, nor any of my people, had ever yet felt a single smart from the touch of any one of the numerous poisonous creatures with which these warm regions are infested. At this season of the year, this ephemeral sort of life seems to swarm, both in the air, and on the ground; and amongst the harmless inhabitants of the latter, I observed numbers of lizards and tortoises crawling along the sides of the roads. Some of the former were of strange shapes, and others of an unusual length; one, that we found dead, was above two feet from the nose to the tip of the tail. I remarked, that these animals invariably took the colour of the ground in which each particular kind existed. If verdant, the lizard was green; if sandy, she was a yellowish white; if red earth, or reddish mouldering stones, she was pink; and if

found amongst fragments of rock, and other dusky-hued relics, she would appear of a varied brown. I leave this fact to naturalists to explain, confessing myself totally ignorant of its secret.

May 20th. We did not leave our pleasant quarters in the royal Khooleh Frangy of Kashan, until eight o'clock in the evening of the next day after we had entered them. I wished to give my party, men and beasts, a good rest before commencing the mountainous journey in prospect; and also to prosecute it under the advantage of the present moon-light nights. Hence, we sounded to horse, at the hour named; and again went cheerily forward, meeting the bright uprise of the full-orbed planet. Our road lay south 5 east, traversing the plain; and holding the mountains to our right, at a distance of about a couple of miles. We soon came up to a cluster of dilapidated walls, called Assyab-i-Shah, or *the King's mill;* close to which flows a fine stream, that is afterwards lost in irrigation. Three farsangs farther, brought us to what we may call the offsets of the great stem of the mountains on this side; namely, a range of low hills. We entered their close upland defiles; and soon found that at every winding, their heights increased in altitude, and the road became more tortuous and difficult over the broken, and sometimes under the pendant, rocks. This darkling labyrinth at last brought us to a confined valley, or dell, in the bosom of which stood the ruins of the village of Gueberabad. Not a living creature was there, excepting the grey lizards, which we saw glancing under the moonlight, as they glided amongst the stones. Its name told the story of its desolation. I had seldom seen a place more wild and lonesome. At about a mile further on, we came somewhat abruptly in front of a very

different scene, a magnificent caravansary, of the superb age of Abbas the Great. The bold, untameable regions by which it was surrounded, were in noble harmony with the vastness of its dimensions, and the grandeur of its form, massy, lofty, and castellated. It stood on a commanding position of the rock, looking upon the cliffs above, and the deep ravine beneath, with the proud aspect of a mountain fortress. The clear, pale moon; the huge black and impending crags which towered over the majestic pile; the roaring of the unseen waters, rushing amidst the deeply rent chasm, fathomless to the eye, from the dark shadows of night; the stillness of every thing but those waters; all gave an impression of the true sublime; solemn, vast, and mysterious.

On quitting these scenes, we descended between the closely contracting heights, into a very narrow valley, or rather, I might call it, a deep rocky ravine, at the bottom of which dashed a full and rapid stream. The way was rough and hazardous, from the broken fragments which lay across it from the mountain's sides. We pursued this rugged track for nearly six miles, with one still more fatiguing and perilous in view. It began by presenting to us a mere path, scarcely wide enough for a foot-passenger; and commencing at a point where the valley terminated in a tremendous abyss; its depth on one side, and a precipitous mountain on the other. Our new and dangerous way, led direct to the summit of this mountain.

It seemed prudent to halt a short while, to rest ourselves and our horses, and to tighten the baggage on the backs of our mules; having, from necessity, walked them nearly the whole of the last six miles. By the time we had completed our arrangements, the morning was beginning to dawn; and its roseate

light, mingling with the pale illumination of the moon, rendered every object perfectly distinct, which before were lost in the partial obscurities of the mountain-shadows. The view which opened upon us, was overwhelmingly grand. Words cannot describe it; and all I can say is, that Taurus, in this point, might vie with any part of the Caucasus, for sublimity in form, hue, and bearing.

On reaching the top of a tremendous steep, which terminates this almost insurmountable pass, we found ourselves in sight of a small lake, whence begins the romantic mountain-vale of Kourood. This body of water is artificially produced, by the retention of a considerable stream, which would otherwise have rolled over the face of the rock, and pouring down the side of the shelving abyss we had just ascended, have formed another stupendous object in the scene. It is preserved from such precipitation by a very strong walled embankment, of an enormous thickness. The absence of so noble a feature as the fall must have been, may be regretted by a picturesque eye; but the agricultural purposes of its confinement, more than compensate for any abstraction from the pleasures of taste merely.

Much of the water, however, is lost to the inhabitants of the vale, by oozing through the earth at the bottom of the lake, and descending into the lower dells, forms the sinuous and rapid stream which we crossed and re-crossed so often during the preceding night.

Two miles more of difficult road, brought us to the entrance of the little vale, which is deservedly the boast of this part of the country, being in the highest cultivation from one end to the other. Here I found all the usual trees of Persia, large, healthy, and luxuriant. The fruit-trees were particularly fine,

and so numerous, that they appeared to form woods of themselves; chesnut, almond, peach, apple, plum, cherries, in short, every fruit which can be made to grow in these regions. The grape is never seen amongst them; a useful precaution, perhaps, lest temptation might press it into wine! The slopes of the mountains on each side of the vale (for here steep on steep only lead to others) were covered with abundant crops of corn and barley. The ground on which they grew, was formed by ranges of terraces on the slopes I have just mentioned, and ingeniously fed with water by the indefatigable husbandmen.

There are two villages in this little district, bearing the name of Kourood, which the natives distinguish by the addition of the Upper and the Lower. They are nearly a mile separate, and contain all the population of the vale, which, though prolific of inhabitants, is not more than five miles long, and two in breadth. The number of dwellings which compose both places may amount to about two hundred. They are clean, commodious, and cheerful, are built on the side of the hill; and each house has several stories, with a flat roof: a style of village architecture, totally different from any I had hitherto seen in Persia. The activity of the peasantry amongst their trees, and along the heights waving with the future harvest, gave a delightful animation to every object; and the figures of the women, which we sometimes descried passing through the rose and jasmine parterres, that grew up with the apples and pears near their houses, seemed moving with that sort of bustling step, which betokens the help-mates of their husbands.

We passed through the first of these villages, which is called Kourood-pa-ine, our design being to halt in the upper place of the name, nearer to the southern extremity of the valley. In

our way, we crossed a burying-ground; and, amongst the numerous rustic monuments which marked the humble graves, I observed a rude tomb, roughly sculptured, with something like the form of a lion, and a scimitar lying by its side, in *relievo*. On inquiring of the native who was our guide to the Upper Kourood, what he knew about this stone, he told us it was extremely ancient, and covered the remains of some great Pelhiva; meaning a warrior of the earliest ages of Persia; that appellation being generally restricted to the heroic times of the first Cyrus, and his immediate descendants.

Interesting as all these objects were; and though at every turn some new proof presented itself of the industry of the inhabitants, yet they had not subdued the ruggedness of the road; and our horses, strained in climbing the steeps, with those of my company who cared less about "the wonderful, the wild," than their master, tugged forward nearly as weary as our mules. After hard breathing, we reached the upper village a little before five in the morning; having travelled between seven and eight farsangs in nine hours, over, indeed, one of the most romantic and adventurous roads I had seen, since passing the rocky wilds of the Terek.

May 21. All around us, in our little Arcadian lodging, was in unison with the rural simplicity of the scene; and every sylvan luxury which the place afforded, were bounteously spread before us; particularly, a variety of dried fruits of delicious flavour. One of the great sources of this valley's extraordinary prosperity, is derived from these sort of preserves; which the inhabitants prepare, by a certain process while exposing them when perfectly ripe, and gathered, to the sun; and which they afterwards sell, at very profitable prices, to agents from all parts of the empire. My weary party soon recovered their fatigued spirits, with such fare, and in

so genial an atmosphere; for, at twelve o'clock at noon, the thermometer was only 60 Fahrenheit in the shade, which shows the delightful temperature of its air.

In observing the fair sex, who occasionally flitted across our way, I remarked some difference in their costume here, from what I had seen in any other part of Persia. Besides the chadre, or long wrapping drapery, these women wore a smaller interior veil, fastened at the crown of the head, passing under the chin, and hanging down a short way over the breast; their upper coat, was much longer than the usual fashion, falling to the knees; and their trowsers rather tighter than those commonly in use. The effect produced a lighter air to the person, and the dames certainly tripped about with no indolent step.

May 22d. We left our pleasant quarters between five and six o'clock in the morning, perfectly refreshed, and prepared for the long tracts of mountain roads yet before us. Something less than half an hour's ride took us totally beyond sight of the happy valley, and we struck off, at a brisk pace, amongst the numerous ravines, whose winding paths were to form this day's route. Our road varied with these serpentine directions, from south-east to south, but the latter was our general bearing. After marching about six farsangs, we reached the barren tract of Sow; a valley without a tree, and having only a few meagre spots in culture; but I found a fine caravansary, lately built, and possessing most of the accommodations we required. The town of Sow is almost a total ruin. Its remains do not stand very far from the caravansary; but the eye cannot descry one unfractured roof, to offer to native or to traveller, excepting a few tolerably entire buildings, clustered together on the summit of an adjacent eminence; which, from their height, proximity, and elevated situation, from

a distance have the imposing effect of a castle. A clear stream of excellent water flows at the base of the eminence.

May 23d. The refreshment which that pure stream gave to us, seemed a silent promise of better things to come; and this morning's march convinced us, that only will and diligence were necessary to make the sterile tract of Sow change its character to that of a garden of plenty. At four o'clock this morning we quitted the caravansary, keeping in a direction south 5° east along the valley. Fertility now clothed all its slopes, with grain and fruit-trees; which we sorrowingly left, after a farsang's ride, to enter upon a very wide and extensive sandy plain, encircled by mountains rising over each other with the gradations of a theatre, till the sight grew giddy in pursuing their rugged peaks into the sky. Marching onward, we passed two handsome villages; the first, on our right, was called Pidah, and the second, which was at some distance further on our left, had the name of Dey-Lors. Being on the open plain, we had the full power of the sun, with the addition of being exposed to whirlwinds of the hot dust; which met us in sweeping columns, in appearance like pillars of yellow smoke, but with all the substantial realities of fiery particles, filling our eyes, adhering to and scorching our skins, and exasperating the thirst with which our parched throats were burning. Not a drop of water presented itself any where, for many miles, to allay the dreadful drowth for one moment; and the specimen, brief as it was in comparison, gave us no faint idea of the like sufferings endured sometimes for days together, in passing the great deserts. However, our pains of the kind were soon over, for, after a travel of three farsangs over this minor waste, we approached a large tank of water; and drank of it with a zest and a gratitude not to be understood, till the need and

the relief make known the bounty, by teaching us to appreciate the blessing.

From this spot, the immense caravansary of Aga Kamel Bela, which had long been a conspicuous object to us on our right, bore south 45° west. Continuing our route, we saw that of Aga Kamel-pa-ine also, bearing to the westward, a farsang from the other: they are both enormous establishments. Nine miles more of the plain, brought us to our welcome Menzil for the day; and there the sand and dust gave place to soil and verdure; our quarters being at Mourcha-Khorde, a large and fine village, well watered, and surrounded by fields of corn, then in full growth of the most vivid green: but we were lodged in the caravansary, another new and spacious edifice.

During our advance to this place, we passed the baggage and household establishment of some khan, going to Teheran to join his Majesty's encamping excursion for the summer. Besides a numerous suite of camels and mules, bearing camp-equipage, bedding, culinary apparatus, &c. &c., there were another set of the latter sort of animals, pacing along under the more honourable burthen of his women, and their female attendants. These last I had an opportunity of seeing, from their conveyances being entirely open; which were, a couple of panniers nicely poized on each side of a mule, with a damsel in each, seated on her heels in the doubled-up fashion of gipsey-children in a basket; and with as little shelter from the weather, for the poor Persian abigails sat exposed all the way to the intense rays of the sun, without any additional covering to that of their ordinary veils. The ladies were in the same style of vehicle, but sheltered; their panniers, or wooden kreels, being canopied with semicircular tops, and covered with blue or green cloth hanging all over it, and down the

front like a curtain. As they sit with their faces towards the head of the animal, these sort of loads have a most singular appearance at a distance. Our journey was this day seven farsangs; and we reached our caravansary at half-past twelve at noon.

May 24th. We quitted our lodgings this morning at three o'clock, with a moon brilliant as day. By my compass, we were going in a direction south 45° east, still upon the plain. At four, the dawn broke; and at half-past five we passed a large and splendid caravansary, built by the mother of the great Abbas. Its foundations are dark-blue marble, surrounded by high and massy walls of the finest brick masonry. The tops of the towers, and of the walls also, are finished in an extraordinary style of elegance, with a sort of open work; giving a light, and almost *lace* appearance, to the edging of so solid a building. An ornament, altogether well-adapted to what we might suppose the taste of a lady-foundress. Nearly opposite to this fine structure, stand the remains of one of those fortified enclosures which usually appendaged caravansaries of consequence, (when far from villages;) as a walled depôt for the forage and other supplies, necessary to the accommodation of travellers.

From this point, we soon began to ascend one of the many short ranges of hills, which spotted the immense plain, at different distances. The line we crossed, stretched north-west, scarcely a mile and a half in length; and from its summit we saw the other groups, forming far separate breaks in the level champaign. Having surmounted this screen, we proceeded due south, over a tolerable road, and passed the ruins of another caravansary, of large dimensions; but no otherwise remarkable than possessing a well, which must be sought at the bottom of an excavated way, on a descent of nearly forty yards. Some

years ago, a detachment of musketeers were regularly posted here, to check the incursions of the bold and still independent tribes from the Louristan and Baktiara mountains; who used to come down in formidable bands, laying waste the villages, or carrying off whole caravans in their way to and from Ispahan. But the steady execution of the laws against these, or any other depredators, when discovered and taken, has, for a time at least, entirely put a stop to such sallies; and, consequently, to the necessity of a stationary military guard. This old caravansary-fort stands about half-way between the Queen's caravansary, before described, and the village of Guz, or Gaz, where we were to halt for the day. When we reached it, the keeper, who was a very intelligent person, told me the distance might be about six farsangs from Mourcha-Khorde.

Guz is a very extensive village; and close to it we found our proposed quarters; the magnitude and solidity of which, at once declared the building to be of Sefi origin. Our host's information on the subject, was, that the Khodjeh-bashi, or chief-eunuch of the court of Shah Abbas, being a man of great riches and a magnificent spirit, not only built this caravansary, and the two we had seen at a distance on the commencement of our march over the plain, namely, Aga Kamel Bela, and Aga Kamel-pa-ine, but several others, in different parts of the country. The name of this officer, so worthy of the splendid reign in which he lived, was Aga Kamel. And, as these sort of edifices are erected on almost the same plan throughout the empire, varying only in dimensions, materials, or ornaments, I shall take the opportunity of some hours' rest in that of Guz, to describe, from its details, the general accommodations of them all.

The extent of this building is an exact square, of one hundred

yards on every side, flanked by four towers, of a diameter so disproportioned to the length of the intervening walls, as not to exceed nine feet. Within these walls are the buildings which form the accommodations of the caravan. On entering the great gate, the first object that presents itself, is a kind of piazza, which extends itself on every side of the interior of the quadrangle, leaving a noble area, or court, in the middle. These piazzas are subdivided into lofty arched apartments, open in front, and all neatly paved. At ten feet within each of these, is another chamber, fifteen feet deep, and containing, at its farther end, a fire-place, besides several little compartments cut out of the thickness of the wall, called topshehs, or cupboards, which are deemed indispensables in every Persian room. This interior chamber is seldom resorted to before winter; the outer one, open to the court, being considered the summer apartment, from the advantage it affords of breathing the free, incommoded air. The traveller spreads his nummud upon the paved floor; fitting it up with bedding according to his own idea of comfort; but nothing is really necessary, beyond a pillow, with a sheet for the warmest nights, and a quilt for the cool. Immediately behind this double range of chambers, runs an open space or lane, in like manner following the quadrangular sweep of the building; the hinder side of the lane, (that is, the one nearest the wall of the caravansary,) being an arcade also; and divided into cell-like apartments, for the use of servants, muleteers, and other persons, wishing to keep station near their cattle; which are generally stabled in the lane, between the front of this last arcade, and the back of the one first described. Sometimes, when the caravansary is very full, the animals are picketed in the great court, while their attendants sleep on a large elevated

square platform, which occupies the centre; and, round it the packages of the travellers are piled up in heaps. Reposing in the open air is not merely a luxury to all orders of people in this climate, at this season, but is indispensable to their healths and their comfort in many other respects; close apartments being often not only intolerable from heat, but often sorely infested with vermin both great and small. One ample entrance leads into the caravansary, the gates of which are closed soon after sun-set; and only occasionally re-opened during the night for the egress of departing guests. Beneath the extensive vaulted roof of the porch, are the quarters of the keeper, or warden, and his people; with the shop, and other repositories of the accommodations he prepares for travellers. Amongst this numerous store, we see exposed to sale, tobacco, rice, grapes, water-melons, eggs, grease, bread, wood, corn, moss, &c. This last article is a beverage of acidulated milk, and when diluted with water, is a favourite drink with the natives; the antiquity of the beverage is so great, that Plutarch mentions it as part of the ceremony at the consecration of the Persian kings, to quaff off a large goblet of this acidulated mixture: an apt emblem of the sweets and sours that fill the cup of royalty! Every commodity being sold at double the ordinary price, the renter of the caravansary is enabled to pay liberally to the agent of the crown for his privilege, and to realise a very handsome profit besides.

In most of the caravansaries which remain from earlier times, there are three or four vaulted chambers over the grand portico, which have always been held in more dignity than any others of the building. These are perforated on all sides with apertures and doors; being a sort of temple of the winds, imbibing a breeze or blast at every pore. Indeed I had never the honour of being conducted to one of them, without incurring the penalty

of the distinction; by being at hunt, half the time, to find some neck of shelter from the clouds of dust and gravel, which, when the winds were really a-stir, usually entered in their train. But, one or two advantages these "high places" certainly possessed; being less used, they are freer from dirt and vermin than the recesses below; and, as chambers appropriated to one class of persons, they are particularly sacred from intrusion. Hence, when the hour of repose is, what we should always wish it, fair and serene; when stretched on our carpets, in one of these lofty balconies, open to the zephyrs around, and to the glowing heavens above, printed with stars; nothing could be more still, more lovely, more addressive to the mind, and pregnant with the divinest lore; reminding me, as I gazed, that we were approaching the land of Chaldea; on whose plains the Shepherds lay under the same genial sky, with their eyes fixed on the very same constellations; and, from thence, gave the first lessons of astronomy to men.

The village of Guz appears to be in an equally prosperous state with its caravansary; corn, barley, cotton, melons, water-melons, &c. &c., covering the country as far as our sight could reach. It is abundantly served with water; first, by a fine spring; and, secondly, from a variety of well-supplied kanaughts. Indeed, there is no source whence the crown draws its revenue so productively, as from that of these waters; for the advantage of which artificial channels, a certain sum is paid yearly to government. Great as that may be, it is short of what it might be, were the dispersion of these aqueducts better understood; and were the dues properly collected, the result would be double profit to the crown. But, in this country, (as it is sometimes even with ourselves,) there are a train of intermediate agents between

the government and the tax; who either eat up three-fourths of the expected sum, before it reaches the treasury; or so grind each other at every remove from the first delegated hand, that when the last and full exaction is made from the industrious peasant, or trader, or warder of a caravansary, (it being demanded in sufficient quantity to stick a reasonable profit to the coffers of each successive extortioner, in its way to those of the sovereign,) the poor labouring wretch at the bottom of the ladder is made to dig the gold out of his very veins; to pour it out with his sweat and his blood; and giving his last handful of grain this year, with all his means of subsistence, to these hard task-masters, leaves the land and the royal dues to shift for themselves in the next. The kanaughts of Guz are farmed out, to twenty-four of its inhabitants, at a rent of twenty-five tomauns per annum each; which tax does not include what the crown claims on the produce of the land nourished by this water; nor do those claims cover all the contributions that may be demanded, under several different pleas, of the proprietors. Indeed, it is even more difficult to acquire any certain knowledge of the ways and means by which the revenue of this country is calculated and collected, than to obtain any reasonable estimate of its population. Every thing of the sort appears to be done by farming, and monopoly; a common, and universally impoverishing error with arbitrary governments; and which, while its principle continues, must dam up the sources of national wealth, by undermining the foundations of all industry, whether agricultural, commercial, or any thing else. Hence, the plough, and the loom, are often abandoned in despair; and the poor rack-rented husbandman, or mechanic, flies to some distant province; to seek less oppressive exactors, of some less exorbitant impost.

Thus do villages, and even districts, not unfrequently become entirely deserted; and, on enquiry, what inroad of Tartar or Turkoman had rendered the houses tenantless, and left so many fine tracts of land without culture, we are surprised with the information, that some avaricious governor, or, more likely, his rapacious satellites, had passed that way; and the besom of destruction could not have swept surer.

May 25th. At two o'clock this morning, we bade adieu to our good host of the caravansary of Guz; and keeping a course due south along the plain for a track of six fair miles, were then most grievously impeded, by a road broken up in hundreds of places, by the fractured state of as many old water-channels; while on all sides of us, we saw ruins of every description, the former dwelling-places of a once numerous and prosperous population, which had fully inhabited this finest district in the immediate vicinity of Ispahan: but war alone, had been the enemy here. When morning dawned, we discovered the long black line of this once great capital, as the sun rose above the horizon; the countless domes and columns of the mosques became instantly distinguished, and glittering under its oblique rays, reminded me of the ancient metropolis of the Tzars, when I first saw it, in all its Asiatic splendour, at the decline of the year 1806.

Having ridden about four miles, over ground that showed, by many marks, how much beyond it the suburbs of the *great capital* had once extended, we arrived at the Gouch Khonah, a very old mosque of the early Sunnees; at which point commences what is now termed the beginning of the city. After passing through an avenue of noble trees, we entered the long vaulted covered way of the bazar, under whose massy arches we travelled

on for considerably more than a mile, to where they terminated at the northern angle of the royal square, or Maidan Shah. Crossing one side of this immense area, we re-entered the continuation of the bazar at the opposite angle, and having traversed its arcade also, issued forth into a vast space of what had been streets and squares, now covered with ruins of every description. This was a melancholy avenue to the residence of the great monarch, now no more, who had seen so many of those very buildings rise up under his own eye; who had ridden abroad through their populous and thriving streets, rejoicing in the prosperity of his people, and proud of the magnificence it produced. This sad desolation brought us to the gate of the *Shaher Bagh*, or four gardens, the superb domain attached to the palace of the great Shah Abbas. Notwithstanding I had dispatched my mehmandar the preceding evening, to prepare for my arrival, by some miscalculation of the time of my appearance, he was out of the way, and it was some hours before I could get within its walls. However, the trial of my patience was amply repaid by the pleasantness of my quarters; the Ameen-i-Doulah's people brought the keys, and I soon found myself in excellent apartments, overlooking parterres of flowers, beautiful fountains, and delightfully shaded by towering plane-trees.

According to the observations made by one of the British officers now resident in Persia, Ispahan lies in latitude 32° 40′ 24″, longitude 84° 18′. The origin of the city is not to be traced with any certainty, but it is generally supposed to have arisen from the ruins of Hecatompylos, the Parthian capital; while some will have it to stand on the site of the Aspa, or Aspadana of Ptolemy. But be this as it may, the situation of the city to-

pographically and centrically with regard to the empire, is admirably adapted for that of a royal capital. The noble river Zeinderood flows through it, the climate is salubrious, and the country around capable of the most prolific cultivation. Indeed we find in almost all accounts of Persia, that Ispahan, from the first of its being named, is noted as a city of consequence; but it was reserved for the renowned Shah Abbas to raise it to its supreme height of royal magnificence, and to render Ispahan the great emporium of the Asiatic world. During his reign nearly a million of people animated its busy streets, and the equally flourishing peasantry of more than fourteen hundred villages in its neighbourhood, supplied by their labour the markets of this abundant population. Its bazars were filled with merchandise from every quarter of the globe, mingled with the rich bales of its own celebrated manufactories. Industry, diligence, activity, and business-like negociations, were seen and heard every where. The caravansaries were crowded with merchants, and goods of Europe and of Asia; while the court of the great Shah was the resort of ambassadors from the proudest kingdoms, not only of the East, but of the West. Travellers thronged thither to behold its splendours, and to enjoy the gracious reception bestowed by its monarch on the learned and ingenious of all lands and religions. The renown of his camps attracted brave volunteers from many a Christian country; and even the chivalry of our own land, knights sworn to arms by our royal Elizabeth herself, sought accessions of honours in the pavilions of Shah Abbas. Magnificence to strangers, and munificence to his subjects, seem to have been the leading characteristics of this extraordinary prince. A devotee in his own faith, he was tolerant to all others. His holy ancestry made him a saint, his

gay temperament a man of pleasure. He performed pilgrimages on foot; he endowed mosques with the splendour of palaces; his palaces were the seats of legislature; his anderoon, the council of arms; while his gardens, open to the people, resounded with fêtes and revelling. Such was Ispahan under the sway of Abbas the First. Such almost it continued during the reign of Abbas the Second. But, whatever were its subsequent splendours, they were all extinguished by the merciless arms of its Afghan conquerors; and, hence comes the different picture it presents this day, from that which I have drawn. Its people are reduced to scarcely one-tenth of the just computed numbers; the streets are every where in ruin; the bazars silent and abandoned; the caravansaries equally forsaken; its thousand villages hardly now counting two hundred; its palaces solitary and forlorn; and the nocturnal laugh and song which used to echo from every part of the gardens, now succeeded by the yells of jackalls, and the howls of as famishing dogs. How would the seer-spirit of our poet of Persia, Thomas Moore, have apostrophised the shade of Shah Abbas, the lord of all these departed festivities; had he been looking out that moonlight night, as I did on the first of my sojourn in that vast and lonely palace, on the deep solitude of those former gardens of pleasure! He would have re-peopled those silent glades, with the first of the royal name, who made Ispahan the emporium of nations; he would have seen him moving in life and splendour, through those gay parterres, and all the city rejoicing in his smiles. He would have reversed the vision in his mind, and beheld, and painted it as his genius saw, the awful pageantry with which this great prince's last royal descendant, Shah Houssein, (for his son was but the shadow of a king,) moved from that palace, in mourning weeds; walking through avenues of his perishing subjects,

dying by famine, pestilence, and war, to lay his crown at the feet of a proud conqueror: in which moment the glories of the Sefi race, with the royal existence of Ispahan, and the independence of Persia were no more. But the *Jam-e-Jehan-numai*, or magic mirror of the universe, in which former poets read the fate of the empire, must have recorded its recovery from the yoke. And, in like manner, it may yet have to re-picture the restoration of this once beautiful capital to all its faded honours.

The governments both of the city and district of Ispahan, are in the hands of Hadjee Mahomed Hossein Khan, the Ameen-a-Doulah, or second minister of His Majesty; and he fulfils his duty in a way worthy the momentous trust. He has repaired and re-colonised many of the deserted villages, encouraged agriculture, and used similar means to populate the habitable streets of the city, by promoting the old manufactories, and striving to attract commerce back to its ancient channels. His zeal has already done much, and is likely to do more. Many of the neglected caravansaries on the several roads, are re-established; while the bazars are being put into a state worthy the rich deposits they once protected, and may again. Indeed, all wears the face of good intention on one side, with awakening hope on the other; and, should security and industry ensue, a relative degree of prosperity cannot be far behind. As one proof, since the department of Ispahan has been under this judicious minister's management, it has produced a larger sum to the crown than any other district in the royal dominions. His Excellency's annual present to the King (which is always made under consideration of the value of the government possessed by the giver,) is never less than between six and seven hundred thousand tomauns; but this amount covers the whole tribute from the district; an immense sum at any rate.

The minister, being obliged from his post at court to reside much there, has nominated his son to be the Nizam-a-Doulah, or deputy-governor; and the young representative does not fall short of his father's zeal, in arresting the progress of ruin in the palaces, gardens, mosques, and other public memorials of the former magnificence of the city.

May 26th. My quarters being in a part of the royal residence which looked upon one of the most delightful divisions of the gardens, and near to some fine buildings within their walls, I was meditating a ramble amongst them, when a little train from the Nizam-a-Doulah made their appearance to welcome me to Ispahan. I had now been long enough in Persia to understand the court ceremonies on such occasions, from the king to the last order of his representatives. These persons were attended by servants bearing trays, laden with various sorts of choice sweetmeats and fruits; some of the latter being unripe plums, an early offering of the year not very grateful to a northern palate, though in high request in the East. Heaps of fresh cucumbers added to the vernal show of the present; for, as such, it was set down before me: a mission, which the servants of great men in Persia are very alert in executing; custom having established a kind of law, to present them a small gratuity for what they bring; and strangers not being aware of the practice with the natives, to proportion the largess to the present, generally suffer the imposition of giving double the value of the donation produced.

When my very polite visitors withdrew, for they had not halted behind any of their countrymen in gratulatory eloquence, I resumed my intention of the morning; and with Sedah Beg, my invaluable gift from the Prince, set forth in a tour through

the *Chahar Bagh*. The royal domain which holds that title is a very extensive tract, inclosed within four majestic walls; and divided into gardens, with pleasure-grounds; each having a separate palace, adapted to the seasons, or rather to the changing humour of the royal planter, who called them the *Hesht Beheste*, or eight paradises. The prevailing plan of them all, is that of long parallel walks, shaded by even rows of tall and umbrageous planes, the celebrated *Chinar-tree*, of which the Persians are so fond, and which grows here in great perfection. These are interspersed with a variety of fruit-trees, and every kind of flowering shrub, in full blow. Canals flow down the avenues in the same undeviating lines; and, generally, terminate in some large marble basin, ornamented with sparkling fountains, of square or octagon shapes. Formal as this may seem, and therefore the reverse of picturesque, the effect was amazingly grand; the number of avenues, and canals, forming so extended a sylvan scene, that, when viewed from any point, it appeared a vast wood, with thousands of brilliant rills gliding amongst its thickets. And through this wood we descried, at various openings, the different palaces which belonged to each of these *Hesht Beheste*, or eight paradises. They appeared glittering, at the bottom of the green aisles, and amongst the foliage, like so many gay pavilions raised by enchantment; but when we drew nearer, the spell dissolved. We found gorgeous structures, indeed, but of too heavy and discordant a taste, to be of such spiritual architecture. A close inspection reminded me of a cumbrous style of building much in vogue about a hundred and fifty years ago, in Holland and England; a monstrous union of the Grecian with the Saracenic taste: and here it was loaded with every species of external ornament, in gilding, carving, painting, and looking-

glass. Prodigious quantities of the latter decoration being inlaid, in a thousand shapes and places, over almost every part of these structures, and all shining at once under the rays of the sun, the dazzled sight seeing nothing but indistinct forms of splendour, may excuse the ejaculation of admiring wonder with which, I confess, I hailed the first view of these extraordinary mansions.

The *Chehel Setoon*, or Palace of Forty Pillars, was the favourite residence of the latter Sefi kings; and certainly, when we turned into the grand avenue, and the palace broke upon us, I thought description was put to silence. Indeed, words can seldom give any thing like a just idea of very intricate objects of sight; but for the satisfaction of my readers, curious in comparing the taste of times and countries, I shall attempt some detail of this Persian Versailles. The exhaustless profusion of its splendid materials, reflected, not merely their own golden or crystal lights on each other, but all the variegated colours of the garden; so that the whole surface seemed formed of polished silver and mother-of-pearl, set with precious stones. In short, as I said before, the scene might well have appeared an Eastern poet's dream, or some magic vision, in the wonderful tales of an *Arabian Night*.

When we drew near, I found the entire front of the building open to the garden; the roof being sustained by a double range of columns, the height of which measured eleven Persian yards, (a Persian yard being forty-four inches;) hence they rose upwards of forty feet. Each column shoots up from the united backs of four lions, of white marble; and the shafts of the columns rising from these extraordinary bases, were covered with arabesque patterns, and foliages, in looking-glass, gilding,

and painting; some twisting spirally; others winding in golden wreaths, or running into lozenges, stars, connecting circles, and I know not what intricacies of fancy and ingenious workmanship. The ceiling was equally iris-hued, with flowers, fruits, birds, butterflies, and even couching tigers, in gold, silver, and painting, amidst hundreds of intermingling compartments of glittering mirror. At some distance, within this open chamber, are two more pillars of similar taste to the range; and from their capitals springs a spacious arch, forming the entrance to a vast interior saloon; in which all the caprices and labours and cost of Eastern magnificence, have been lavished to an incredible prodigality. The pillars, the walls, the cieling, might be a study for ages, for designers in these gorgeous labyrinthine ornaments. The floors of both apartments were covered with the richest carpets, of the era in which the building was constructed, the age of Shah Abbas, and were as fresh as if just laid down; there needs no other proof of the purity of the climate. From one angle of the interior chamber, two low folding-doors opened into a very spacious and lofty hall, the sides of which were hung with pictures of various dimensions; most of them descriptive of convivial scenes; and the doors, and pannels of the room near the floor, being also emblazoned with the same merry-making subjects, fully declared the purpose of the place. But a very odd addition was made to the ornaments of the wall. Little recesses spotted its lower range, taking the shapes of bottles, flaggons, goblets, and other useful vessels; all equally indispensable, in those days, at a Persian feast. Very different from the temperance, which now presides there; and, how directly the reverse of the abstemiousness and its effects, that marked the board of the great Cyrus!

Six pictures of a very large size, occupy the walls of this banqueting-chamber, from the ceiling, to within eight or ten feet of the floor. Four of these represent royal entertainments, given to different ambassadors during the reigns of Shah Abbas the First, *alias*, the Great; of his grandson, Abbas the Second; and of Shah Thamas, or Tamasp, as it is sometimes written. The two other pictures are battle-pieces. Every one of these different subjects are pourtrayed with the most scrupulous exactness, as far as the still life could be copied. The golden vases, and other vessels in the banqueting scenes, with the musical instruments, and every detail in the dresses of the persons present, are painted with an almost Flemish precision. Wine (the peculiar bane of the Sefi race,) appears the great vehicle of enjoyment at these feasts; an air of carouse being in all the figures, and the goblets disposed with the most anacreontic profusion. The guests are also entertained with a variety of dancing-girls, whose attitudes and costumes sufficiently show the second vice of the times, and explain the countries whence they come.

The warlike pictures are defined with equal nicety; the trappings of the horses, the arms of the heroes, and even to the blood-red wounds of the combatants. One of the battles represents the troops of the valiant Shah Tamasp the First, (the son of Shah Ismail, the beginner of the Sefi dynasty,) engaging the troops of Sultan Soliman. The Persian King is depicted in the act of cleaving a grim Janisary "from head to saddle-bow;" and the weapon having nearly reached the last point of its aim, the artist has marked its dreadful journey down the body of the man, with a long red streak, following the royal blade. But, nevertheless, the indivisible Turk continues to sit bolt upright,

firm in his stirrups, and as life-like in visage, as the most conquering hero in the piece.

Ridiculous as the execution of these pictures may be in some respects, they are invaluable as registers of the manners of the times, of the general aspect of the persons they are designed to commemorate, and of the costumes of the several nations assembled at the feasts, or engaged in the battles. Large turbans, full mustachios, and smooth-shaven chins, were then the fashion in Persia; which has now given place to the high, narrow, black cap of sheep-skin, and the long bushy beard: the latter appendage having been a costume of the empire many centuries before.

The sixth large picture is of more modern date, and a very sorry specimen of the art indeed. It is meant to represent a victory of Nadir Shah's, over the sovereign of Delhi; and was painted during that usurper's reign. All the smaller pictures pourtray scenes of the most licentious revelry. It is not necessary to attribute the worst of these to the reign of Shah Abbas; for though he was addicted to wine and wassail, as extravagantly, perhaps, as any of his most intemperate European guests, yet we do not find that his personal conduct, in other respects, partook of the open, wanton libertinism, which stained the lives of most of his descendants. To the profligate taste, then, of his grandson Shah Sefi, I would attribute the very disgraceful memorials of the manners of the times. But had his artists, and their successors, pourtrayed the sanguinary scenes, which were also the effects of these drunken revels; himself, his ancestors, and his posterity, would have been seen committing deeds of mad inebriation, which make the murder of Clytus a venial crime; and must have proved, by such visible warning, the most decisive

of all decrees, against the dangerous impulses of wine, in this inflammatory climate.

At a considerable distance from the *Chehel Setoon*, to the left of the gardens, stands the winter palace, containing the harem, royal arsenal, and stables; where Ashreff, the second tyrant of the Afghan invaders, held his short but cruel sway over Persia; and which he stained with the blood of its native prince, the captive Shah Houssain. At the time the horrid deed was committed, the arms of the renowned Kouli Khan (who was afterwards the equally infamous usurper Nadir Shah) had prevailed over the Afghans; and having rescued his country, he made a feint of restoring Shah Thamas, the son of the murdered king, and the last of the race of the great Shah Abbas. When the young monarch walked through these courts and these chambers, and he saw the desolation that had been made of their ancient splendour, and beheld the traces of the many horrors which had spotted them with the blood of his family, he burst into tears; and would not be persuaded to rejoice in what was restored, while memory pressed so heavily on him the recollection of so much that had been lost. In one of the interior apartments, to which he retired alone to give way to his affliction unnoticed, he was met by a female slave in the meanest dress, who suddenly clasped him in her arms; a few words told him it was his mother. She had disguised herself as a slave, when the Afghans first took possession of the capital; and had not only worn the habit, but performed the lowest offices for seven years; to escape, by remaining unknown, the ignominious fate of the other Sefi ladies; and to watch over, unsuspected, the perilous captivity of her royal husband.

Close to the winter palace, stands a superb structure lately

erected by the Nizam-a-Doulah, for the reception of his present Majesty, Futteh Ali Shah, should he ever honour this capital with his presence. The general architecture of the building is in the same style with that of its neighbouring palaces, but executed in a more simple and light, and therefore more elegant taste. The internal decorations are formed on the usual ground-work of flowers, and gold, and pieces of mirror; but all are disposed here, with a design and a grace, which conspicuously show a great advancement in the true principles of ornamental invention.

The hall of audience exhibits a profusion of paintings; and amongst them, several of the King, but resembling his fine countenance in nothing but the patriarchal length of his beard. One of the largest pictures, which occupies nearly the whole of one side of the hall, presents him as the most prominent object, and attended by most of his sons. The opposite wall is covered with a canvass of the same size, representing a hunt, and the same royal personage discharging his bow at a flying antelope. It instantly recalled to my recollection a magnificent picture painted by Mr. West, the President of the Royal Academy of England, on a similar subject; one of the kings of Scotland engaged in the chase of the stag, but in the moment of coming-in at the death, he is entangled with the wounded animal, who, with the shaft in his side, tramples on the fallen monarch. The stag, with the big drop of the last struggle in his effulgent eye, his breast panting, his tongue hanging from exhaustion out of his mouth, his foot on the body of the prostrate James; the King's awful countenance, arming himself for the fate that seems inevitable; the dogs clinging to the stag; the horsemen pressing forward to their sovereign's rescue! Never, since I first

looked on the efforts of human art, to represent a living, a breathing scene on canvass, did I behold one so animated, so moving, of the story it would relate. But the remembrance, then, of that memorable stag-hunt, did not arise from any resemblance in the pictures, but from their direct dissimilitude. In the hunting-piece of Futteh Ali Shah, groups of courtiers, mounted and caparisoned, stray over the surface to all points, east, west, north, and south; something in the same way of the sieges, battles, and processions, stampt upon old-fashioned pocket-handkerchiefs we see in the possession of the common people in England, where the various actors gallop over mountains, walls, rivers, castles, nay, into the very sky, without any regard to time, place, or natural variation of distance. This picture was quite on the same model; the horses and huntsmen, on ground near a mile from the Shah, and farther towards the horizon, were in size much larger than either His Majesty or his steed. A production of the graphic art, so much inferior to those I had seen of the Sefi age, that I could not but be surprised to find the progress of taste in the lower orders of ornament, and its deterioration in this the highest range. All these pictures, both of old and modern times, are painted without regard to light and shade. A peculiarity of eastern artists, hard to be explained; for the sun in these countries being seldom obscured by clouds, the shadows from prominent objects are necessarily very strong, and the effects being constantly before the eye, we cannot but wonder how the artists miss seeing the advantage of such opposition, in their sketches after nature. Besides this defect, as I have just hinted, they are equally blind to the gradual diminution of receding objects; in short, to the whole science of perspective: and thus, scales being over both eyes, fond as the

natives are of painting, while they continue so obtuse to the most obvious lessons of nature, the art must ever remain a daub of extravagant heterogeneous subjects.

In the evening, attended by some of the governor's people, who were appointed to attend me through the town, I rode towards the suburb of Julpha, to deliver the letters I had taken charge of from the metropolitan of Eitch-mai-adzen, to the Armenian Bishop of this Persian district. Julpha lies on the southern side of the Zeinderood; and, now, is connected with the town by ruins only, long tracks of which spread between the bank of the river and the few habitable remains of that once opulent suburb. In our ride thither from my own romantic, and almost as deserted lodging, we passed through the most charming parts of the Chahar Bagh; taking our course along its alleys of unequalled plane trees, stretching their broad canopies over our heads, their shade being rendered yet more delightful by the canals, reservoirs, and fountains, which cooled the air, and reflected the flickering light through their branches. Thickets of roses and jessamine, with clustering parterres of poppies, and other flowers, embanked the ground; while the deep-green shadows from the trees, the perfume, the freshness, the soft gurgling of the waters, and the gentle rustle of the breeze, combining with the pale golden rays of the declining sun, altogether formed an evening scene, as tranquillizing as it was beautiful. There was one impediment, however, to enjoying it at perfect ease; but which, perhaps, added to the picturesque, and, certainly, harmonized only too well with the strange solitariness of these seldom trodden paradises; it was the decayed state of the roads; their former fine pavement being broken up in so many places, as to render it unsafe to attempt riding over them.

But my horse was now an experienced traveller, and, after the first stumble and recovery, we managed the remainder of the way very well. Notwithstanding this utter neglect of all the paths through this extensive domain, if an old tree chance to fall from age or accident, the governor instantly has its place filled up with a new plant; a precaution which must long maintain the sylvan pre-eminence of Ispahan.

Having passed through the Chahar Bagh, we reached one of the very fine bridges which cross the Zeinderood. They were all the work of Shah Abbas; built of brick, and on the same plan; being perfectly level, presenting the appearance of Roman aqueducts. Each bridge is formed of a long succession of small arches, over which the causeway is laid; and on that run two lines of arcades, on each side of the bridge; affording a comfortable shelter for foot-passengers, and leaving the open road between for horsemen and cattle.

At this season, the river is very low; flowing through its wide, stoney bed, in two or three narrow channels; each not exceeding thirty or forty feet in width, and so shallow as to be fordable in a hundred places. The chief cause of so amazing a decrease in a body of waters which, formerly, poured in so full a stream under these numerous arches, is the great quantities which are drawn off for the daily use of the rice-fields lately planted all around Ispahan; and the cultivation of which seems likely to supersede entirely its once abundant nurseries for cotton and silk.

We crossed the bridge, and entered Julpha. Nothing can be said more expressive of the condition of this formerly populous mart, than that its fate is an abstract of what I saw in Ispahan. Its ten thousand inhabitants have diminished to three hundred

wretched families; dwindling every year, both in respectability and numbers. Its thirteen churches, whose pomp and riches excited the envy, and thence, the destroying arm of their Mahomedan neighbours, are reduced to two only; and those, dark, dirty, and dismal; the mean, and even ragged, decorations of their altars, connecting too well with the general air of squalid misery, which prevails over the whole district of this now expiring colony.

The suburb of Julpha owes its origin to Shah Abbas; it having been founded by him for a body of Armenians, whom he transplanted hither from their own country. The chief part of Armenia had long been under the dominion of the Turks; and during the wars between the Persian monarch and the Sultan, it suffered dreadfully between the contending powers. Abbas destroyed many of its cities; and, in the manner of his predecessors, brought their inhabitants into his own land; but not with the old-fashioned barbarous design, to compel them to become Mahomedans, and make them slaves. He understood the commercial talents of the Armenians; and, comprehending the advantages to which he might turn it in Persia, he erected towns and villages for his new subjects, and scattered them throughout the empire. The inhabitants of the opulent town of Julfa on the Araxes, (the ruins of which I have noticed at the beginning of this volume,) having particularly conciliated his favour, by expelling their Turkish garrison, at sight of his troops, and opening their gates to receive him; the conqueror treated them as friends, but would not leave such valuable subjects behind, to still enrich his enemy. Hence he demolished the town, and brought the inhabitants to Persia; where he stationed them in this great suburb, naming it Julpha; a memorial of his victory, his clemency,

his wisdom, and of their origin. He granted them, in common with all their brethren, his new subjects, a full toleration of their religion; permission to erect churches, with all their ordinances; and, as merchants, endowed them with many valuable privileges. This occurred about the year 1603; and, for more than a century afterwards, the colony continued to thrive in arts, manufactures, and trade. The city kept pace with this prosperity; and, it is not to be doubted, that to these very Armenians, industrious, rich, speculative, and liberal, Ispahan owed its great commercial character; and, consequently, its wealth, magnificence, and redoubled power. It is well known, that where trade most flourishes, there the country is most populous, richest, happiest; and has the greatest sway with the nations. But as trade will not flourish where its profits are not secured to the manufacturer and the merchant, no despotic government can be really a rich one, and by consequence powerful, that does not enact laws to defend the properties of the subject, even against itself. Abbas the Great did this, in the privileges he granted to the Armenians; and the happy result was manifest.

From that time, until the deplorable feebleness of Shah Houssein, at the period of the Afghan invasion, caused that misled monarch to desert them and himself, these merchants were of the first advantage to the state. Indeed, the conduct of this especial colony, throughout the whole of the protracted and dreadful siege of Ispahan and its suburbs, by Mahmoud the leader of the Afghans, was becoming a brave and noble people; and would lead us to think, that had the unfortunate Persian monarch, at one time trusted the defence of his capital to these grateful and intrepid men, it is most probable Ispahan would have been saved; and not an Afghan returned to his country, to relate

the discomfiture of his master. But the councils of the King were filled with weakness and treachery; he was betrayed in every step he took; the people of the city were consigned to famine, or the sword; and the suburb of Julpha, deprived by these evil counsellors of its arms, was abandoned, with all its inhabitants, to be the first prey in the bloody and rapacious hands of the Afghans. Death, then, slew to the right and to the left; and as the noblest and the best always throw themselves in front in these assaults, few survived, of a character to maintain the good old name of the Armenian merchant of Julpha. In vain we look amongst these ruins of a town, and its people, for any thing like the true spirit of commerce; a miserable principle of chicane, and over-reaching, appears in every transaction; and, as a man can seldom cheat any but a fool more than once, the wretched trafficker of his honour and his conscience is soon left to starve; or, if he amass money by these base methods, he spends it as worthlessly, as he gained it unworthily. But this vast change in the respectability of a Persian Armenian, since the fall, or extinction of the house of Sefi, is not to be attributed solely to their depopulation and sufferings under the Afghans. None of the succeeding native princes, have attempted to restore these grafted subjects to their former useful rank in the empire; and persons of delegated authority, too often increase the evils of neglect, by those of oppression. The ways and means of such restoration, and its amply repaying consequences, may easily be learnt from recurring to the conduct of Shah Abbas, at the time he transplanted this industrious people into his kingdom. Some, who had saved themselves from pillage by a judicious surrender, brought substance along with them to continue their various manufactures and traffic: but to those

who had lost their capital, or who required an increase to promote wider speculations, to these the generous and politic monarch opened his own treasury, and liberally lent to them, on a reasonable interest, such sums as were necessary to the prosperity of their business. Thus trusted, supported, and guaranteed in the fair enjoyment of what they gained, the honour of their transactions kept pace with their affluence; and an Armenian merchant, in the time of Abbas the Great, was considered the most efficient agent between Asia and Europe, for the mutual transmission of rare goods, and their value in gold. In short, he might justly claim the title, that in civilised countries is esteemed the most honourable character in society. He was, what the merchants of Venice and Genoa were; what the merchants of England are; in every respect, *the gentleman*. But the passage of a hundred years, over the desolation of Julpha, and the forgotten tombs of its faithful defenders, has so obliterated all these recollections, that the despised descendants of the powerful factors of Shah Abbas, dare not raise their eyes with any hope of notice from his august successors; and they, under certain impressions, which the light of knowledge only can do away, have no idea of the remaining value of a mine, which, though choked up with ruin and rubbish, has only to be opened as heretofore by a liberal hand and a confiding spirit, to show the streams of gold yet in its veins. But, on the reverse, the Armenians of Persia, throughout, are a poor, doubted, and contemned race; and contempt, usually engendering the traversing tricks it supposes, the character of the man has sunk with his fortunes, and estimation in the public mind. Besides being cheats in the business of life, these once respectable people are now sunk to the lowest depths, in the loathsome

vices of drunkenness and gluttony; even their women partaking these habits to the most disgusting excess. But a worse trait is yet to be mentioned. In place of the delicate sense of female purity, which made the chaste matrons of Julpha expire on the bosoms of their virgin daughters, before they could see them borne to the arms of expecting princes, their Afghan conquerors; the sordid mothers, whom we now meet in the Armenian suburbs of the cities in Persia, nourish their female children to violation; and sell them, at the tender ages of twelve or thirteen, to the embraces of any man who will pay the price. With this view, they watch the arrival of every European; and having made the necessary enquiries respecting the length of his purse, and probable sojourn in the country, few days elapse before his private ear is sought by successions of mothers, soliciting his approbation of one of their daughters. Should he be inclined to comply with the too common fashion in the East, and select a girl, the bargain is made by her parents. They first demand the price of her pretended services to them; then settle what her protector is to allow her for clothing, &c. while she lives with him; and what sum he is to leave with her, when he quits the country, to purchase her a respectable husband amongst her own people, should she be inclined to take one.

The children which spring from these temporary unions, are numerous throughout the country, and in a lamentable state. The father seldom has it in his power to transplant more than one or two of them to Europe; where, if denied the advantages of legitimacy, they would be brought up to virtue and respectability at least. But, too frequently, the men who give them being, have neither the means, nor the inclination, to remove the fruit of a connection, they regard as an affair of mere *passant le tems*,

from the common lot of so many other hapless creatures in the same circumstances. Thus, these easy fathers, having given the woman the stipulated parting *douceur*, with all the complacent carelessness of having paid a debt no more to be heard of, quit the country, and abandon the children they would have cherished with anxiety and pride, had they been born in wedlock, to the most wretched and degrading fates. When the girls are marketable, they are sold by their mothers to the like prostitution that gave them their miserable existence; and the boys are too often exposed to destinies yet more disgraceful. I do not discuss the often agitated question, of whether it be a crime, or merely a pleasure, with sometimes a disagreeable issue, that leads to the effect of bringing children into the world, thus excluded, like wretches out of cast, from the name, the family, and even the land of their fathers; with the additional evil of having no claim to the protection of any country whatever; while they lie open to every indignity, every misery, which the contempt and caprice of the country of their mother can cast upon them. These consequences may answer the question; for surely, no man, when he seriously thinks, can doubt the moral crime of abandoning the offspring, which he knows are his own, like the dropping of the ostrich's eggs, to the desert where they fell.

In these cases, we might expect the Armenian clergy would interfere; both to prevent the formation of such illicit connections, and, when formed, to see that justice should be done the innocent progeny. But they are, too often, worse than supine; some way or other, rather encouraging than discountenancing this practice, for the sake of certain emoluments (I know not how gained) which they derive from the illegally contracting

parties. Thus does ignorance of their duty, in some of the ministers of the church, and a shameless disregard of it in others, bring the Christian religion into disrespect, both with their own people, and the Mahomedans. For the Persians, though they allow themselves, from their own law, the privilege of concubinage, are yet aware that the code of no Christian sect grants any such licence; and when they see Europeans joining these Armenians, in not only breaking the ordinances of their faith, but adding to that offence a breach of the law of nature, by deserting the offspring of their temporary engagements, the contempt of the more just Mahomedans is the inevitable consequence. But these unhappy children of European, unchristian parents, are likely to have a generous friend in one illustrious bosom at least. And, I doubt not, that the charity which that admirable Prince and his posterity may show to these forlorn ones, will be repaid by a fidelity, and moral usefulness on their parts, to draw down blessings on his name and race.

The persons of the present Armenians of Persia, neither in male nor female, possess any thing of the dignity, or sweetness, which marks their Persian neighbours. Neither do they show the open brightness of countenance, which attracts in the Circassian; nor the brave, thoughtful air, that interests in the Georgian. So lamentably has neglect quenched their spirit, and their consequent self-debasements degraded the aspect of their forms and features, they could not be known for the same race whose ancestors sat at the same board with Shah Abbas.

The costume of the men is that generally worn by the Persians. But the women differ considerably in theirs, from the fashions of the Mahomedan ladies. The Armenians bind their heads with silk handkerchiefs of various colours, the ends falling

loose down the back; and under this sort of head-mantle they wear another kerchief of white linen, which passes behind the ears, over the chin, and hangs down on the breast. When they go out, this piece of drapery is occasionally drawn up over the mouth, leaving nothing of the face to be seen but the eyes, and the too often very floridly shining nose. A kind of jacket reaches nearly to the knee, made of different sorts of stuff, and enriched with lace and embroidery, according to the wealth of the husband. A pair of rather tight trowsers, of a flowered velvet material, trimmed also; with a fine shawl round the waist, usually completes the dress of an Armenian lady. But sometimes, old women and children wear the ancient national girdle; namely, a broad belt ornamented with knobs and buttons, and clasped in front by an oval piece of silver, of great size and weight, and heavily embossed. The sheet or chadre, with which they envelope themselves when going abroad, is white. In summer, their feet are naked; in winter, covered by a sock. They seldom adopt the walking boot of the Persian ladies; which is yellow, of the Hessian shape, and reaches half-way up the leg. The children of both sexes dress in the same style as their parents; only with this addition, the caps of the girls are ornamented with rows of ducats and tomauns.

The marriages of the Armenians are scenes of the grossest carousal. Their gluttony is enormous; and pork being the favourite meat, their villages swarm with herds of swine. But all solemnities, whether joyous or mournful, afford occasions to them for eating and drinking. During the fast of Lent, they annually visit the graves of their relations and friends. And, as one of the articles of their belief is, that "the souls of the departed rest somewhere in the middle region of Heaven, till the

day of doom," the survivors burn incense and lights upon the tombs, offering up prayers for their peaceful repose. At the head of every grave-stone over the bodies of Georgian or Armenian Christians, we always find a hollow, cut in the stone, for the reception of this burning perfume. These funeral remembrances do not cease till the anniversary of our Lord's Ascension; when the whole religious rites of the season terminate in a welcome and abundant feast. Wine flows like water, in libations to the memory of the deceased; while shouts of revelry mingle with their cries and lamentations. The women always bear their part in these anomalous orgies of Bacchus and the angel of death; as frightful a union, as ever could come into the heads of gross-witted men, to bring together.

The chief peculiarity in the faith of these people, is founded on a particular doctrine respecting the divine and human nature of our Saviour; which was first promulgated, about the middle of the fifth century, by Eutyches, a monk of Constantinople; and, afterwards, industriously propagated by a Syrian, named James. The hierarchy of this church is in the same order as that of Russia; and its few monastic establishments are under the same rule, that of St. Basil. But, about two centuries before these Eutychian doctrines were heard of, Christianity was preached in Armenia by the great Apostle of its church, St. Gregory, who converted the northern part of the country. He was its first Bishop; and also founded the cathedral of Eitch-mai-adzen, near the foot of Ararat, on a spot where he declared he had beheld the Divine Presence. Hence it takes its name, *Place of the Divine Vision.* But when the schism of Eutyches agitated the church, and the poor Armenians were driven about by the "higher powers," as well as by "every wind of doctrine," the

great name of Gregory was almost forgotten by them, and his patriarchal chair abandoned for an ecclesiastical establishment at Erivan. The power of the Armenian church remained there for several centuries, till circumstances compelled its removal; and then the memory of the good saint revived, on the translation of that metropolitan seat back to his sacred structure on the plain of Ararat. The Armenians calculate the recurrence of the Christian fasts, and feasts, in a way that brings them eighteen days later than the falling of ours.

I have freely remarked on the present state of these people in this country, both as to clergy and laity, and with reference to their decreased consideration in the respect of the natives. But though the observations point generally, they are not meant to be received universally; there being some highly estimable characters throughout the empire, both in the Armenian church and amongst its people. Indeed, many of the latter, even in the humblest stations, instead of following the gross gratifications and vile traffickings of their own flesh and blood pursued by their debased brethren, bear the changed fortunes of their nation with a manly patience, and soberly and steadily prosecute their various callings.

The superior of the holy establishment at Julpha, received me with all the respect and cordiality I might have expected from the letter of his patriarch. But the scene of my welcome, being amongst the shattered walls of all that had once sustained the consequence of the colony, few but melancholy subjects of conversation could be suggested; and, with musings very different from those which pleasingly engaged my mind when turning from the hoary spires of Eitch-mai-adzen, erect and bright, in the sublime solitude of mount Ararat, I remounted my horse at

these mouldering gates, and bade adieu to the venerable prelate of ruined Julpha.

The *feroshes*, or government-servants who had been appointed to attend me, varied the route back to my residence, by conducting me through the most interesting parts of the city of Ispahan, which were yet in the dilapidated state left by the Afghan devastation. These dreary tracks were numerous; strangely contrasting with the extensive rows of newly-planted plane-trees, whose well-spread branches, full of leaves of the most youthful and freshest green, promised a luxuriance of growth hereafter, that might rival the proudest avenues of Shah Abbas. But the prospect of their being enjoyed, in like or in any manner, is not so fair. From one end of the city to the other, under these avenues old and new, through the gardens, and amidst their most delightful "paradises" of shade and fountain, I saw hardly a human creature moving, besides those who were incidentally engaged on the public works under the pay of the governor. Trade being almost lost to the city, and the royal residence entirely removed from it, there is no motive for the influx of profitable inhabitants, or for the active industry of those already there. In short, if Ispahan continue another fifty years so totally abandoned of its sovereign's personal notice, future governors can have no stimulus for the re-erection of buildings, which must remain untenanted; for the repair of bazars, on which the grass must ever grow; for the preservation of gardens, whose sweetness blooms and dies without an eye to behold or lament the change; and the natural effects must ensue: Ispahan will become a total ruin, amidst the saddest of wildernesses; beauty, in the blossom of youth, and the fulness of maturity, left to decay and to perish, from the progress of

neglect alone. The trees, to be sure, must always be valuable to the state, even when the city is no more. And during my intercourse with the Nizam-a-Doulah, who seemed to regard the restoration of the old capital with the most liberal views, I had much pleasure in paying him more than a Persian compliment, while remarking on the fine wood with which he was filling the desolated tracts of the town.

My quarters being so near the Maidan Shah, afforded me many opportunities to walk thither on foot, and gratify my curiosity by examining it at my leisure. This vast square was formerly one of the chief ornaments of Ispahan; enriched with shops, where every commodity of luxury and splendid manufacture were exposed to sale. Here, also, were the troops exercised, and the nobility exhibited their Asiatic tournaments, before their sovereign. In the centre of each side of this immense area, stands some edifice remarkable for grandeur or for character. In the north-west, we find the great gate, or rather tower of entrance to the bazar; on which, in old times, stood the celebrated clock of Ispahan. The south-eastern side of the quadrangle shows the Mesched Shah, a superb mosque, which Shah Abbas built and dedicated to Mehedi, one of the twelve Imaums. On the north-east, is the mosque of Looft Ullah; and on the south-west, the Ali Kapi, or gate of Ali, forms a majestic parallel to the bazar porch on the opposite side. The length of the square, may be about 2,600 feet; its breadth 700. Each face presents a double range of arches, the longest range amounting to eighty-six, and the shortest to thirty. At a few paces from these arcades, we find a constant supply of water, running through a canal of black marble, and opening into a variety of basins of a similar material, full of the same refreshing

Ispahan, from the Ali Capi Gate, looking into the Great Maidan.

element; and rendered doubly grateful by the close shade of the noble trees, which shelter the cheering beverage from the heating rays of the sun.

The Sefi, or Ali Kapi Gate, is a building of considerable elevation, presenting, probably, the most perfect piece of fine brick-work to be found in the Persian empire. It is divided into several stories over the great entrance, and the flights of steps which conduct to them are formed of the most beautiful variegated porcelain. The first flight leads to a large chamber over the gate, open on all sides but one; the roof of which is sumptuously gilt and carved, and supported by eighteen lofty octagonal pillars; now in a faded state, but formerly richly emblazoned with gold, and other brilliant decorations, conformable to the splendid remains in the rest of the building. In the middle of the floor, is a large marble square cistern and fountain; both of which drew their waters, by means of machinery, from the canal below.

On the side of this spacious *Mirador*, (for so we may call it, as it looked out in almost every direction,) which is nearest to the balustrade facing the Maidan, a raised platform marks the spot on which the great Shah Abbas used to place his royal seat; and thence review his chivalry, galloping and skirmishing beneath; or, in something of the Roman style, witness the combats of wild and ferocious animals. I say Roman, but the "lions' den" of Darius the Mede, sufficiently shows that such pastimes were in vogue in Persia, long before Rome had set the example. One of the more modern sports under the Sefi race, was that of the nobility displaying their address in shooting at an object fixed on the top of a high pole, (like the popinjay of our ancestors;) and which pole, once the cynosure of so many anxious

eyes, yet remains in the Maidan Shah, lonely and disregarded. Were it in any place of England, after so long a time of neglect, we should find the stem moss-covered, and the dank grass at its foot; but in this pure climate, all appears fresh, and unimpaired, till the hand of man sullies its fair surface. — A sort of perpetuity in the existence of inanimate objects, after the living beings who constructed them are entirely passed away, which produces a much sadder impression on the spectator, than when viewing the age-marked ruins of our climates; whose mouldering appearance of decay seems hastening to join them to the dust of the founders. Whilst these Persian sports of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so like those of our own festivities of the same period, were going on with the equestrian orders; the lower ranks took their share of May-game, on the same ground, and under the same royal eye; wrestling, tumbling, and exhibiting a variety of other feats of strength and agility.

A saloon opened from the Mirador, on the side where alone it was not all window; and this interior chamber might vie in splendour with the utmost magnificence I had seen in any of the palaces of the Heste Beheste. Besides the ornaments of gold, and mirror, and arabesque wreathing, its walls were hung with groups of dancing-girls, of every country and action. Amongst other pictures, were the whole length portraits of a lady and gentleman, in the European habits of the age of James I. or his son, our first Charles; probably the production of some artist in the suite of the Holstein ambassadors; or, more likely, the portraits of Sir Robert and Lady Shirley, who resided at the Sefi court during the reign of James; and, in fact, died here: but where buried, memory at present does not bear any record.

On ascending the second flight of stairs, we found ourselves in a range of small rooms, so numerous, that they appeared endless. The walls of many were spotted all over from top to bottom with the little recesses I have described before, in the shapes of bottles, flagons, goblets, &c.; and the whole suite exhibited, besides these receptacles for immediate refreshment, a thousand notices that these chambers were the retiring-places of the king, and his *knight companions*, for the most unreserved recreation of themselves after the fatigues of the lists below. We know, from historical testimony, as well as oral information, that the great Abbas had a set of nobles about him, bearing a similar title to the above. When he first mounted the throne, he found his regal authority continually thwarted by the aristocratic pride of a high order of chiefs, who called themselves heads of the Kuzal Bashi, or Golden Tribes; and, to counterpoise their weight in the state and the royal armies, he formed a band or tribe, which he named *Shah Sevund*, or the *Kings Friends;* and invited brave men of all other tribes, to enrol themselves under that banner, as his especial body-guard, counsellors, and board-companions. Above ten thousand of the noblest names in Persia, were stampt with avidity on this chivalric roll; the heroes it registered, honoured their title during the monarch's life and their own; and, when he and they were dead, still the distinction of *Shah Sevund* descended to their children; and the pledged band continued for ever attached to the Sefi dynasty.

The walls, the ceilings, of the little chambers of repose I have just mentioned, (and which, doubtless, had been occasionally inhabited by some of the worthies of the *Shah Sevund*, from the age of Shah Abbas, to that of Shah Houssein, when the race of

the Sefi no longer found a throne in Persia;) all these places were wrought into bowery net-works, or treillages of gold and flowers, intermingled with small anacreontic paintings of men and women revelling in the juice of the vineyard. We are not ignorant of the freedom which Shah Abbas practised, and allowed, with regard to the convivial use of wine. But when I considered these depicted exaggerations of that liberty, and the common consequences of such complete abandonment, as they openly pourtray, of king and nobles to the most stupifying and imbruting of vices; and compared them with the wise ordinances of Shah Abbas for his people's good, and the steadiness with which they were maintained by himself and his ministers, I could not, on any rational principle, attribute these unveiled portraitures of man, in his most disgraceful moments, to such a prince; to him, of whom the judicious Chardin wrote, that "when Shah Abbas ceased to breathe, Persia ceased to prosper." Hence, I again suggest, that all the grossest bacchanalian scenes found here, and in other royal seats of the Sefi race, are commemorations of the drunken orgies of Abbas the Second; who, on these occasions, we hear from all quarters, gloried in his shame; admitting high and low to be his boon companions. The consequences of his vices, sufficiently shewed their undeviating tendency, in the reign of his "son, and son's son;" paving the way for the conquest of the Afghans, by the demoralization of his nobles, and the oppression of his people.

From the roof of this building, whence such divers scenes of royal festivity, or of royal massacre, must have been beheld; we had an extensive view of the city. In the days of its prosperity, the panorama must have been splendid. At present, with the exception of the palaces in the gardens to the westward, the whole

mass below is one mouldering succession of ruinous houses, walls, mosques, and shapeless structures, which had formerly been the mansions of the nobility. They lay, a vast grey heap; but agreeably broken to the eye, and shaded, in a variety of directions, by groups, or lines of lofty poplars, walnut, chinar, and fruit-trees; which still flourish amongst the ruins of the human habitations, to which they had once made part of their gardens.

On turning towards the west, we then indeed see the last rays of the setting sun of Ispahan still above the horizon, glittering on the burnished pinnacles, sparkling fountains, and gay verdure of the Heste Beheste, and Chaher Bagh. Several miles beyond, but nearly in the same direction, and yet within the wide circumference of the city boundary, we observed an insulated hill, rising high, in a conical shape, and forming a very conspicuous object amongst the crumbling mounds at its foot. It is called the *Attush kou*, or *fire-hill*. On its summit are some fragments of a building, the original constructors of which the people around declare to have been the devil, or evil spirits. Indeed, it is the easy fashion of this country to account for every thing, about whose origin the speaker is ignorant, by attributing it to dæmon agency. And this blind superstition is no where so often exhibited, as when inquiries are made respecting the founders of some of the finest architectural remains, which, from ingenuity, workmanship, and taste, must have been the erection of the most enlightened days of the empire; and then we see the wandering natives shake their heads, and gravely ascribe these proofs of their fathers' greatness, to the handicraft of the arch-enemy of mankind. But, as this *Attush kou* is an artificial mount, and stands close to the quarter of the city where the Guebres, and particularly those who

followed the arms of Mahmoud, dwelt; no doubt they re-seated themselves in a spot that had been inhabited by their ancestors, from the first peopling of the banks of the Zeinderood; and they found it thus marked by the *High Place* of their worship.

The view around this extensive metropolis, is bounded on all sides by mountains; to which legends are attached, wild and improbable, but equally interesting to the kalioun-smoking Persian, delightedly listening to the often-repeated narrations, as the most authentic traditions of their own country to our European scholars. One of the mountains nearest to the city, and which stands in an eminently bold position, rugged and sterile, is called the Hill of Sefi; being sanctified by the remains of a hermitage, and other spots, once the dwelling of a saint and his devotees.

The range to the south, and south-west, which appear rising in successive heights to a great distance, crown, with their pale heads, the varied and promontoried cliffs, which seem to bulwark the decaying towers of Ispahan. From the remote fastnesses of these mountains, the Bactiari robbers make their descents, whenever the spoil in the way may be worth the danger. Every farsang's distance from Teheran seems, in the ideas of these barbarians, to shorten the arm of the royal law against them; and, in consequence, it behoves travellers to marshal their ranks, and prime their weapons, before they turn their horses' heads into the rocky gorge of these ravines.

The time drew near for the prosecution of my journey. But the same cause that detained me so long at the gates of my royal lodging on my arrival at the old capital, delayed me two or three days when I proposed leaving it; the ill-conduct of the mehmandar I had brought from Teheran; whose own pursuits

at Ispahan, had occasioned the first embarrassment; and who, from the same motives, by various subterfuges, sought to impede my departure. During these discussions, and hinderances, I occupied my vacant hours in copying some of the costumes from the old pictures in the banqueting hall of the Chehel Setoon; which, in almost every particular, differ from that of the Persian of the present day. The rich and gay brocades, worn by the nobles of the court of the Sefi race, as their ordinary habits, are now changed for European cloths; the costly shawl for the head, or tissued turban, are replaced by a plain cap of black sheep-skin: in short, the alteration is from head to foot. But every detail of the modern dress, being so minutely given by Mr. Morier, I need not repeat them here. Besides, it is the less necessary to present a regular description of costume in my sketch of the manners and customs of these people, since different parts of it have incidentally been noticed throughout the volume. But, to any person who has read the valuable work on Persia, referred to above, this apology is unnecessary; and, for the satisfaction of those who have not, and yet would wish for more of the detail than I have given, I shall subjoin, in one of my volumes, drawings of the habits of both men and women.

In the course of a morning stroll, after leaving my copying amusement in the solitary hall of the Great King, and passing through its gates into the umbrageous avenues of the Chaher Bagh, I turned my steps along a sequestered walk, which conducted me to one of the still existing colleges, out of the many which Ispahan boasted in its day of royalty. Chardin mentions, that forty-eight of these establishments were in a flourishing state when he visited the city. The one which I saw was called Medressy Jeddah. Its portal is filled by two immense folding-

doors made of solid brass, deeply embossed, and richly ornamented with pure silver. On passing through them, and a vestibule with a dome roof, I found myself in a spacious square court, planted thickly with flowers, and overshadowed by lines of lofty trees. The roses were of every hue and perfume; and being now in their fullest blow, the air was one cloud of incense. The cloistered sides of the building which formed the square, were divided into arched compartments, covered within and without with variegated tiles, coloured in strange, fantastic patterns, intermixed with sentences from the Koran. In this practice of writing the precepts of their religion "on the posts of their houses, and on their gates," both Mahomedans and Armenians appear to respect the Divine Law; which, with as much paternal tenderness, as beauty of language, commands the lessons of virtue to "be bound, for a sign, upon the hand; and worn as a frontlet between the eyes: that it may be well with them, and with their children for ever!"

A mosque occupies nearly the whole of one side of the quadrangle. Its porch is supported by two high columns; and when we enter, we find the whole in the freshest preservation of splendid decoration. The cupola-roof is of a fine form, brilliantly ornamented in the Sefi taste; and surmounted, on the outside, by three golden globes. Crescents, as a finish to this part of a holy building, I have not seen in Persia. About a hundred students are now the inhabitants of this college. They receive their education free of expense to themselves, the moullah who instructs them being paid by the government. And, while I contemplated their regular habits, the seclusion of the place, and the serenity which reigned within its walls, I could not but feel with Mr. Morier, that here was the very sanctuary of study. Indeed,

I thought it by far the most delightful spot in the whole range of the royal domains, and well worthy the title of the Ninth Paradise; the other eight might be deemed the gardens of pleasure, but this is the mansion of peace. I enquired for the venerable Mirza Mahomed Cassem, who was its head at the time Sir Hartford Jones visited Ispahan, and heard, with much disappointment, that he had been dead some time.

I walked, as well as rode, a good deal, during my short sojourn at Ispahan, being solicitous to see as much of the city as my time would allow; and, to my surprise, I found the climate not the least in my way. The mornings were extremely pleasant; and the days, equally so; the thermometer in the shade seldom exceeding 75 of Fahrenheit. The evenings, however, were oppressively close, followed by nights as extremely cold and sharp. Being without dew, the scenery around Ispahan is deprived of a feature in the landscape, which, in the fine May-mornings of Europe, preserves the fresh hue of the verdure, and gives brilliancy to every object. At present, (May 31st,) no fruits are ripe here; but both cherries and plums are eaten, as delicacies, in their crude state.

June 1st, 1818. Finding the idle pretences of my mehmandar increase to an attempt to shake off his duty altogether, and by the utterance of the most cunning and impudent falsehoods, to persuade me that his office ended at Ispahan, where he should, therefore, remain; I, at last, took the step I ought to have done on his first demurring, and notified his behaviour to the Governor. Redress was immediate; the insolence of a servant to a stranger, being considered as reflecting disgrace on his master, and an almost unpardonable breach of hospitality to his guest. A mandate was instantly issued from the higher powers,

importing, that it was on the refractory person's own peril, to linger another moment, after I should command him to fulfil in every respect the order of the King; which was, that he should attend me with all the services of a mehmandar, from my setting forth from Teheran, to my return to that city again. And, if I should hereafter find cause to complain of his conduct in any one tittle, a signal punishment would be his certain award.

The *vavaseur*, or rather *varlet*, according to our English acceptation of the term, finding that my European patience might be encroached on too far, and that I had, and would in future, put my demands on his services, if demurred, into the hands of those accustomed to treat determined disobedience in a very summary way, resumed his eloquence, to explain his extraordinary misapprehension of the royal commission; and, to make atonement, became proportionably alert in expediting all my commands, whether they might tend to take him southward, to Persepolis, or westward, to Jericho. Being now aware of the character I had to deal with, I managed him afterwards on a principle directly opposite from the Prince of Denmark's order. Had I dealt with this man "*according to mine own honour*," I should have been left in deserts, and encouraged him to dishonour his master; but, as I treated him "*according to his own*," I kept him honest, and, as my royal entertainers would have wished, myself in as much comfort, as the various fortunes of the road, in so wide an empire, could reasonably admit.

After all preliminaries, and the proper adieus to the delegated authorities in Ispahan, I saw my troop well mounted; prepared, "sword, and sinewy arm," at the port of egress, for what might occur hereafter: and, having given my orders to the

now obsequious mehmandar, Sedak Beg and myself took our station at the head of the little cavalcade. It was then near the hour of sun-set. But the lamps of unnumbered stars, without a cloud "*to blink their beams*," were in prospect; and the dissolving sultriness of the evening, I knew would give place to the bracing cool of the night; hence, I did not hesitate to set forth the first hour I found the path clear.

In passing from the vaulted exterior galleries of the palace, our way lay through the ruinous quarter which had formerly been inhabited by the court silversmiths and jewellers; now the asylum of hundreds of starving wretches; sprung, as it were, like the repeated offspring of the Dragon's teeth in heathen fable, from the blood of the murdered citizens, who had perished under the sword of Mahmoud in these very arcades. Their unceasing clamours for relief, render the only avenue open to those who dwell within the royal walls, a passage of pain, increasing at every step.

Crœsus himself could hardly give satisfactory alms to all that apply; and there is no issue, on horseback at least, but through crowds of these unhappy people. Whole families, from the aged and crippled grandsires, to mothers with their infants at their breasts, surrounded us on all sides, with scarce a rag to hide their emaciated, and almost blackened limbs. This was, indeed, the worst ruin I had seen in Ispahan. And I grieve, as a man united to these poor creatures by a common nature, to add, that this was not the only spot, in the ancient *pride of Persia*, where such spectacles presented themselves. Many hundreds, in the same condition, hide their wretchedness amongst the forgotten vaults of the more remote parts of the desolated city; exhibiting a sad picture of what the vicissitudes

of a great capital may be; and the reverses of an empire, which once gave laws to the major part of the Asiatic world.

After passing through the long avenue of the Chaher Bagh, and crossing the bridge to the most south-eastern point of the city, we found ourselves amidst the far-stretching ruins of the suburb on that bank of the river; and I had scarcely cleared its deep and shadowy lines, and yet more shadowy phantoms of men and women, clamorous for charity, before the evening closed. We touched our horses with the spur, and rode briskly forward for more than a mile. At the entrance of a little upland valley, I turned round to take a parting glance of the last seat of the Sefies. A long yellow gleam lay over the town, marking the mosque and palace domes, columns and spiry towers, with a streak of gold. When I looked again, from a more elevated spot, and at a greater distance, the reflected brightness had faded to a faint silvery hue, till all was lost in the grey twilight of the horizon.

Our way lay nearly south, on an undulating road, winding amongst the hills, but keeping the Sefi mountain, and its range, to our right. At this point of my journal, I cannot refrain from mentioning an instance of uncommon sagacity in a greyhound, of our company; that sort of dog not, in general, being celebrated for any thing beside fleetness in the chase. Soon after we had advanced into the uneven country, by some negligence or other, the horse-keeper allowed a fine spirited animal he was leading to break away. The horse set off at spéed up the hills; and, from the darkness of the night, and the few people I could spare to pursue, I at first despaired of his recovery. But the dog, on the instant he perceived the animal loose, headed him at every turn; and, at length, after a long run, succeeded in

catching the end of the halter, and retaining it in his mouth; holding it firm, while the superior strength of the horse dragged him onward; and then, pulling him in his turn, endeavoured to arrest the fugitive's pace, during his bounds and sudden freaks: which effort of the dog's, so far impeded the animal's flight, as, at last, to allow one of my servants to seize him. A British bull-dog could not have shown more determination, or strength of mouth, at the nose of a bull, than was evinced by my slightly-made Persian greyhound *Cooley*, (the spotted,) in his contest with this strong, and very highly mettled horse.

After a march of nearly five hours, we reached the mouth of a valley, which leads to the Pass of Ourtchiny; going forward under night shadows, more gloomy than usual at this season, and at this hour, in Persia; but we were in the midst of hills, that deepened darkness by their own black shade, and by obstructing any light from star or moon-beam. The road from this point, was rocky, steep, and rough; literally a ladder hewn in the mountain, for the surer footing of the horses and beasts of burthen; who, as we viewed them indistinctly from below, appeared hanging from the rock, in the air. Myself and Sedak Beg followed; and thence, from the almost perpendicular of the first ascent, we continued winding upward, on a path equally dangerous, round the broken and projecting masses of the mountain. Having surmounted these difficulties, our animals halted on the summit of the pass, to take breath, where we found a range of small buildings; the guard-houses of a detachment of musketeers, stationed here to protect travellers from the marauding attacks of the wild banditti from the remoter hills, who still infest the neighbourhood. Certain tax-gatherers are also posted with these defenders, to collect a toll from merchants and caravans as they pass. The

spot was "appallingly complexioned" for pillage and murder; and, I think it an even chance, that should strong temptation, and a promising opportunity occur, these very watchmen of our safety might become the principal actors in a scene of midnight plunder. Hence, again I recommend to all travellers who journey in these perilous tracts, to carry along with them their own guards.

We now began a rather gradual descent, still winding amongst the mountains, but which terminated in a valley, bounded by abrupt and irregularly formed rocks. The day began to dawn as we came in sight of our menzil, near the village of Mayar. It was, indeed, welcome as the morn to the whole party, after so severe a march; and at half-past four we entered its just opened gates; having travelled from Ispahan eight farsangs, and from the pass of Ourtchiny three.

June 2d. Mayar is a considerable village, situated in a well-cultivated valley, of about three or four miles in width. The country around looks cheerful, from its planted fields and gardens; but the spectre-like ruins of other villages, which start up at every turning, for ever scare away the pleasurable feelings with which we greet views of peculiar rural beauty. The mountains which rise on either side of this fertile vale, are abrupt, sterile, and of particularly bold and wild forms. I might have thought myself again amongst the most savage tracts of the Caucasus, climbing the scarred ridges of a shattered rocky world. Their strata run so irregularly, and in such opposite and fractured directions, the whole seems as if the Titans had really been at war, and this the scene of their tearing up the hills, and pitching them against each other, to fall, at any hazard, in the pell-mell heaps in which they stand. A fine blueish lime-stone, and a reddish sandy rock, appear their principal substance.

The caravansary at Mayar, was one of Shah Abbas's erections; but, for want of due repairs, is sinking rapidly to decay; a neglect, which, if not remedied in time, will be severely felt by future travellers, it being the only allotted place of reception after the fatigues of so long and arduous a march. On our arrival, the villagers made a demur to sending in the provisions which the King's order required; but the mehmandar reminded the *Ketkhoda* (the magistrate of the hamlet) of two former visits which he had made to that spot, when the people had chosen to be refractory; and the remembered consequences soon unlocked their stores. Perhaps I could not give a clearer view of the arbitrary use the subordinate officers of an Asiatic government make of their power; and of the dispositions with which certain instances of its prerogative are always hardly endured, though generally patiently acceded, by the natives, than by relating the two circumstances to which my unprincipled attendant referred.

He had been ordered by government to accompany a detachment of Russian soldiers, in the royal pay, down to Shiraz, and see that they were amply provided during the march. At this village he found the doors barred, and every article demanded the people refused. He remonstrated, he threatened, but no compliance was intimated. A *coup de main* was then decided, and he turned the soldiers loose. Without ceremony, they treated the whole scene *à la militaire;* burst open the doors of the houses, broke the heads of half the inhabitants, and, not only helped themselves to their due, but to whatever else they took a fancy to in the dwellings of the disobedient.

But the result of this gentleman's second exertion of official authority, was much more serious to these unhappy people.

Some months after the former affair, he was nominated mehmandar to a khan of high distinction, travelling to the south; but who, on arriving at this village, and demanding the tribute due to the royal rackam, was, in like manner with myself, peremptorily refused. His purveyor hinted to the nobleman, the expediency of repeating the coercive arguments he had used before; but the khan was of a mild and generous nature, and, forbidding all attempts at force, caused it to be intimated to the people, that he, here, waived the privilege with which he had been honoured by his sovereign, and would purchase every thing he might require; plenty was then produced, and the bringers amply repaid. The old mehmandar, vexed to the heart at this passiveness of his charge, determined to revenge himself on the villagers, and to make the khan himself the instrument. Accordingly, he managed to have that munificent nobleman's trunks broken open during the night, and left in a pillaged state. In the morning, when they were discovered, the outrage was represented to the owner as having been done by the people he had paid so liberally: "You now see," cried the mehmandar, "why these disobedient villagers would neither send their Ketkhoda, nor come near themselves, when we first arrived; they had laid a plan of robbing you, and, notwithstanding your ill-placed generosity, you see they have fulfilled their intentions."

The khan could not suspect his own followers, nor his *highly respectable* guide, nor yet doubt his eyes; and, enraged at the ingratitude of the wretches he had saved from the mehmandar's threatened enforcement, he reported their conduct to government; and the consequence was, the unfortunate village of Mayar was condemned to pay three thousand pounds of cotton, in penalty for their disobedience and dishonesty. Meanwhile,

Sir Robert Porter

A Persian Khan.

[illegible]hed by Longman [illegible] Rees [illegible] & Brown [illegible] Paternoster Row [illegible]

the old jackall (to whose well-known hard and griping nature, I doubt not, these denials may, from the first, be attributed), on his return to the ancient capital, exaggerated an accidental loss of his own, namely, a worn-out baroony (or cloak) and a pair of riding breeches, into a property worth several hundred tomauns, which he accused these people of stealing also. The wrath was now great against this poor village; the mehmandar himself was sent with a party of horsemen to collect the fine of punishment; and he told me, with a grin, that he took care to squeeze out an additional hundred tomauns for himself, and thirty for each of his armed companions.

What European could listen to these details, without internally drawing a parallel between the state of what are called the people, in the kingdoms of Christendom, and the situation of those beyond its pale? For, whatever may be the comparative difference in the several political constitutions of Europe, the spirit of their common faith infuses itself amongst them all; and a certain principle of equal justice is, consequently, found to modify the most arbitrary. But a man must travel in the East, to fully understand this, and, therefore, to be sufficiently grateful for his happier destiny.

June 4th. We left our quarters this morning at 5 o'clock. Our road lay in a direction from south 14° to 20° east, along the valley of Mayar, which increased in width as we advanced. Having travelled about two farsangs, we passed a walled mill; leaving it on our left, where we entered on a succession of detached and rocky hills, possessing a very ill name as the lurking-places of robbers from the higher mountains. We traversed them, however, in safety; and then pursued our way over a flat and excellent road, situated at a distance of nearly two miles

from the foot of the mountains to the eastward. The extensive village of Ispha stood on one side of the road; but we did not stop there, our halting-place lay far beyond it. The country around was fine; and, at about a farsang's distance from our appointed quarters, we approached a very picturesque spot—the Tomb of Shah Reza, who, respected by all invaders, is said to have rested there unmolested for the space of seven hundred years. It is built of brick, of a low dome shape, standing amidst a grove of trees, and washed at its side by a beautifully clear stream. Part of the waters are drawn off into a small tank, appropriated to a sort of sacred fish, greatly revered by the Persians. But whether they are considered holy in themselves, or derive it from their vicinity to the shrines of Imaums, or other sainted persons, I could not distinctly understand.

The whole way from the sacred tomb to Koomishah, our destined menzil, was a continuation of devastated human habitations; not merely in a ruinous state, but fallen to the ground in shapeless heaps, mixed with pleasure-grounds run to wildness; and every other vestige of former prosperity, mingled with present desolation. This tract comprised an extent of four miles; the monotonous undulation of the almost undefinable masses of decay, being varied at innumerable distances with high perforated towers, which were (or rather had been) the celebrated pigeon towers for breeding myriads of those birds, so long a mine of wealth to the district of Ispahan. At present, they are as tenantless as the ruins at their base; not a human foot moves amongst them; not a wing of that beautiful and almost domestic bird winnows the air. Indeed, most of the way from Ispahan to Koomishah, these buildings appear every where, at a little distance from the sides of the roads; always where the remains

of a village are discernible; and almost every one is equally silent, with this numerous colony of depopulated towers which mark the dun heaps of Koomishah. Formerly, great attention was paid to the nurturing and rearing of these birds; their dung, I have been told, bringing in a yearly income (from the produce of one pigeon-house alone,) of nearly two hundred tomauns. Amongst other uses to which the small remains of this manure is applied, it is laid on the melon-beds of Ispahan; and hence the great reputation of the melon of that district, for its unequalled flavour. Another use of the dung in older times, was to extract saltpetre for the purpose of making gunpowder; which, two centuries ago, had only just been put into the Persian list of warlike ammunition.

We entered the walls of Koomishah after a march of five hours and a half; the distance from Mayar being estimated at five farsangs, about nineteen British miles. It is an extensive place, but forsaken, and tumbling to pieces in every direction. After passing through its lofty gate, we traversed a long line of empty bazars without meeting an individual. On the left of the deserted place of shops, we took up our quarters in a dirty, wretched caravansary, but the best in the city; and which was the work, in days of yore, of a certain public-spirited nobleman, named Jaffier Khan. The extremity of the valley through which we had travelled, nearly closed on the opposite mountains at the point where we found the town. Its dilapidated walls, towers, and houses, completely filled the chasm; which expanded again on the other side of the ruins, over whose mouldering hillocks you pass, as through a breach, to enter a broader vale. The ground in this valley, and more immediately near the town, is torn up by the spring torrents. Unchecked by the ingenuity of the

peasant, and their ravages left without repair from his industry, they pour down from the mountains in free course, deluging cot and field. That it was not always so, we see in the deep and wide channel through which they once flowed a noble single stream, across which comparatively empty bed, many stately though broken arches of fine bridges, still bear testimony to the former consequence of Koomishah, and the full flood of its river. There can be no doubt that it was a town of great antiquity; but I am not aware of the justness of Chardin supposing it to be the Orebatis of Ptolemy.

It would be tedious, on leaving each separate ruinous spot of the many we visited throughout this empire, to be always recapitulating the causes of such melancholy effects; suffice it to say, the catastrophes of most may generally be epitomised in a few words: civil discord, foreign invasion, and the oppressions of arbitrary delegated governors. Indeed, the latter evil is sufficient to comprise all the mischief of the two others in itself.

June 5th. We left our miserable caravansary this morning at three o'clock, by the light of the stars; their influence was not very powerful, yet enough to show the deplorable desolation of that part of the city, through which the warden of our quarters, acting as guide, convoyed myself and followers. The path was so involved, we appeared wandering for more than a mile amongst nothing but ruins, and over ground, stoney, and fissured with shattered water-courses, and interrupted by traversing ravines. Such were our difficulties, until we reached the foot of the opposite mountain; whence commenced the eastern side of the valley, and along which our route lay, over an excellent road. As soon as the dawn began to render objects more

visible, we found ourselves in a plain of from eight to ten miles wide; abundantly spotted with villages, in the usual imposing style, mud-walled and flanked with towers; but when we drew near, most were decayed, and none fully inhabited. At about three farsangs farther, we saw a large insulated hill on our right, from whose base extended, in a sort of radii, very extensive gardens. They were carefully inclosed, and the country, for a little way, seemed in corresponding cultivation. In passing the walls of more than one deserted hamlet, our mehmandar pointed out to us certain spots, where he told us blood had been shed. Sometimes, the perpetrators were open invaders; but oftener, the desolaters of the little places before us were the banditti mountaineers; who, for ages past, have rendered the route from Ourtchiny to the very gates of Shiraz, an expedition of danger. At the turning of a murderous looking dell, he showed us a ruin where the present Shah's brother, the late Hossein Kouli Khan, surprised a band of about thirty Bactiaries dividing their spoil. They were seized immediately. He then ordered his people to punish the robbers by depriving them of the sight of their left eyes, and cutting off their right hands. When he was obeyed, he dismissed the mountaineers to their tribes, telling them to take those marks on their bodies, as a warning to their fellows of the manner in which all should be treated, who were caught committing any depredation on hill or valley within the Persian dominions.

In the midst of one of the mehmandar's long stories, we descried a multitude of people at a distance; which, on approaching near, we found to be a company of pilgrims, from Shiraz and its vicinity, journeying to Kerbela, to pay their devotions at the tomb of the martyred Hossein. The party consisted of men,

women, and children; some on foot, others on horseback, mules, or asses. The dead too formed part of the procession; several being slung, in their coffins, on the sides of the beasts of burthen, in the same way with the similar translations near the sacred precincts of Kom. But in this caravan to Kerbela, there were two or three corses of great men, travelling to take their last repose by the side of the brave and virtuous Hossein; and these bodies were conveyed in tack-i-ravans, (a sort of palanquin,) attended by groups of horsemen. Amongst the illustrious remains, were those of Jaffier Khan, a prince who once governed a fine district in India; and who, from the extraordinary noble qualities of his heart, and as rare cultivation of mind, was held in high respect by all our countrymen in that part of the East.

Our line of march continuing, as usual, south 20° to 25° east, we came up to Mexiobeggy, once a flourishing village, but now exhibiting only a few huts; though sufficient to contain about twenty or thirty families, drawn round the walls of a large menzil, which the mother of the Prince-Governor of Shiraz has erected there for the convenience of herself and her royal son, in their passages between Teheran and his own capital. Mexiobeggy is about four farsangs from Koomishah; in measured distance, fifteen British miles. Here the mountains, that bounded the wide vale we were in, to our left, took a sweep due east, opening before us a vast sterile plain; the distant limits of which were faintly seen, in forms like light clouds, through the deep haze of heat. A ride of three more farsangs, over this burning waste, brought us to a village called Ameenabad, thinly peopled, and without a vestige of cultivation near it. The inhabitants are an idle, unprincipled race; apparently preferring want to the comforts of industry, while agriculture is to pay any tax to

A Persian Woman
Enveloped in her Chadre.

Published by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown

government. Ameenabad is seven farsangs from Koomishah; and, of measured British miles, twenty-six. We reached it at ten o'clock in the forenoon, passing a few of the ragged natives in the way to our caravansary. Some bore evident marks of the sloth they were accused of, in their pale, lifeless visages, and the dragging step of their miserably clad limbs; but others mixed looks of a fierce cunning with their haggard features, which seemed to hint the probability of our finding robbers nearer home than from the Bactiara mountains.

June 6th. We left our disagreeable quarters at five o'clock this morning; on a road south 45° east, over the plain, bearing still no appearance of culture; though we found something more than the hard and hot surface of a totally barren soil to gaze on, the earth being thinly covered with the plant which sheds the gum-ammonium. The inhabitants of Yezdikhast come this length to gather it; and the profit well repays their labour. In the course of this day's travel, we passed close to a conical, insulated hill, on our right; and through an extensive burying-ground, lying along its base. Amongst the numerous tomb-stones, I remarked several in the form of a lion, with a naked scimitar, in bas-relief, at its side. On observing a similar tomb in the beautiful mountain valley of Kourood, I was told that this style of monument always designates the grave of some pelhiva, or warrior of the early heroic age of Persia. And now, approaching the native realm of the great prince, to whose renowned leading, the fame of these very ancient *Knights of the Lion and the Sword*, is attributed, I passed, with deeper interest, into their more appropriate country, amongst so many of their tombs. In the same cemetery we saw a monument of a far different form, and greater elevation, covering the remains of a

good Mussulman, Ali Keza, a relation of the Prophet. A few hundred yards farther, brought us suddenly to the brink of a frightful precipice, forming one side of the gigantic ravine, or rather narrow and steep valley of Yezdikhast.

In the bosom of this sequestered, and wildly romantic dell, a mass of high rock presents itself, perfectly detached from either side of the mountain chasm; and along its rugged summit, we saw the town and fortress of Yezdikhast. The approach is inaccessible, except by a draw-bridge, at the north-west side, which is thrown over a deep ditch, and allows communication between the place and the valley. The rock on which it stands is perpendicular on all its faces, presenting a very grand object, surmounted as it is with this embattled town. At the foot of the rock, a prodigious number of subterraneous chambers of different dimensions extend themselves; evidently the work of man, and excavated in the side of the cliff. A small stream washes its base, and winds thence north-east through the valley. When viewed from the top of the precipice, the peculiar form and disposition of its rocks, gave the scene an extraordinary appearance of wildness, though without any degree of savage roughness. But when we entered the dell itself, and saw objects near, then we found rich cultivation, and every sign of man's industry, mingling rural beauties with the untameable picturesque of nature. Its long tracts of waving corn, interspersed with the finest fruit-trees, produced a delightful contrast to the arid waste we had so lately traversed. Having descended into the valley, we crossed it eastward, at a little distance from the town, and took up our quarters at a caravansary of the Sefi age, in excellent repair. The Ameen-a-Doulah had restored it to its present state; and we found ourselves comfortably reposing within its cool

arcades soon after 8 o'clock in the morning; we had then marched about three farsangs from Ameenabad. In the room where my nummud was spread on the floor, I found the names of many preceding travellers written on the walls. Some of the oldest dates were, "Riberra, 1641."—"Lorenzo Visang, 1645."—"A. M. 1653." — and another, illegible, "1690."

This little valley, or rather bounding chasm, between the two most celebrated divisions of the Persian empire, Irak and Fars, has many interesting subjects of history attached to it, and some of horrible complexion. During the civil contests which followed the death of Kerim Khan, (the virtuous founder of the Zend dynasty, which perished in a few years after his demise, from the worthlessness of his heirs,) Zackee Khan, who had usurped the authority of the kingdom, and who was as execrable a tyrant as ever disgraced human nature, coming to Yezdikhast from Shiraz in his way to Ispahan, suddenly made a demand on the magistrates for a sum of money due to the government, which he accused them of secreting; they denied the arrears, asserted they had no money concealed, and declared it beyond their power to collect the sum he required. On finding the unhappy citizens firm in the truth of what they said, without more ado, he ordered a certain number of them to be taken to a point of the rock near the window where he sat, and immediately hurled to the bottom of the precipice. He was obeyed; and about eighteen or nineteen of the most respected characters in the town, were the next moment seen, lying a horrible mangled spectacle, dead, or expiring amongst the rocks beneath. One of the wretched victims escaped with his life, and still exists; seeming a miraculous preservation, to one who looks up at the immense height of the rock where the sentence was executed. But, on

the tyrant proceeding to issue commands of still more wanton and atrocious cruelty, his own followers conceived so instant an indignation against him, that a conspiracy was formed almost by the interchange of looks, and before the setting of another sun he perished by their daggers. This catastrophe happened about the year 1779. At a farsang's distance from Yezdikhast the great southern road to Shiraz separates into two routes, one goes south-west through Deggerdoo, the other eastward by Shulgastan ; the latter was to be my road.

June 7th. At four o'clock this morning, under a sky, whose departing pearly tints, tinged towards the horizon with a hue to which earthly colours can give no name, seemed, in the language of the East, " opening the curtains of Paradise ;" we began to ascend the acclivity of the southern side of the valley of Yezdikhast, whose sinuous course through the hills marks the limits of Irak Ajem, the ancient Media; dividing it from the present province of Fars or Pars, which, under the more classic appellation of Persis, once comprised what we might call Persia Proper, the original kingdom of Cyrus ; and which, when he united Media and other realms to his crown, gave its name to the whole empire. The province of Fars, as it now stands, is bounded on the north and north-west, by Irak Ajem and Louristan, and a small portion of Khuzistan ; on the east by Kerman, whose desert is so well known ; a part of its frontier, to the south, takes in Laristan, the ancient kingdom of Lar ; and to the south-west it is bounded by the Persian Gulph, the Sea of Oman, or Erythrean sea, which extends up the country nearly to Gumberoon ; a noted British mercantile settlement in the time of Kerim Khan.

Having completely cleared the valley of Division, we found

ourselves in a wide plain, and entered into Fars. The general face of the country differed in no respect from the principal part of that we had been passing through for several days. The ground was barren of every kind of vegetation, excepting where the soap-wort grew in scanty patches, and that of a very meagre sort. An apt soil, I thought, to teach lessons of hardihood and privation !

The sun was just rising over the summits of the Eastern mountains, when my greyhound, Cooley, suddenly darted off in pursuit of an animal, which my Persians said, from the glimpse they had of it, was an antelope. I instantly put spurs to my horse, and followed by Sedak Beg and the mehmandar, followed the chase. After an unrelaxed gallop of full three miles, we came up with the dog, who was then within a short stretch of the creature he pursued; and to my surprise, and at first, vexation, I saw it to be an ass. But, on a moment's reflection, judging from its fleetness it must be a wild one, a species little known in Europe, but which the Persians prize above all other animals as an object of chase, I determined to approach as near to it, as the very swift Arab I was on would carry me. But the single instant, of checking my horse to consider, had given our game such a head of us, that notwithstanding all our speed we could not recover our ground on him. I, however, happened to be considerably before my companions, when, at a certain distance, the animal in its turn made a pause, and allowed me to approach within pistol-shot of him. He then darted off again with the quickness of thought; capering, kicking, and sporting in his flight, as if he were not blown in the least, and the chase were his pastime.

He appeared to me to be about ten or twelve hands high;

the skin smooth, like a deer's, and of a reddish colour; the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer, and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender; the head and ears seemed large in proportion to the gracefulness of these forms, and by them I first recognised that the object of my chase was of the ass tribe. The mane was short and black, as was also a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back, or crossed his shoulders, as are seen on the tame species with us. When my followers of the country came up, they regretted I had not shot the creature when he was so within my aim, telling me his flesh is one of the greatest delicacies in Persia; but it would not have been to eat him that I should have been glad to have had him in my possession. The prodigious swiftness and peculiar manner with which he fled across the plain, coincided exactly with the description that Xenophon gives of the same animal in Arabia, (vide Anabasis, b.i.) But, above all, it reminded me of the striking portrait drawn by the author of the book of Job. I shall venture to repeat it, since the words will give life and action to the sketch that is to accompany these pages.

"Who hath loosed the bonds of the wild ass? whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings! He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountain is his pasture."

I was informed by the mehmandar, who had been in the desert, when making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Ali, that the wild ass of Irak Arabi differs in nothing from the one I had just seen. He had observed them often, for a short time, in the possession of the Arabs, who told him the creature was perfectly

Sir Robert Porter

I. Clark

A Wild Ass.

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untameable. A few days after this discussion, we saw another of these animals; and pursuing it determinately, had the good fortune, after a hard chase, to kill it and bring it to our quarters. From it I completed my sketch. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his most admirable account of the kingdom of Caubul, mentions this highly picturesque creature under the name of *goorkhur;* describing it as an inhabitant of the desert between India and Afghanistan, or Caubul. It is called *gour* by the Persians; and is usually seen in herds; though often single, straying away, as the one I first saw, in the wantonness of liberty. To the national passion for hunting so wild an object, Persia lost one of its most estimable monarchs, Baharam, surnamed Gour from his fondness for the sport, and general success in the pursuit of an animal almost as fleet as the wind. The scene of this chase was a fine open vale, near to Shiraz; but which had the inconvenience of being intersected by a variety of springs, forming themselves into exceedingly deep ponds; caverned at the bottom, by nature, to an extent under ground not to be traced. While the King was in the heat of pursuit, his horse came suddenly to the brink of one of these pieces of water, and tumbling headlong, both horse and rider disappeared. The pond was immediately explored to the utmost of their ability in those days, but the body of the King could not be found. Hence it is supposed that it must have been driven by the stream into one of the subterraneous channels, and there found a watery grave. This event happened fourteen hundred years ago; and yet it forms an interesting tale, in the memories of the natives about, to relate to the traveller passing that way.

Having enjoyed our chase, we returned to the servants; and journeying on without further deviation, reached the village of

Shulgistan by nine o'clock in the forenoon. Our quarters were in a caravansary of the same era with that of Yezdikhast, but in very inferior repair; and distant from the last-named place about five farsangs. Both village and caravansary are supplied with water by kanaughts; and the ground in their immediate vicinity has some show of verdure; but beyond, all is dry and cheerless. Towards evening I met two or three flocks of sheep and goats, and a drove of cows, coming in to their nightly shelter. They were the whole stock of the villagers; and the first animals of the kind I had seen since we quitted Ispahan. Aware how much the labour of man gives him power to produce fruitfulness on the most barren soils, when I reflected on the dismal depopulation of these tracts, I ceased to wonder at the change which had taken place since the time of Chardin; who describes them, as abundant in people, pasture, herds, and flocks.

June 8th. Left our menzil this morning at four o'clock; continuing along the plain, south 45° east, arid as ever; but gradually narrowing to the dimensions of an ordinary valley, where not even the ruins of a village broke the desert surface of the ground. Thus we jogged onward, for three farsangs; without any change of objects to quicken or retard our pace, till we arrived at the foot of several pointed rocky hills, which stretched across, towards the north-east, from the great range on our right. Here we started a prodigiously large fox, and ran him for two miles along the valley; but when he took to the hills we soon lost him. He was very little less than a jackall, and of a most beautiful silvery grey.

On returning to our road, and having advanced beyond the valley into a plain, the whole scene changed. I beheld villages in every direction, surrounded by gardens and thickly shaded

with trees. We passed two of these pretty hamlets, called Sakhah and Bahman; they stood a mile to our right; while the intermediate ground, where men and cattle were moving about in the purposes of husbandry, gave a civilized life to the view; widely contrasting the wild region of the day before, over which we had pursued the fleet-footed gour. A ride of two or three hours farther brought us to Kooshkat, our halting-place, about five farsangs from Shulgistan.

This is an extensive village, with a small fortress in the centre; round which the low flat-roofed houses cluster, within an outward line of embattled walls. Gardens surround it also, full of flowers and fruit, and most gratefully umbrageous trees. But above all luxuries, it enjoyed the blessing of an abundant supply of deliciously pure water, which flows through every street. There being no caravansary, my quarters were to be at the house of Moullah Basheh, the Solon of the place. He received his Frangy guest with the most frank-hearted courtesy; providing me with a charmingly cool chamber, or rather large vaulted cell, neatly matted for my repose. But it proved, that he had honoured the stranger, by putting him into the mesjid (or chapel) itself; for, during my sojourn there, I perceived several persons gliding in, at the stated hours, to repeat their prayers; and, when said, disappearing again, without disturbing me or themselves. Indeed, the manners of these villagers seemed as kindly cultivated as their soil; and the good priest had been so very assiduous for my comfort, that, at parting, I gave him a little remembrance, in the shape of an English pocket-knife; an article in higher estimation in this part of Persia, for its general usefulness, than almost any other European present I could have made. The Moullah received it with grave, but eloquent thanks.

A few months' travelling in the empire, had taught me the local value of this sort of trifles; trifles to us, because we can command them to superabundance.

Once, under circumstances similar to those which obliged me to lodge with the Moullah, I repaid the hospitalities of the surgeon of a Persian village, where I had taken up my quarters, with the present of a very fine lancet. The poor man by some fortunate chance had possessed one, about ten years before; but time having long ago rendered it incapable of use, he had been reduced, in consequence, to bleed with the point of a pen-knife of a very indifferent fabric. During my travels, I was in the custom of having a lancet always about me, in case of accidents; and when I took this out of my pocket-book, put it into his hand, and told him it was for himself; he looked at me, and at it, with his mouth open, as if he hardly comprehended the possibility of my parting with such a jewel. But when I repeated the words "It is yours," he threw himself on the ground, kissed my knees and my feet, and wept with a joy, that stifled his expression of thanks. And all this agitated gratitude was for a gift, which related more to the comfort of his patients, than to his own profit. For, being the only practitioner near the place, it must be the same to the weight of his purse, whether he bled with a knife or a nail. Hence, benevolence alone, caused his rapture. And my feelings, though not so ecstatically, were not less moved, on seeing such pure disinterestedness in the mind of a man, where gold is too generally considered all in all.

But to return to my venerable Moullah. He carefully deposited his newly acquired treasure in his kalumdoon, or inkhorn; an attribute as essential to the dignity of a Moullah, as his daggered

belt, to the honour of a Khan. The profession of my host ranks with the most learned of the East; a sort of successor to the old Magi; having the religion, philosophy, and tuition of the country entirely in the hands of its professors. But, of course, these sacerdotal wise men, like men in all other callings, differ in degrees of rank and acquirements; some, according to their original stations; others, according to their natural abilities. The Moullahs of a village, are not, in general, of the most learned degrees; but they are often the most amiable men. Not being initiated in the deepest doctrines of their faith, they know nothing of systems, and less of party-spirit: hence, though devout, we seldom find them bigoted; a feature rather too prominent with some of the great doctors of their Moslem law.

The qualifications most in demand for a village Moullah, or priest, are, to be able to read, in an audible voice, the appointed chapters from the Koran; to drawl out the daily prayers, in a regular nasal cadence; and to call out the *awzaun*, or summons of his flock to divine service, at the several stated times of the day; which are an hour before sun-rise, noon, and at sun-set. The *awzaun* is declared from the roof of the mesched. Minarets are not now to be seen attached to any mosque in Persia; though they are in constant use over every other part of Mahomedan Asia.

As the office of tutor to princes, and other great men, is usually given to Moullahs of superior endowment, so the task of schoolmaster in a village, commonly devolves on its Moullah; who, in whatever other sort of lore he may be scant of breath, never fails to fully accomplish his pupil in the long-drawn notes with which he chants his orisons; and some, the most favoured, are perfected in the holy signal for the hours of prayer; which

is sung out in a kind of cadence, or musical air, not disagreeable when the voice is good, and capable of sustaining a *long shake*, with which the *awzaun* concludes; and the fine execution of which forms one of the greatest ambitions of these young servitors of the Mahomedan church. The support of the village Moullahs, or priests, chiefly arises from the produce of certain lands, for which they pay no tax; and, secondly, from donations received from the people. The priesthood of the cities are often richly endowed by gifts from the opulent hadjée khans; but in the midst of wealth, they are expected to live in extreme simplicity. Hence, many affect a particular abstinence from the usual pleasures of mankind; even relinquishing, in part, the gratifications of society; and, above all, never dissipating their holy reserve by conversing familiarly with a foreigner, whatever be his rank or learning. A peculiar personal sanctity, too, is sometimes assumed by the very rigid; who, deeming Christians unclean in a religious sense, are scrupulous to avoid coming in contact with them, lest by the touch of their garments, theirs should be contaminated. When such a misfortune does take place, nothing under a total immersion of themselves and their habiliments, can restore them to their original purity. This superstition prevails also amongst some of the bigoted laymen; and mostly with those who are remote from frequent intercourse with Europeans. In the north of the empire, so little are such prejudices known, that, with a very few exceptions, there is scarcely a Persian to be found who would not eat out of the same tray with you.

The Moullahs differ in dress from their lay countrymen in several points. They wrap their heads in a shawl, or long piece of white linen; the descendants of the Prophet use green;

their outer coat crosses diagonally over the breast, tying or buttoning near the top of the right hip: in summer, they go barefooted, and in winter wear socks; but whether the weather be warm or cold, a large wrapping cloak, without sleeves, is invariably the finish of their dress; it is made of a stuff like camlet, marked with brown and white in two or three exceedingly broad stripes. The stuff is a manufacture peculiar to Kourdistan near Kermanshah, and thence brought to all the other parts of the empire. But I must not omit naming one appendage no Moullah can be seen without, (and which, indeed, is very common with the Persians in general;) a small rosary of black beads. If it number their prayers, it also proves a perpetual subject of amusement; the beads being kept in a continual movement by the fingers, both during the discourse or silence of the wearer. With some of them, were a Frangeh to accidentally touch one of these beads, it would be little less than sacrilege. But, to do my host of the Kooshkat Mesched justice, although a learned man, and one of the brotherhood, he seemed so little impressed with excluding ideas, that from the first moment he received me within his walls, he partook of the hospitable fare his kitchen spread on my board, cheerfully talking, and sitting close to me without the least apparent apprehension of defilement.

June 9th. Left Kooshkat at half past 4 o'clock this morning, seeing the village of Abadah, the customary halting-place, at about a mile distant to the eastward. But turning our backs both upon it, and the singularly beautiful view of our villaged fortress as it stood in the grey light of the morning just beginning to be tinged with a greenish golden gleam, we proceeded along the right side of the valley, close to the base of its stupendous mountain-wall. The opposite side, on its sloping banks,

was thickly set with pretty hamlets, abundant gardens, and every other rural effect of laborious cultivation. So luxuriant a bed of verdure beneath, produced a most delightful contrast to the immense regions of barren rock which pended above. Continuing our march, the valley widened between more equally undulating banks; and soon after, I discovered an addition to our party in the shape of a fine white greyhound. It had been noticed and fed the evening before by some of my people in the village; and, from the meagre condition of the poor beast, I suppose he judged his present change of masters would be an advantage. His volunteer service proved quite an acquisition, for scarcely had I discovered him, ere a herd of eight or ten antelopes presented themselves trotting along the slope of the hills near the low ground. We gave them time to get pretty far down in the plain, and then slipped the dogs. The antelopes flew before us, and a most delightful and animated chase we had. The stranger dog ran like the wind, he had singled one out; and my gallant Arab grey kept well up, and having the plain before us, nothing could equal the sport. At length the chased animal finding the dogs gain upon him, made for the hills, redoubling his speed, but he fled into the jaws of destruction: our wily mehmandar was in the way, and, as he repassed within musket-shot, fired, and so wounded him, that the dogs were on him before he could traverse another hundred yards, and a Persian knife soon did the rest. The animal was very large, and his fine spiral black horns told his age. He was placed on the back of a mule, and proved a most excellent addition to our travelling stock of provisions. Our way for nearly two farsangs, ran in a direction south 45° east; when suddenly bending round, it took a turn as much to the westward, bringing us to the

entrance of a valley scarcely a mile broad, and separated from the greater by a low range of hills.

At half-past 9 o'clock, we approached our quarters for the day, rather invigorated than fatigued by our hunt of the morning; for the pursuit of any really wild animal, whether gour or antelope, and over a country without other boundary than those which nature presents, gives a spring to the blood, and an adventurous spirit to man and horse, that turns danger to sport, and carries them over every obstacle.

Our menzil was to be one of two villages, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Eklett. They are romantically situated in a beautiful little vale, running westward into the mountain-chain, where the undulating ground, diverging from the more abrupt sides of the hills, was one superb carpet of the richest vegetation; corn, fruits, and flowers, uniting in the production of the most glowing colours, harmonizing in forms of nature's own design; and where the hand of man was visible, the neatness and order of the husbandry proclaimed the peace of the inhabitants. I rode up a height to command the view, and, as I looked over the enamelled ground I have described, and the disposition of the dwellings amongst it, I thought it one of the most enviable spots I had seen in Persia. The trees were of a larger and more umbrageous growth than the finest in the valley of Kourood, they were also more widely and thickly scattered over the hills: but the water was the luxury; it flowed in numerous rippling streams, transparent as crystal, through the winding channels between the sloping sides of these verdant heights; till, collecting into broader streams in the deeper parts of the dell, it took a serpentine course eastward.

Lower Eklett, where we halted, is distant from Koosh at five farsangs. Our quarters here did not present us so agreeable an entertainer; but they were in a garden, with my chamber close to one of the pleasant little brooks I have mentioned; and the shade and the water made up for every deficiency. Not that we had any reason to complain of our reception at Eklett. It was the more than ordinary hospitality of the Moullah Basheh, that made our present menzil suffer by comparison. Indeed, wherever we have halted during our march from Teheran, whether in or near a village, and where the Shah's rackam was to give free lodgings to the bearer and his train, a letter of recommendation not the most agreeable we may suppose to the people, still I seldom had cause to find fault with the treatment bestowed on myself and followers. We were almost invariably well received by the natives of every village under the rule of a Ketkhoda, or magistrate. A proof that these personages of local authority are not in general tyrannical, or extortioners in their sway; else, though we might have found obedience to His Majesty's mandate, it would have been paid with that grudging sullenness which sufficiently demonstrates the tribute of compulsion; but, on the contrary, the people have been ready in look and alacrity, as well as substance; complying with the rackam without a murmur. Refractoriness, however, we did sometimes meet; and, on recollecting two or three anecdotes of my well-remembered purveyor, in my mind the poor creatures were very excusable. But, in most cases, no signs of demurring appeared, except in places where we did not find a Ketkhoda, and the inhabitants had been left in some degree to their own management. Independent of the hourly checks of a resident authority, in such cases they generally lost their good manners,

with the custom of awe to superiors, and stupidly refused obedience to a power they did not see. Indeed, where every man supposes a necessity of standing by his own property to prevent encroachments from his neighbours, the habits of so sordid an egotism naturally tend to blunt the social feelings; and his suspected neighbours acting on the same grasping principle, no one can be surprised to find the channels of hospitality and benevolence not merely narrowed, but closed, in such a community. In these cases, the practice of my mehmandar always found means to render the defied power of the rackam visible, and then the dispute was at an end.

The only annoyance I ever experienced in the villages of my prompt entertainers, was the curiosity of the natives, which often overstepped the bounds of their intended civility. For a Persian Khan travelling through the remote hamlets of England, would hardly be a rarer sight to the gaping rustics, than an English gentleman making a journey through the southern villages of Persia, to their inquisitive inhabitants. Hence, I was often attended by successive crowds staring in at my window; and now and then startled by some bolder individual putting his head over my shoulder, *to see how a Frangeh ate!* But the worst was, that, more than once, one or two of these curious intruders have been likely to pay dear for peeping under my curtain, *to see how a Frangeh slept!* However, in day-light, when I found the eyes of my village friends too intrusive, I had only to make a sign to my mehmandar, or to Sedak Beg, and one smack of their whips usually dispersed the whole covey in a moment. In nocturnal visitations, where the object and the visitors might be mistaken, the mode of clearing the ground was

not always so harmless. But this never happened but in quarters open to the ingress of real marauders.

June 10th. We left our embowered menzil this morning at half past three A. M.; and after a short ride up the valley, passed the fine ruins of a fortress, strongly situated on a height over Eklett Bala, the upper village of the name. We then turned to the south-east into a wider vale, of a very different character from the Arcadian scenery we had just left. Indeed, it is a matter of wonder to a European to see how in this country, the intervening of a ridge of hills will change the face of nature; on one side we find Eden, on the other a sterile world: but soil, as well as aspect, has to do with creating this contrast.

The vale we now entered was barren, and bounded on every side with the sternest mountains, on whose rocky brows to the south-west, the snow still lay very deep. Another hour and a half's march brought us to the mouth of a very narrow and rugged defile running up this intimidating barrier, and which we were told we must mount. The road was extremely steep and stoney, and in parts so difficult, the least fearful of us looked for a fall or two at least down the cliffs: two hours' hard climbing however, brought the whole party in safety to the summit, where we found ourselves on the over-topping brow of one of the highest mountains of the chain, and surrounded by tracts of snow, which rendered its elevated atmosphere peculiarly piercing and cold. From this point we began a descent, not quite so perilous as our upward march, the path being less rocky, and in a more sinuous line. The country below presented a succession of valleys; and having gained the entrance of the first, we proceeded in a general direction south 45° east. We

had in view a noble volume of waters that gushed from a cleft in the rock, and pouring downwards in a powerful stream, scooped a channel for itself in the deep bosom of the hills, thence flowing onward. Along its grateful current we kept our way; for, being again on the low ground, the sun had resumed its full influence, and the sight alone of the cooling spring, independent of the motion of its rapid waters fanning the air, was cheering to man and beast. But that was not all; the aromatic smell from the wild rosemary and profusions of lavender, which grew every where around, as well as from other fragrant herbage that covered our path, and the banks of the river, rendered the soft breeze we were then meeting, one breath of refreshing sweets, while the fragrant vegetation itself afforded a rich pasture to several flocks of sheep and goats we saw browsing along the margin of the stream. Each flock was guarded by its shepherd and his faithful dogs; the man being armed with a huge clubbed stick, terminating in a lump of an egg shape, sometimes made of solid iron, and cleft in divisions exactly like the maces of our ancient men-at-arms. With this substitute for a crook, they settle all rival differences, and a most formidable weapon it proves!

The sheep and goats, with their simply-clad tenders, (for they had little more than a light upper-garment, and their trowsers,) belonged to a horde of one of the wandering tribes, so commonly to be met with, at this season of the year, all over Persia. They bear the general name of Eelauts. My friend, Mr. Belino, observes of this name, and of these people, that "*Eelaut*, is derived from *Eel*, a genuine Turkish or Tartarian word, signifying tribe; to which *aut*, an Arabic termination of the plural, was added; a barbarous form, not uncommon in Persia. The

Institutes of Timour, published by Major Davy, afford numerous examples of the same termination being added to genuine Tartarian or Mongolian words. These Persian Eelauts, therefore, have nothing in common with the nation which the French missionaries call *Eleuth ;* for that is the name the Calmucs give themselves ; the appellation *Calmuc* being only a nickname. And these Eleuth are of the Mongolian race ; whereas the Eelaut of Persia are of the Tartarian ; and, though frequently confounded, differ as much from each other, as the Celtic race does from the Gothic."

There are, therefore, in Persia, tribes of Tartar and Turcoman descent ; and tribes from the Bactiara mountains, who are of a race totally distinct from the northern hordes, and, probably, something more indigenous to the soil, than any of the other wanderers ; but all leading the same manner of life, now bear the common name of Eelaut ; their pastoral habits little distinguishing them from the Bedouin Arab, or the Nomade Tartar on the banks of the Tedzen. Hence the subjects of the Persian empire appear to consist of two distinct classes : the stationary inhabitants of towns and cities ; and the wandering dwellers in tents and temporary villages ; for all equally acknowledge the sovereignty of the Shah, though with different degrees of deference to his authority. The Persian, immured in a city, is within grasp of every arbitrary order ; the Eelaut, in his tent, may obey on the side of his stream, or disobey in the fastness of his mountains. And, perhaps, as some check to the natural proneness and facilities of these people to affect independence, has arisen the fashion of drawing their principal chiefs to court ; where we find many of them mingling the refinements of the capital with their bolder

habits; and delegating their authority over the tribe to the elders, or chieftains next in rank.

These people, though despising settled habitation, claim a sort of prescriptive right, derived from their ancestors; and from time immemorial, many of them pretend to certain mountain districts and tracts of pasturage, which they keep with the greatest tenacity; maintaining their ground against any encroaching tribe with all the determination of property; and often the disputes of rival shepherds on small infringements, bring on the most fatal consequences; engendering blood and feuds to distant generations. It is impossible to look on these people, and observe their usages, without acknowledging the illustrations they may afford of the manners of the early patriarchs of Holy Writ; their tented lives, roving pasturage, and the contests which often take place between their herdsmen, and those of others, for a well, or a track of grass.

In the winter, the Eelauts either inhabit temporary huts, or follow the sun into warmer districts; the empire of Persia being sufficiently extended to yield a temperate climate somewhere, in almost all seasons. Their summer abodes consist of large black tents, made of woven horse-hair; the sides being matting, or dried rushes. They are usually pitched in a quadrangular form, on the banks of their hereditary rivers, and under the brow of the mountains which had shadowed their forefathers for many generations. Hence, though they wander, it is yet within bounds. They have a country, and only change their place in it. The Nomade tribes of Arabia and of Tartary bear the same character; possessing an extended inheritance, though it be only a desert. And this distinction decidedly marks an essential difference between these various nations, and the people we call

Gipseys; who, without tracing their origin, are found in a state of vagrancy, all over the world. In Persia they bear the name of *Karashee*, or the Black Race; from their complexions being darker than any of the native tribes. I saw sufficient of the Eelaut party before me, to stimulate my curiosity to seek farther into their customs and manners; and Sedak Beg informed me I should have ample opportunities, most of the valleys between that and Shiraz being at this season of the year full of similar encampments.

Our way lay through a succession of these mountain-dells, with each its stream; and in each we found its appropriate wandering people; their sheep, mules, and horses, browzing at ease, and themselves seated on the sun-screened side of their tents, smoking, and listening to their story-tellers; while the women appeared within, engaged in domestic occupations. I often saw very picturesque groups, standing or lying about amongst the rocks; the men being of a bold stature, with composed, but animated countenances, and in dresses of the simplest forms.

Having journeyed through these primitive scenes for upwards of three hours, we descended into a plain, which opened before us to an extent equal to that leading to Ispahan. The mountains to the south-east were but faintly discernible, the greatest expanse of the plain stretching in that direction; while the view to the west, over an equally unimpeded level, was terminated by a much more distinct line of hills. Our quarters were to be at the village of Daly Nazir. But our mehmandar, ignorant of its situation on this vast tract, led us three farsangs to the westward out of our way; when, fortunately meeting a caravan of camels, the drivers apprised us of our mistake. We turned our

horses' heads, gazing on the fearfully hot and unsheltered plain, over which we had now full four farsangs (a ride of five hours,) to go, before we could reach our halting-place. It was then one o'clock in the day; not a tree, not a drop of water, was to be seen over the whole parched ground. Part, we were to traverse back again, and then stretch away direct south-east. At about five o'clock in the evening we reached our quarters; the whole party, men and animals, nearly overcome with thirst and exhaustion, having been on our horses fourteen hours, during which time none of us had either eaten or drank. We had travelled upwards of fifty miles, at a fast pace under an almost vertical sun; so some idea may be formed of the pleasure with which we threw ourselves upon the cool refreshing earth of our menzil floor.

The animals appeared to suffer much less inconvenience from the effects of such extraordinary exposure to the heat than we did; and, often since, I have had cause to marvel at their patient endurance of similar long marches, without food or refreshment of any kind.

Had we come direct to Daly Nazir, from Eklett, the distance is estimated at seven farsangs and a half; but our blunder made it a whole day. The village is a wretched place, nearly in ruins, and almost depopulated; the few inhabitants who remain being a race of thieves, and having no ketkhoda, their reception of us was perfectly in harmony with their character. During the early part of the night, they purloined some of our horse-furniture; and when a more advanced hour gave them hope of finding us quite off our guard, they began with similar intentions to approach our quarters. But the dogs gave the alarm before they got near enough to be within reach of our arms;

else, probably, they would have carried off a very different load from that they anticipated. On our arrival, they had not only denied us every article demanded on the King's order; but, on my directing the mehmandar to give up the point, and pay them for all we wanted, they refused even then to bring provisions, till I had given them the money in hand. Our purveyor's indignation could hardly be suppressed; and he hinted to me, that had not the whole of our party been so exhausted on our entrance amongst them, and therefore little calculated to support his measures, the rascals should not have come off so easily.

June 11th. To give our animals due rest, after so long a march, we did not start to-day till near four o'clock, P. M., taking a course south 45° east, over a very uneven road, owing to the plain swelling in that direction into small low hills of sand and reddish earth. Having ridden about six miles, we passed close to the village of Kishlock; a much more civilised-looking place than the one we had just left. Though part of it was in ruins, yet the houses that were inhabited appeared less like hovels; and a little brook providing them plenty of water, the natives had surrounded their dwellings with neatly cultivated spots, bearing barley and other grain. The stream was a rich regale to ourselves. At no great distance from this place, we came up to an extensive burying-ground, with three very lofty tombs, domed a-top, rising from amidst the more common memorials of the dead. These prominent objects were in ruins; but they seemed monuments of some residence of men having been in their neighbourhood, of more considerable dimensions than a village. Indeed, the immense accumulation of graves bore the same evidence; though no other trace of a departed

town remained visible. From this spot we travelled onwards through a long narrow hollow in the plain, affording good arable and pasture land; which, a person in our company told us, had formerly, he understood, been in general cultivation; but now was left to total neglect, excepting in the immediate vicinity of the village of Gazion, where the villagers took advantage of the soil as far as they needed, either by tillage, or turning their cattle to graze. The hollow reaches almost from Daly Nazir, to the latter village, where we were to halt; a distance of four farsangs. But as we advanced into the deeper recesses of this comfortable shelter from the arid surface of the plain, I observed several groups of black tents; and learnt that they were not filled by Eelauts, but with the family of the Ketkhoda of Gazion, and all the respectable inhabitants of the place in his train. Not a creature had been left within the broiling walls of the village, but those who were too poor to afford themselves dwellings in the encampment; and when we approached the gates, which was just as the sun dropt, scarcely a living soul appeared, to answer our demands respecting provisions and a lodging. My mehmandar made up for his quiescence of the day before, by vociferating loudly the royal demands; but, after all, we were obliged to take up our quarters in the mesched without walls, and wait an hour before provender could be collected for the cattle. I had made an addition to our party of a man and horse, whom I had brought even from the thievish village of Daly Nazir; but having so grievously lost the road in our way thither, I thought it prudent to hire a guide there, and promise to pay him well, should he conduct us safely in our route over the plain. The fellow performed his task faithfully; being allowed no temptation to do otherwise; and, from his knowledge of the tracks, he certainly

shortened our distance considerably. In quality of his office, he rode in the van; and during our progress we passed, at several times, different bands of ill-looking people, who were travelling to a village more to the north-east, and whose evident inquiries about us, as they greeted their old comrade, excited something more than my curiosity, and I bluntly asked him whether those people were of a description to attack and rob a single traveller, or even ourselves were we less determinately armed?—"Yes," replied he, "and we of our village would do the same; and so would all in the plain: we none of us make scruple when fair opportunities occur."

The avowal, at least, was honest, of a most resolute principle of knavery; and, showing as frankly on our part that no opportunities, fair or foul, would be afforded, we got on well together, till the necessity for the coalition ceased; which was not for some days after this conversation took place.

Taking travelling on the whole in Persia, after leaving the immediate surveillance of the Shah or the Prince Royal, it is nearly as full of danger from thieves and robbers as any part of the Caucasus. We are obliged to keep strict guard, both day and night, from purloiners, if we are in quarters; from ambushed plunderers, if in open day; and, with the additional incumbrance of a hot sun, while armed like Robinson Crusoe.

June 12th. That we might recover the lost time of our wanderings on the 10th, and the consequent lengthened rest during the greater part of the day on the 11th, I would not linger to-day, till the cool of the evening, but determined to set off as early as our people could be ready. Still, however, one thing and another occurred to delay my little troop; so that we were not mounted till nearly ten o'clock, with the sun's scorching

beams direct in our faces, and the comfortable prospect of their fervour increasing every hour. The track we were to go, being partly through a most intricate ridge of hills, or rather mountains, which divided the plain, it was represented to us as most formidably dangerous, from hordes of banditti, who infested the passes in every direction. Several peasants in the neighbourhood of our menzil, hearing of our destination, and wanting to travel that way, begged to be admitted to the protection of our company; the request was immediately acceded, and the men mounted; but just in the moment of our setting out, a fine menacing cavalcade by such an accession to our numbers, one of the volunteers happened to sneeze: the dreadful omen suddenly stopped the whole party; it was a sign foreboding evil, and no arguments could prevail on them to remove that day. Absurd as it is, we find traces of the like superstition amongst the ancient nations of Europe, as well as of the East. But the portent differs according to circumstances. Xenophon was elected to the rank of General, in compliance with such an omen; and the same army who had obeyed that signal, hesitated to attack the enemy while intimidated by an untimely sneeze. A similar sign in an animal, adjudged the empire of Persia to one of the greatest of its monarchs, Darius Hystaspes, who had agreed with six princes, his rivals for the sovereignty, to mount their horses, and ride next morning together to a certain spot, to meet the rising sun; and, when there, whichever horse *neighed* first, the crown was to belong to his rider. The groom of Darius so well understood his business, that his master's horse no sooner saw the spot, than he gave the omen, and the empire was adjudged.

The remnants of these old superstitions are not confined to the vulgar in Persia, as they may be with us; even the present

Majesty of this great empire will not leave his capital, undertake an expedition, nor receive an ambassador, till he has had intimation from his astrologer of the fortunate hour for the act. Before all minor transactions, the people in general take what they call a *fall;* namely, (in the old fashion of dipping in Virgil,) opening the Koran, Hafiz, or any venerated author, and the sense of the passage on which their eyes first *fall*, directs their actions accordingly. They put great faith in the virtue of charms, which they buy of the learned in the stars, and bind, not merely about their own persons, but those of their horses; some are composed of prayers, sewn up in morsels of linen in the shapes of lozenges, circles, triangles, &c. The more costly amulets are certain sentences from the Koran, exquisitely engraved on cornelian, and which are usually worn by persons of rank round their neck or arms. The lower orders have talismans, to avert the influence of evil eyes, curses, &c. In short, they neither look, move, nor speak, without attention to some occult fatality or other.

Having, therefore, left our ill-omened friends behind, staring after us as if they pitied our rashness, we proceeded on our road, which lay as usual south 45° east, and was a continuation of the plain over sandy undulations. After nearly an hour and half's ride, we came to the banks of a full and rapid stream pouring from the mountains not far distant to the south-west. The stream is crossed by a small stone bridge of three arches; and on some high ground, almost close to the bridge, stand the ruins of a very ancient caravansary. The form of the building, as well as the style of its masonry, proclaim it to have been of the earlier ages of Persia; and, probably, it was the work of Cyrus himself; who, Xenophon tells us, was the first institutor of these places of rest. "For, observing how far a horse could well travel in a day,

he built stables at those distances, and supplied them with persons to keep them in charge." At present, this venerable building bears the name of Madré-i-Sulieman.

About a mile further, we reached the foot of the dangerous pass so much dreaded by the peasantry. On entering it, our guide warned us to have all eyes on the look-out, and to be otherwise on our guard, at the same time seasoning his advice as we advanced with a thousand murderous histories of horrible deeds committed by bands, from the various tribes who unremittingly infest those heights. At first, the ascent was rugged and steep, but it gradually became more gentle, opening on to ranges of wider acclivities, rising over the other till they terminated in a sort of narrow vale at the summit. The sides were covered with large projecting rocks, many were scattered loosely on the ground; but from every part, thick bushes grew up, and low stunted trees; all excellent ambushes for the apprehended banditti. I cannot say that I did not look for the sparkle of some lurking eye beneath them; or, perhaps, at the turning of the cliffs, to receive some intimation of a bolder enemy; but nothing of the sort was heard or seen; no object appeared to molest us, but the almost insupportable sun; and under it we continued to march, three hours and a half, across the mountains, without a breath of air moving, to cool our scorched skins, or a drop of water to slake a thirst that was become intolerable. The poor dogs, overcome with drowth, actually lay down again and again, and howled in such apparent agony, that I began to fear they would go mad. About five miles from our anticipated menzil, we commenced a descent at a point where the road divides; one division, branching to the right, leads to the western part of the valley of Mourg-aub; the other, turning

to the left, conducts to the village of that name. This was our way; and following it for nearly another broiling hour, at last came out at the fountain of one of the numerous springs which, flowing downwards, fertilise the country below. It was like an angel in our path; the pure and delicious water proving an animating refreshment to us all. Not far from this point, the beautiful little rivulet becomes a considerable stream; and taking a turn round the hills at a short distance to the eastward, finds its way to the valley, where, washing the walls of Mourg-aub, and flowing along, it meets several brooks; amongst others, that which I had seen bathing the foundations of the caravansary of Madré-i-Sulieman: and thus having increased to a river, it winds south-east by the foot of the hills, passes the village of Sharak, thence meanders through the vales of Kummeen and Sewan; receiving numerous mountain-streams on one side, while it is drained in almost the same proportion by channels of irrigation on the other. I am told that the general name of this deviously wandering stream, is Kur-aub; a rather uncommon instance of uniformity, these minor rivers usually varying their appellations with the tracts through which they flow. This stream falls into the Bund-Emir, (the southern Araxes,) at some distance from Tackt-i-Jemsheed, or Persepolis.

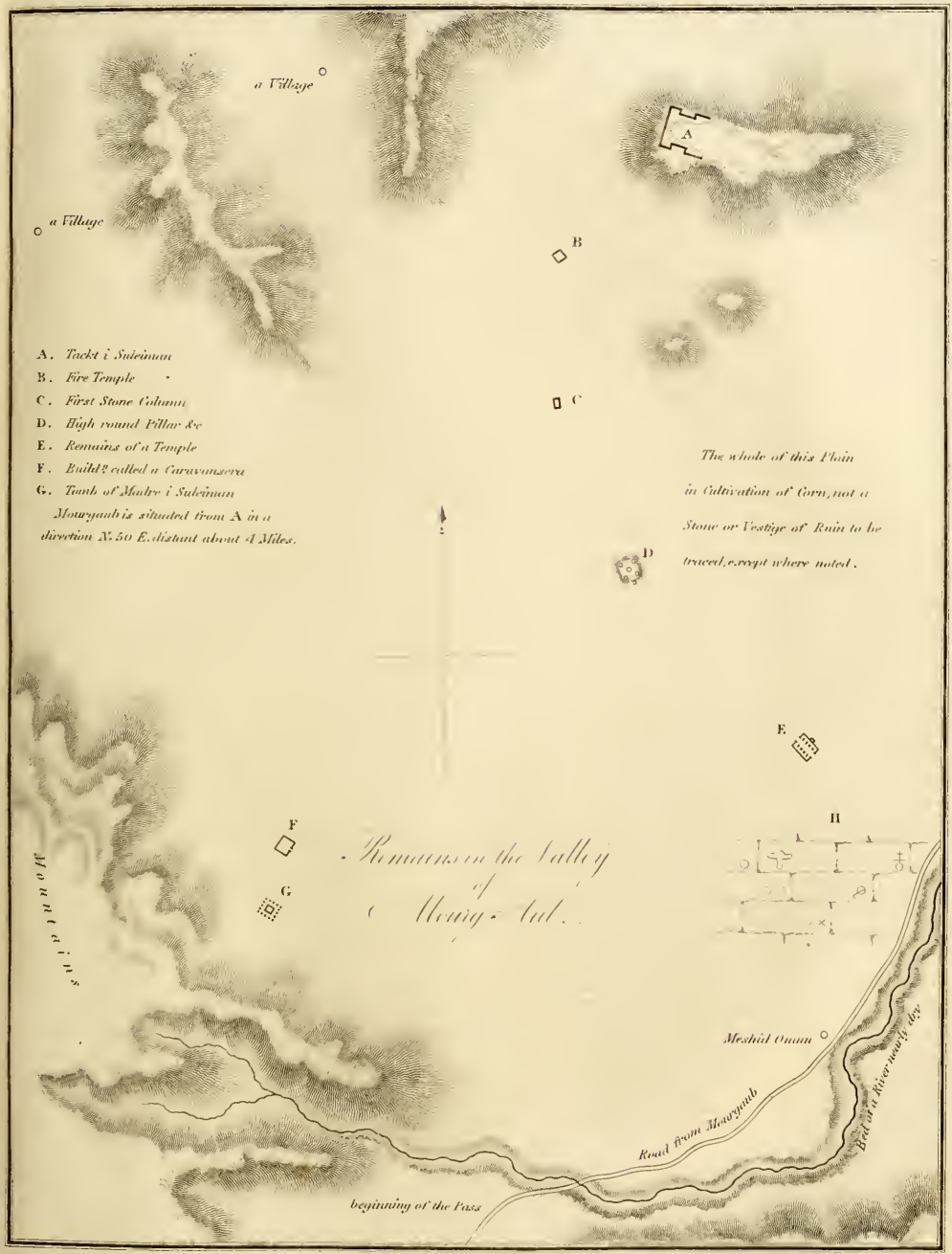
We reached Mourg-aub, our place of rest, by half-past four o'clock P. M., and took up our quarters in what is called the Mehman-Khanah, or house of guests; a dirty dilapidated hole, but too near one of the objects of my journey, the transcendantly superb remains of antiquity in this part of the empire, for me to think twice of the discomforts of my lodging. The accurate pen of Mr. Morier, in describing these at Mourg-aub, the first in rotation, had redoubled my impatience to examine them myself;

and halting two days at the village, I found nothing to regret afterwards, in having passed so many hours under the burning rays of a Persian summer sun, exploring treasures to which my countryman had given so interesting a key.

June 13th. On mounting my horse this morning for my excursion, I took a southern direction down the valley for about four miles; when, quitting the road, and turning to the right, my attention was arrested by a view of the first grand object amongst these ruins. It is the most northern of them all, and not far from the road. The natives have given it the name of *Tackt-i-Sulieman*, or the throne of Sulieman.

It appears to have been the platform of a building, and consists of a mass of hewn stones raised nearly to a level with the summit of a rocky hill, to whose side it adheres. The materials are of white marble, put together with a labour and nicety scarcely to be supposed. Every stone is carefully clamped to its neighbour, on their upper horizontal surface, and at a small distance from the perpendicular face. The great front looks to the north-west, and measures in length about 300 feet; its sides, from the front towhere they touch the hill, 298 feet. At the distance of 72 feet, is a retiring right-angle of 54 feet, which, after running again in a direct line of 168 feet, forms a corresponding face to the opposite angle of 72 feet; leaving 48 feet to complete the whole of the northern and southern faces. The height of the great front is 38 feet 6 inches, formed of 14 blocks of marble, all of the same thickness, namely 2 feet 9 inches. Their lengths vary from 7, 14, 13, to 19 inches. They are beautifully chiselled, and have a rough surface over each, about an inch from their edges. Their breadth also is variable, from 3, 4, to 5 feet. This imperishable casing-structure has been filled up, to form a level

at the top, with different-sized pieces of the native rock, a dark lime-stone. The marble must have been brought from some considerable distance, there being none certainly in the neighbourhood; and the nearest I could hear of, is that of the mountains of Yezd. I remarked on every block a peculiar figure, probably to guide their situations on the spot of erection; a proof the stones were adapted for their places at the quarry. I have sketched one or two; and it is not unlikely that these characters were the numeral signs in use at the time this building was constructed; and not, as some suppose, mere arbitrary scratches, at the whim of the workmen. The added marks on the several stones, seem throughout to agree with their relative situations, and are commonly placed near one of the corners. Great depredations have been made on this, as well as on all the other ancient buildings of the plain, by the rapacity of the natives of some former period, tearing away the masonry to obtain the iron by which it was bound. Wherever this has been effected, large holes are left; which the people of the present day attribute to the footsteps of the devils, who of old, they say, kept their court in its vicinity. The top of the platform is now strewed over with fragments of the hill, and very much sunk in the center. I examined it closely, in order to discover some trace of columns, but could find none; and not even the smallest bit of broken marble. However, that is no conclusive reason against the possibility of a superstructure having once existed there; though of what kind,—palace, temple, or fortress,— it might be difficult to conjecture. From its position amongst the heights, and the ease with which it is ascendable on all sides, the idea of its ever having been a place of strength, could not be tenable. Besides, its general appearance is rather that of extending the horizontal surface of the rock above, than to



Engraved by Sal.r Holl, Bury St. Bloomsb.y

London, Published by Longman & C.o 1821.

form a base for any heavy bulwark on its summit ; and moreover, on no point whatever of its adjacent cliffs, are there any vestiges of supporting fortification. The hill unquestionably commands the entrance to the valley, or rather plain of Mourg-aub, now received to be that of Pasargadæ ; but the strong natural barriers which the mountains present to the south and to the north, render additional walls unnecessary. Nevertheless, Pliny calls this spot "the Castle of Pasargadæ, occupied by the Magi, and wherein is the tomb of Cyrus:" — "Inde ad orientem Magi obtinent Passagardas castellum, in quo Cyre sepulcrum est." Plin. vi. 26.

The city of Pasargadæ may, therefore, rather be considered a holy city, consecrated to the colleges of the Magi, and the officers of religion, than as a stationary royal residence. And nothing can be more probable, since it was built by Cyrus to commemorate the great victories which made him king, than that he should consecrate it to the gods. Cyrus, according to Xenophon, made seven visits into Persia Proper, his original kingdom, after his accession to the vast empire to which he gave its name ; and although that historian does not specify the particular place in his paternal land, whither he went to perform his accustomed religious duties ; yet, as he was the founder of Pasargadæ, avowedly as a memorial of his national achievements, what can we more naturally suppose, than that Pasargadæ would be the scene of such rites? The idea seems to be corroborated by the fact, that it was long the custom with his successors, on their accession to the throne, not only to receive here the usual insignia of government, but, attended by their nobles and priests, to make the most solemn sacrifices on the summit of the mountain. Why therefore may we not consider this immense platform (evidently raised to enlarge that of the hill) the spot on which the altar, priests, and

royal party stood, during the awful ceremonies of their religious convocation?

I now descended into the lower ground, which on all sides seemed in the highest cultivation; and at the distance of a quarter of a mile from what I would denominate the sacred platform for the great royal altar, and in a direction south 45° west, I came to a square tower-like building, which Mr. Morier calls the Fire-temple. It is formed of the same lasting materials with the former structure, the blocks of marble not being much less in size; but the extent of the edifice does not seem in proportion to the magnitude of its component parts; its square not measuring more than 9 feet along each face; and its height not appearing to exceed 49 feet, if we may calculate on there being no difference in the measurement of the stones which compose the wall. From the lowest range to the highest I could reach, each block regularly measured 3 feet 6 inches; and by them, I calculated the height to the summit, fourteen stones, comprising the number in the elevation. Something like a door marks the front to the north-west; and the remains of a projecting cornice finishes its top. The building has been injured in like manner with that of the *sacred platform.* Having inspected it to my satisfaction, I proceeded another quarter of a mile due south, to a third object of interest; a square pillar, of only two stones, one over the other; the lower one is 12 feet high; the other, by guess, I should suppose 7 or 8 feet; the whole terminated above with some broken work like a ledge. The faces were each nearly 4 feet wide; but in that to the west, both the stones were deeply concave; the lower one more than half in its diameter, and considerably more than half in its length. These excavations do not appear to have been made for any other purpose than

to render the transportation of such immense shapes of marble, more easy; probably, these hollows were afterwards filled up with lighter slabs, or this end of the colossal pillar was connected with some other masonry. The three remaining faces are beautifully smooth, and on that to the north, is a short inscription of four lines, in the arrow-headed character, perfectly uninjured, and so clear and sharp, that it seemed scarcely possible to mistake a wedge. This I copied with as much care and accuracy as lies in the power of an eye practised to very minute observations. On returning to my quarters I compared my drawing with those made by Mr. Morier and Sir Gore Ousely of the same inscription, and found that we all differed, in some of the lines, from each other. But, on this subject, I shall speak more particularly hereafter.

In proceeding south-east, for rather more than a quarter of a mile, no vestige of ruins appeared, till I reached a low mound, which bore evident marks of having formerly been ascended by steps. To this, the inhabitants of the plain give the name of the Court of the Deevs or devils. From the centre of it, rises a perfectly round column, smooth as the finest polish; but the base of which is totally buried in surrounding rubbish. The length of the shaft cannot be less than from 40 to 50 feet; and is composed of four pieces of marble. The lower division comprises almost half the whole height, and in circumference measures 10 feet. I should imagine that the column has been higher than at present, there being no fragment of a capital discernible at its top. A spacious marble platform supports this immense fragment of a column; the square shape of its area being marked by four pillars of similar style and dimensions to the one I had recently passed. The four are distant from each other

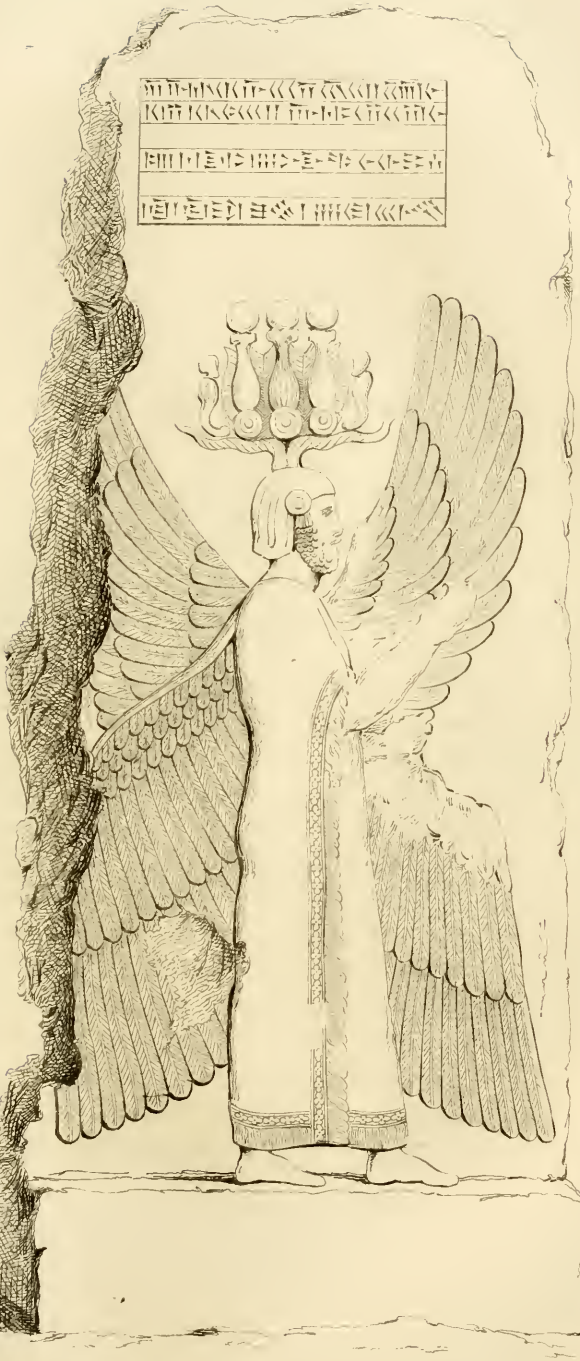
108 feet. Those that denote the north-west face of the building, are not much dilapidated; but the ruinous state of the place alone showed where the opposite ones had been, by baring their foundations. The most northern of the pair, which are in the best preservation, is composed of three stones, surmounted by a sort of cornice; the whole being 15 feet in height, and the three stones all concave on one side, like those in the insulated pillar I had first seen. These hollows face the north-east; on the contrary side is an inscription near the top, corresponding exactly with the one I had transcribed from the preceding pillar. In fact, on narrowly examining every inscription which labeled various parts of these ruins, I found not a single character differ in any one. A circumstance, I positively ascertained, by holding my first copy in my hand, while I followed with my pencil the lines on all the other marbles. The other still existing column is much broken, there being only two blocks remaining. Its inscription faces the other, looking north-east. A third mass of marble, in a yet more mutilated state, stands 30 feet in front of these, dividing exactly the middle of the face of the square. A couple of stones, are all the fragments of this elevation; they are excavated like the others; and its inscription is on the north-western side. I searched for any trace of a wall that might have connected the corner pillars of the edifice, but none could be found; hence, I conjecture the place to have been completely open to the air; and, from the loftiness of the centre column, it seems hardly possible for it to have had a roof. In viewing the plain from the elevation of this building, it appears one rich velvet of vegetation; without the interruption of the smallest unproductive spot, rendered barren by the fallen rubbish of decayed stone buildings. I mention this,

as an extraordinary peculiarity ; that amongst so many fine ruins, there should be no trace of minor ones between.

Perceiving to the south-east another columnar appearance, I rode in that direction for half a mile ; and on arriving found an immense single elevation of the kind, belonging to a former edifice, now entirely swept away, and which, but for the fragment which attracted my attention, could only be marked by the bases on which stood its ancient columns. Its shape is a parallelogram, one hundred and fifty feet by eighty-one; two rows of pedestals divide it, each composed of four stones, the whole (with the exception of one of white marble, which stands the third on the north-east range, and is six feet square,) being of the dark rock of the country. The sizes of these are irregular, from three to four feet; the bases in one direction were about fifteen feet distant from each other ; but in the transverse way, towards the centre, they left an opening of twenty-one feet, and an equal space from side to side. I know not how to account for the inequality of their dimensions, unless we may suppose some were intended to support an elevated floor, and others to sustain columns. The white marble base being of the greatest size and height, and finest materials, might form the pedestal of the deity of the place, if we are to consider it a temple ; and if not, still the image of a god or goddess might find a station there. If this tract is allowed to be the site of the city established by Cyrus, this very edifice may be that which Plutarch mentions (Vitæ Artax. x.) as the place where the Persian kings, his successors, received consecration ; and which, he observes, was *dedicated to a goddess in whose guidance was the affairs of war.* By the general plan, there appears to have been two entrances ; one from the north-east, the other in the opposite quarter. They are both

twelve feet wide, showing something like a step, advancing beyond the outer line of the floor. At about six feet distant from the north-east side of the building, and standing out in a parallel point to its centre, rises the square pillar which had drawn me hither. It appears perfectly distinct from all others, no trace of a second being found; one single block of marble forms it, and, as far as I could judge, it is full fifteen feet high. On examining it, I was delightedly surprised at discovering a sculpture in bas-relief, (Plate XIII.) occupying nearly the whole length of the north-west side of the pillar, surmounted by a compartment containing a repetition of the usual inscription. I lost no time in measuring and drawing this invaluable piece of antiquity.

It consists of a profile figure of a man, clothed in a garment shaped something like a woman's shift, fitting rather close to the body, and reaching from the neck to the ankles. His right arm is put forward, half raised from the elbow; and, as far as I could judge from the mutilated state of its extremity, the hand is open and elevated. His head is covered with a cap, close to the skull, sitting low behind, almost to the neck, and showing a small portion of hair beneath it. A circle, of what I could not make out, is just over the ear, and three lines marked down the back of the head, seem to indicate braidings. His beard is short, bushy, and curled with the neatest regularity; the face is so much broken, only the contour can be traced. From the bend of the arm to the bottom of the garment, runs a border of roses, carved in the most beautiful style, from which flows a waving fringe, extending round the skirt of the dress; the whole being executed with the most delicate precision. From his shoulders issue four large wings; two, spreading on each side, reach high above his head; the others open downwards, and nearly touch



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his feet. The chiseling of the feathers is exquisite; but the most singular part of the sculpture is the projection of two large horns from the crown of his head; they support a row of three balls or circles, within which we see smaller ones described. Three vessels, not unlike our European decanters, and regularly fluted, rest upon these balls, being crested again by three smaller circles. On each side of the whole, like supporters to a coat of arms, stand two small creatures resembling mummies of the Ibis, but having a bent termination to their swathed form. Over all is the inscription. The figure, from head to foot, measures seven feet; the width of the stone where he stands is five feet: two feet from that line reaches the present level of the ground. Like all the other pillars I have seen in this valley, a deep and long concavity runs nearly the whole length of the shaft on the side contrary to that where the figure stands. The pillar has been much broken towards the top, but the bas-relief, with the exception of the face and hands, has scarcely suffered. The proportions of the figure are not in the least defective, nor can any fault be found with its taste, being perfectly free from the dry wooden appearance we generally find in Egyptian works of the kind; and, in fact, it reminded me so entirely of the graceful simplicity of design which characterises the best Grecian friezes, that I considered it a duty to the history of the art, to copy the forms before me, exactly as I saw; without allowing my pencil to add, or diminish, or to alter a line. May I be excused in repeating here, that such undeviating accuracy to the utmost of my power, is the principle to which I bound myself in the execution of all the drawings I made in the East.

To form a conjecture of what this figure was absolutely intended to represent, is far beyond my pretensions. It will be seen, how-

ever, to differ materially from the winged figures at Nakshi-Roostam, and Persepolis; which learned men suppose to mean the good genii of the personages over whom they hover. Professor Heeren, in his work on the Policy, &c. of the Nations of Antiquity, is of this opinion. But from the peculiar attributes of the figure in question, its vast quadruple wings, long and richly decorated robe, together with the numerous symbols resting on his ample horns, which latter appendage has long been an oriental type of regal strength, I am led to think that this may represent a superior spirit; perhaps the tutelary genius of the country in general, as the others may be the particular genii for individual persons. He faces the temple, with his hands uplifted and open, as if in the act of benediction. If the inscription at the top of the pillar had been different from the one so often repeated in the temple, I should have flattered myself it referred to the figure; and, by the assistance of the invaluable talents of Professor Grottefund in decyphering the cuneiform character, might have had hopes of elucidating so curious a relic of antiquity. But I cannot omit stating, that on some of the bas-reliefs in the great temple of the Isle of Philæ in Egypt, several figures are found, bearing attributes on their heads very similar to those on the horned mitre just described. I have sketched one of these emblematic sort of crowns, (Plate XLIII. 6.) to show how close the resemblance is; and, consequently, how analogous the ideas of the Persians were to the Egyptians, in some of their typical representations of this class of spiritual beings. The Egyptian figure to which this head-dress belongs, has wings growing from its arms; but many figures, who have no pinions at all attached to their persons, possess the emblematic crown on their heads. Yet we find, that wherever it is worn, the appearance of wings is not wholly omitted; this attribute

of swiftness being disposed somewhere, as an ornament on the robe; or, when that is not the case, an Ibis, by standing close to the person, lends the symbol of his pinions, to preserve the intended image. But, with the exception of the mitre, there is nothing I have ever seen or read of, which bears so strong a resemblance to the whole of the figure on the pillar, as the ministering, or guardian angels, described under the name of Seraphim or Cherubim, by the different writers in the Bible ; and, if we are to ascribe these erections to Cyrus, how readily may he have found the model of his Genii, either in the spoil of the temple of Jerusalem, which he saw amongst the treasures at Babylon ; or from the Jewish descriptions, in the very word of prophecy which mentions him by name ; and which, doubtless, would be in the possession of Daniel, and open to the eye of the monarch to whom it so immediately referred. I will, without remarking further, merely give the descriptive passages, as they occur in the Sacred Writings ; and leave my readers to compare them with this bas-relief in the temple of Pasargadæ. First, where Moses gives direction for the formation of the ark, that is to contain the tables of the law : —

" And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy-seat. And the cherubim shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another ; toward the mercy-seat, shall the faces of the cherubim be." Exodus, chap. xxv. verses 18. and 20.

Second, where Solomon builds the temple of Jerusalem, and ornaments the sanctuary or oracle, where the ark was to be placed :

" And within the oracle, he made two cherubim of olive-tree, each ten cubits high. And five cubits was the one wing of the

cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one wing, to the uttermost part of the other, were ten cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits, and so was it of the other cherub. And he set the cherubim within the inner house; and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubim, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house. And he overlaid the cherubim with gold. And he carved all the walls of the house round about, with carved figures of cherubim, and palm-trees, and open flowers, within and without." 1 Kings, chap. vi. from verse 23 to verse 29. "And the wings of the two cherubim spread themselves forth twenty cubits; and they stood on their feet, and their faces were inward." 2 Chronicles, chap. iii. verse 13. The succeeding description is from the prophetic books:

"In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings: with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." Isaiah, chap. vi. verses 1, 2.

Indeed, wings appear to have been the peculiar attribute of ministering spirits, being symbolical of their offices as divine messengers or agents; and, as a parallel instance in the pagan mythology, we find that Mercury and Cupid only, possess any; the one being the messenger of Jove, the other, the busy agent of Venus.

At the distance of about a mile from the temple of the bas-relief, to the south-west, stand the remains of what the people of the country call a caravansary. Some appearances evidence that

such was the use to which it was applied, in times much later than its origin; and a Saracenic porch and inscription, show to what race this adaption may be ascribed. On closely examining the whole of the lower part of the building, the same architect who built the temple, was discernible here. The materials are marble, and each stone hewn with equal care, and fitted with as scrupulous a nicety. The plan is that of a quadrangle, of about 60 or 80 feet on every side; a great gate appearing to have opened from it to the south-east. A continued range of small dark chambers, even with the ground, run along the four sides of this square, with each a door, scarcely four feet high, opening into the quadrangle; over the flat lintel of these cell-like entrances, lies a huge stone on each, some much larger, every way, than the doors were in length.

About two hundred yards southward from these remains, rises the singular structure commonly known as the tomb of the mother of Sulieman, and, in the language of the country, called Mesched Madrè-i-Sulieman.

When the natives do not ascribe any extraordinary place, of whose real founder they are ignorant, to the devils or deevs, they usually pronounce it to have been the work of Solomon. There cannot be a more corroborating instance of the universal fame, over the East, of the great Jewish monarch of that name, than this widely-spread, and abiding memory of his wisdom and power, even in the countries into which the people of his nation were so often led, in the humiliated character of captives. His *seal*, is esteemed a talisman to dissolve all hostile enchantments, and of a potency to make the whole world of genii at the command of its wearer. But the Saracenic vestiges scattered amongst these ruins, lead one to conclude that the Soloman or Sulieman,

intended to be commemorated here, was of no older date than Sulieman the fourteenth caliph of the posterity of Ali; who, having succeeded to the sovereignty of Persia, with that high sacerdotal dignity, in the year of Hegira 96. (A. D. 715.) may be supposed to have visited this city in the valley of Moarg-aub or Pasargadæ, and like many other great men, "put his name" upon the works of his still more illustrious predecessors. His mother who, tradition says, is entombed here, was called Wallada, a daughter of the sacred family; but as her son, like herself, was born far from these lands, and during his short, though brilliant reign, was wholly employed in the west, we cannot conjecture what could bring the good lady to lay her bones here. When Mandelo passed through this vale in 1638, he mentions that a village not far from her reputed burying-place, bore her name; and that "on the wall of the chapel is an Arabic inscription, bearing the words *Mader-i-Sulieman!*" As all this Saracenic tradition, and inscription, cannot contradict the opposite argument, presented in the ancient style of the ruins themselves, and supported by the collateral evidence of the Greek historians; I would suppose it possible, that some palace, or village, or even the grave of Mandane the mother of Cyrus, might have distinguished this his newly established city; and to the memory of her name, obliterated by time, has succeeded the legend of the mother of Sulieman. The confusion of circumstances, places, and persons, which reigns throughout the Persian notices of their history, is sufficient to countenance a much less plausible conjecture; particularly, when we consider *whose* tomb (almost proved to demonstration) it is, to which they have given the name of Madrè-i-Sulieman.

This interesting monument stands on an eminence not far

Sir Robert Porter

I. Clark Sc.

Tomb of Madre-i-Suleiman or of Cyrus.

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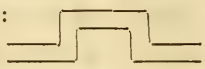
from the foot of the hills that bound the plain to the south-west. (Plate XIV.) A wide area, marked outwardly by the broken shafts of 24 circular columns, surrounds the building in a square shape. Each column is three feet three inches in diameter. Six complete each face of the square, distant from each other fourteen feet. Seventeen columns are still erect, but heaped round with rubbish, and barbarously connected with a wall of mud. Within this area stands the tomb. The great base, on which it rests, is composed of immense blocks of the most beautiful white marble, rising in steps; at the bottom of the lowest step, two sides of the base measure forty feet; the other two sides, forty-four. It first rises five feet six inches, so forming the lowest step. The second begins two feet, interiorly from the extreme edge of the first, rising three feet six inches, and receding one foot ten inches; at which point the third step rises three feet four inches, and recedes one foot ten inches; the fourth step rises one foot eleven inches, and recedes one foot ten inches; the fifth, rises one foot ten inches, and recedes one foot ten inches; the sixth rises and recedes in the same proportion, touching the walls of the tomb, which stands on its platform. Thus, a succession of gigantic steps, completes, in a beautiful pyramidal shape, the pedestal of this royal tomb, majestic in its simplicity and vastness. At the base of the lowest step, a projection, or sort of skirting-stone, runs all round the foundation of the building, almost even with the ground above, and not striking very deep into it below; probably to what was the ancient level of the earth.

The charge of this interesting place is given to the females of a neighbouring village; and none but that sex are permitted to enter the supposed repository of the remains of the mother of Sulieman. Two of these fair guardians, who were rather stricken

in years, attended me to the building, and were very impatient at the length of my investigations ; however, I would not be satisfied till I saw the interior ; and with much difficulty I persuaded them to admit me. The door opens into the north-western side of the tomb ; the whole width of the side being sixteen feet ten inches ; of which measurement, the entrance dividing it, occupied two feet ten inches. The height of the door was exactly four feet. Four layers of stones composed the elevation of this superstructure. The first gave the sides of the entrance; the second served as its lintel ; the third presented a simple projecting cornice; and, what may be called the fourth, formed its pediment and sloping roof. Just over the door are two ledges, which, from their parallel, I should suppose held an inscription. When I entered, I found that the thickness of the walls was one solid single mass of stone, measuring five feet from the outside to within. The extent of the chamber was seven feet wide, ten long, and eight in height. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, which joined nearly in the middle of the chamber, crossing it from right to left. But I lament to say, that immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured by the several invaders of this ancient tomb. The marble surfaces are cruelly broken ; and in the floor particularly, deep holes are left, which plainly show where large iron fastenings have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building ; similar depredation being marked in the marble of the wall. I searched every where for some trace of a cuneiform inscription, but in vain ; the place where most likely such a one would have been, if any existed within the tomb, is on the right of the entrance ; where it has probably been obliterated to make room for the pre-

sent open scroll in the Saracenic taste. It is composed of a narrow sort of border, thickly ornamented with flowers and other involvements; and interwoven with this intricate line of work, there are certainly Arabic characters, which I do not doubt forms the inscription that has been read *Mader-i-Sulieman*. It would have been useless for me to attempt copying it, in the little time allowed me; the letters being so confused amongst the ornaments; and the female sentinels without, from their fear of surprise, making an incessant clamour for my egress. The lines which contain this inscription border, extend along the whole of that side of the wall, taking, near the middle of it, a form thus:  the breadth between the lines is not more than two inches and a half. Some future traveller, I hope may be allowed to copy it, whose intimate knowledge of the language would facilitate the achievement; it being a task of skill, as well as patience, to disentangle Arabic characters from the labyrinth of their ornaments.

Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammers of the barbarians, interrupted the even polish of the three remaining sides. The roof is flat, and nearly black; so are all the sides of the chamber, excepting that which faces the door; and that, with the floor, is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of this monument; which, from the simplicity of its form, and the solidity of its fabric, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature, till the last shock, when her existence would be no more.

The learned world are indebted to Mr. Morier for the first supposition that the ruins scattered over the vale of Mourg-aub, are those of Pasargadæ; for the unanswerable arguments which

establish his supposition; and for the first accurate accounts of the two most corroborating proofs, namely, the general cuneiform inscription found on the columns, and the details of the tomb I have just described. In comparing what has just been said of this structure, with the account given by Arrian of the *Tomb of Cyrus* at Pasargadæ, the resemblance between each is too exact not to bear an instant conviction that they are portraits of one and the same place. There are some trifling differences, which no more contradict the main argument, of place and peculiar form, than painting two pictures of a man, one with his hat on, and the other without it, would authorize a spectator to assert they were meant for different persons. In order to illustrate the small variation between the present remains of the tomb, and what it appeared in the time of Arrian, I shall quote his own words. He writes from the testimony of Aristobulus, who had visited the spot.

"The tomb of Cyrus was in the royal paradise of Pasargadæ, round which a grove of various trees were planted. It was supplied with water, and its fields covered with high grass. The tomb below was of a quadrangular shape, built of free-stone; above was a house of stone, with a roof. The door that leads into it is so very narrow, that a man, not very tall, with difficulty can get in. Within is the golden coffin of Cyrus; near which is a seat with feet of gold; the whole is hung round with coverings of purple, and carpets of Babylon." Then follows an account of several other valuable articles it contained; after which he proceeds: "In the vicinity was built a small house for the Magi; to whose care the tomb had originally been entrusted, and so continued, since the time of Cambyses, from fathers to sons." (Aristobulus in Arrian, vi.; also Strabo, xv.)

The above description arose from the visit which Aristobulus made to the tomb, by order of Alexander. And his so particularly noting it as a "house of *stone, with a roof*," proves how much the singularity of the construction had struck him. The small dimensions of the door, are the same in the description and the place; and the holes in the floor, and at the upper end of the chamber, are just in the positions, and at the same distances, to admit the iron fastenings which secured the golden coffin. Had it been cased in a stone sarcophagus, like those at Nakshi-Roostam, doubtless that would have remained; giving no motive to the cupidity which rifled the tomb, to remove it also. The very circumstance of no relic of this sort being to be found here, is another argument, (if any more were needful,) for disproving it as the burial-place of a follower of Mahomed, male or female. Who, in a country that has been under Mahomedan rulers since the time of the first caliphs, would have violated the sepulchre of a son or daughter of *The Faithful?* Plutarch tells us, that Polymachus, one of Alexander's officers, took an opportunity, in the conqueror's absence, to rifle the tomb of Cyrus; but on the monarch's return, and hearing of the sacrilege, though the perpetrator was a man of high birth, and a Macedonian of the city of Pella, he commanded his immediate death.

Aristobulus describes the tomb as being situated "within the royal paradise at Pasargadæ." The paradises of the ancient kings of Persia, were like those of the more modern shahs at Ispahan; spacious gardens adjoining their palaces, and often so extensive as to contain ground, which we would call a park, for the preservation of animals for the chase. Hence, that the tomb should have trees about it at the time Aristobulus saw it, was as little to be wondered at, as that they should have totally disappeared,

with all other ornamental traces of those paradises, in the lapse of so many centuries. That he has not mentioned the marble colonnade, the remains of which at present surround the quadrangular base, proves nothing against its existence there at the time of his visit; it evidently appearing, from the cursory way of his describing the outside of the structure, and the minuteness of the details within, that his observations were eminently attracted to the contents: he speaks of "robes, and undergarments, of Babylonian and Median manufactory, richly dyed in violet, purple, and other colours. There were likewise chains, scymitars, and ear-rings of gold, the whole beautifully set with precious stones." (*Idem.* Arist. in Arrian.) But he tells us nothing of the measurement of the "quadrangular base," nor of that of the tomb; all which, an eye accustomed to architectural observation, would have specified. His noticing the lowness of the door, does not oppose my argument, since his probably striking his head against its lintel would give him a memorandum of that disproportion; but the extraordinary peculiarity of a *stone house and roof*, could hardly have been overlooked by a man who had eyes. He mentions, that "in the vicinity was built a small house for the attendant Magi." That, which is now called the caravansary, may very fairly be considered as the identical place. Perhaps, it may be said, that its scale is too extensive, and its chambers too numerous, for this use. Yet, when we recollect that this college of devout and wise men, had a daily allowance made to them of a sheep, a measure of corn, and a certain quantity of wine; we cannot calculate that their numbers could be very few; and then, when we consider their pupils, their attendants, and the accommodations, which, at all times in the East, were left vacant *for*

strangers; we cannot stand in the square of even this large building without feeling, with the messenger of Alexander, that it was "a *small* house for the Magi." The doors of its numerous cells are of a similar confined dimension with that of the tomb. As I observed before, no vestiges of the royal paradise remain between the tomb, and these ruins, which are not far distant; nor over the other intermediate spaces are there fragments of any kind; but there is no want of water; and the luxuriant waving of the corn on all sides, fully warrants the description of any former *Beheste* on that spot.

I shall now speak of the inscription, written in the cuneiform or arrow-headed character, which is so generally met with on all the pillars, &c. of this place, and without the deviation of a single curve. From the amazing progress that Professor Grottefund has made in decyphering this perhaps most ancient form of writing, he has been able to translate the present interesting and often-repeated inscription; which demonstrates that the place where it so frequently occurs must have been a favourite establishment of Cyrus's; and if so, what so likely as the city of Pasargadæ, which he founded himself as a lasting memorial of his triumphs and his empire?

The inscription, as it stands on the original marbles, I copied on the spot; and the engraving from that copy is on the plate in this work, marked 13. Professor Grottefund gives it the following translation:

Dominus Cyrus rex orbis rector.
Cyrus, Lord, King, Ruler of the world!

Here we have combined in this short sentence, all the power and grandeur which swelled the living glory of this celebrated

prince: and, from his epitaph as given by Strabo, we find in its simplicity the same greatness, even in death: —

"O man! I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, founder of the Persian empire, and sovereign of Asia; therefore grudge me not this sepulchre."

Plutarch describes it thus: (after a translation which Alexander caused to be made in Greek from the original, and cut beneath that old inscription, on the tomb.)

"O man! whosoever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest, (for come I know thou wilt!) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire: envy me not the little earth that *covers my body*."

Plutarch relates that this was done at the command of Alexander, after the tomb had been violated by Polymachus; and, that "when he read the inscription, he was sensibly touched; it causing him to reflect seriously upon the mutability of human affairs." And then he ordered the epitaph to be repeated in Greek. The alteration made from the first, in the conclusion of the last inscription, is striking. The native language of Cyrus, calls upon the visitor of his tomb, not to grudge the deceased monarch of so vast an empire, that "sepulchre," which a common mind might regard as referring to the golden sarcophagus: but the unworthy countryman of the great Alexander, was insensible to this appeal; and, rifling the tomb of its whole treasure, doubtless the body of the king would be restored to its place in some less tempting sarcophagus, and give rise to the second, still more affecting appeal, "not to envy" so great a monarch "the *little earth* that then covered his remains." It is possible that both these inscriptions, may originally have been on marble tablets affixed to the wall, and, by subsequent removal, entirely lost. Onesicritus, an author of

the same period with Alexander, gives a Greek copy of the epitaph in conciser language.

" Ενθαδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κῦρος
Βασιλεὺς Βασιλήων."

" Here is placed Cyrus,
King of Kings."

Until the satisfactory results of Mr. Morier's learned researches, and persevering investigations in the country, the documents from ancient history usually brought forward as guides to the antiquarian in his closet to ascertain the exact situation of Pasargadæ, continued to produce the most varying conclusions. These old authors write vaguely, and particularly the historians of Alexander, on topographical points; but slight as they are, when carried in the memory of a man of quick apprehension and clear judgment, added to the facility which Mr. Morier possessed of exploring minutely all the sites attributed to the city of Cyrus, we find that their scattered rays may converge to one focus, and throw light direct on the sacred spot.

We learn from some of them, that " after Alexander had taken possession of the Persian capital, (Persepolis,) the city of Cyrus also, with its treasures, fell into his hands. Having previously remained the winter on the plain of Merdasht to repose his troops, in the spring he followed the fugitive Darius, who had thrown himself into Ecbatana, taking the road through Pasargadæ." If I remember rightly, this account is given by Strabo; and it testifies, according to the conqueror's line of march, that the city of Cyrus lay to the north of Persepolis; and, hence, could not possibly have been either Shiraz or Fasa, two places lying in a so directly contrary point. Pliny situates

Pasargadæ to the east of Persepolis; (Pliny Nat. Hist. vi.) and the vale of Mourg-aub, certainly, is much to the north-east of that capital. But Strabo (Strabo, xv.) affords us a still better clue, by telling us that "the river Kur or Cyrus is in the vicinity of Pasargadæ, flowing through hollow Persia, (*Cæle Persis.*) The last term can only mean the deep vales of Sewan and Hajeeabad, which open into that of Merdasht; and the vale of Sewan is only separated from the plain of Mourg-aub by the range of hills which bounds the latter to the southward. Through the plain of Mourg-aub, and amongst these hills, winds the Kur-aub towards the valleys of Sewan and Hajeeabad; traversing the whole of that hollow country, till it falls into the Araxes or Bundemir, something west of Persepolis. Mourg-aub is distant from Persepolis forty-nine measured English miles. It lies north-eastward of that capital, and the Kur flows at no great distance from the ruins described. All these features, therefore, agreeing with the picture of Pasargadæ drawn by Strabo, we can have no hesitation in declaring them much more like the place, than any of those pretensions can be, which are brought by forced reasonings, on still more forced etymologies on their names. But the late able discourses written on the subject, since the investigation of Mourg-aub by Mr. Morier, and the translation of its inscriptions by Professor Grottefund, seem to have set the question so satisfactorily and entirely at rest, that henceforth the traveller who visits the ruins on this plain, may assuredly say to himself, "On that throne sat *Cyrus, Lord, King, and Ruler of the world! In that small house of stone, lies Cyrus, King of Kings! Covet not the little earth that covers his body!*"

June 15th. Quitted the village of Mourg-aub at five o'clock this morning, keeping in a direction nearly due south, and

leaving the tomb of Cyrus, with the other ruins of Pasargadæ, on our right. The country we passed over was in the most fruitful cultivation; well answering the description of Arrian, "fields, covered with high grass, and long tracts, golden with the swelling harvest." On our way, we started a serpent, five feet in length; its head was extremely small, belly a pale yellow, and back black with bright green stripes; the thickest part of his body was about the diameter of a gun-barrel. Several tortoises also crawled along the sides of the road; and, indeed, we found the soil prolific of this inferior kind of animal life, as well as in the abundant vegetation which furnished them food to repletion.

About four miles farther, we passed the nearly deserted village of Mesched Omoum; and after another farsang's march, crossed the deep bed of a stream which takes its rise in the mountains behind the royal tomb, and flowing onward, ultimately falls into the Kur-aub. Turning our back on the plain, we soon commenced an ascent over an extremely difficult path, being too unformed and rugged to merit the name of a road. But our guide told us, it was a farsang shorter than the usual route, which lay more to the eastward; and, forgetting the wisdom of the old proverb, "the farthest way about being often the nearest way home," I was tempted to take the near cut; and, at the manifest danger of all our necks, mounted almost trackless heights; and having achieved them, had as slippery and hazardous declivities to descend cautiously, before we could reach the bottom of the mountains on their southern slope. We were full two hours in making the descent, but then found ourselves in the pleasant little valley of Kemine, which is about a farsang wide. We passed through the village that bears its name, and halted at another called Buchun, at the southern side of the vale. It

consists of a cluster of fortified houses, standing close under the hills in that quarter; above them shoot the rough and ragged cliffs. We arrived at half past ten o'clock. The road I was persuaded to leave, makes the distance from Mourg-aub four farsangs, but it is by far the best.

June 16th. We left our quarters this morning at four o'clock, taking a course down the vale nearly due west; the boundaries on both sides, of craggy naked cliffs, forming a bold contrast to the enamelled verdure below. Having ridden about four miles, we arrived at the base of a small insulated hill, scattered over with the remains of walls of the old mud fabric; and said to be the ruins of one of the many hunting-seats with which Baharam Gour filled this fine part of his dominions, distinguishing each place by the name of red, black, yellow, or white castle. Immediately opposite to it, we found a deep cavern, containing two or three interior caves, whence issues a particularly translucent spring. The natives around told us, that it was formerly inhabited by a succession of holy persons. Innumerable old lamps still left in the place, testify something of the story. Besides, the situation, as a retreat for religious abstraction, is perfectly in character with the ideas of the ancients: retiring to the vicinity of fountains, to perform pious or philosophical vigils, and to converse with the spiritual world, was a common custom from the earliest times, both amongst the pagans of Europe and of Asia. We find Numa, at the fount of Egeria; and Kai Khoosroo (as Ferdoussi tells us,) laying aside the diadem of Iran, to immure himself in divine contemplations, in a cave watered by a sacred spring. Water, indeed, appears a very reasonable companion to these hermits; first, as an emblem of the purification they seek; and secondly, as one of the only

refreshments their abstinence allows. The place we had seen, is still known by the appellation of the *Cave of the Forty Daughters;* a presumption that the devotees spoken of were of the female sex, which throws the religious dedication of this cavern to a period anterior to the introduction of the Mahomedan faith. The term *forty*, when attributed to any collection of objects, is not always by these Eastern people intended to declare that precise number, but rather to express any indefinite calculation, whether of persons or things; and, generally, with the hyperbolical view of insinuating that the number is beyond calculation. Hence, both at Ispahan and Persepolis, we hear of a *Palace of Forty Pillars;* here, we have the *Cave of Forty Daughters;* and in " the Arabian Nights Tales," we are told a story of *Forty Thieves.*

Two farsangs terminated our western direction, by bringing us to the end of the high wall of mountains on the southern side of the valley, round which we turned our steps, pointing our faces almost due south, after having crossed *forty* little naiads in the way. These beautiful rivulets run rippling along in every direction, sparkling through the high grass, till absorbed in the broader stream, they accompany its winding course amongst the deeper hollows of the hills. Two miles further, brought us to the village of Sewan-pa-ine; but its bare walls alone received us; the inhabitants having all withdrawn themselves to the cooler atmosphere of the low ground, under shelter of their mountains and black hair-cloth tents. The thermometer in the shade was at 86 Fahrenheit. The fertility in the depths of the vale, continued without interruption to its sides; every inch of earth being cultivated close to the abrupt feet of the cliffs. The river flowed through it in a sinuous southern course.

Sewan-pa-ine is four farsangs from Buchun, our former halting-place.

June 17th. We set forth this morning at half-past three o'clock; not over the dews, but through a refreshing air, which blew till the sun had power to check its course. Our way lay up the valley, south 45° east, and at the expiration of an hour, we passed Sewan-bala, a village most romantically situated amongst the rocky promontories on the face of the mountain to our right. In that mountain I saw whence the materials, in all probability, had been taken, which composed the buildings, which we would now call those of Pasargadæ; the whole visible substance of the hill being of white marble, cleft in parts, as if the remains of ancient quarries, where several half-hewn masses lay, fairly corroborating the truth of my supposition. Transportation of the blocks from hence to Mourg-aub, would not demand much labour; the distance not being more than eight farsangs from that plain; and the road almost a level; with the exception of the pass near Kemine, which loses its difficulties by ascending it in the common track.

At the termination of two farsangs more, the valley expanded considerably; and we gradually gained a direction nearly west, entering a vale which leads straight to Nakshi-Roostam. In our way we passed the village of Saied-abad; and, after a march of three hours in all, halted at Hadjee-abad; a distance of about twelve miles from our last quarters. The river, which through all its wanderings generally bore the name of Kur-aub, and near whose banks we had so long shaped our course, at the point where the vale of Sewan expands to a plain, divides itself into two branches; one flowing through the country at the back of the Persepolitan hills; the other fills a rocky channel in the

Two Pehlevi inscriptions near Nakshi-Rustam

London Published by Longman &c. 1824

valley of Hadjee-abad, retaining its own celebrated title till it is lost in that of the Bund-emir.

The valley, or rather dell of Hadjee-abad, cannot be more than two miles in extent from end to end; the most western extremity being formed by the rocks of Nakshi-Roustam, which stretch three miles from the village of Hadjee-abad, in a direction north 68° west. The whole of the northern side of the valley is one succession of perpendicular cliffs, pile above pile, almost entirely of white marble; their uneven summits taking the boldest and wildest forms, broken into yawning chasms, and divided by deep rents, torn by the rushing waters; whose headlong plunge from the superior heights at certain seasons, make themselves hidden channels through the fissures in the lower piles; hence, insinuating their course through veins in the mountains which never see the day, they collect in fuller streams, and pass at the bottom of many caverns, at the mouths of which the traveller may stand and hear the constant echoings of the rushing waters within. About noon of the day that I halted at Hadjee-abad, I was shewn a piece of antiquity in one of these caves, which I believe has not hitherto been noticed. It lies about a mile, nearly north, from the village. The entrance is exceedingly lofty; and within, the cavern is still more so. We see that nature originally formed it of an immense heighth and depth; but not satisfied with her amplitude, manual labour has added fifty yards of excavation in the vaulted roof. Along the right side, we found several square places hewn in the rock; two, nearest the entrance, at about six or seven feet from the floor of the cave, were filled with inscriptions (Plate XV.); both were in the Pelhivi character, not much injured, but widely differing from each other; one consists of sixteen lines, the

other of fourteen. I copied them with all the accuracy in my power, being much impeded by the height and darkness of their position. One portion of the three upper lines, I could not make out in the least. Each inscription occupies a whole excavated tablet of about four feet in width. Should these copies meet the attention of the learned Mons. de Sacey, it may be hoped that, under his translation, they will cast some light upon the neighbouring object of a traveller's pilgrimage, the Mountain of Sepulchres at Nakshi-Roustam.

Previous to my visiting this latter interesting spot, I rode to what is called the Harem of Jemsheed; about a mile distant from my quarters, to the south-west. Close under the rocks which form the right side of the valley, rises a high piece of ground, at the foot of whose northern and waving slope, flows the Kur-aub, in a serpentine course, for nearly a mile. On one part of this minor hill we see a magnificent and solitary column, standing pre-eminent over a crowd of ruins, which had evidently belonged to some very spacious and stately edifice. The height of the pillar, judging by its fallen companions, is twenty feet six inches; the top of the shaft is finished by a capital in the form of the head, breast, and bent fore-legs of a bull, richly ornamented with collars and other trappings; which bust-like portion of the animal, is united at the back to a corresponding bust of another bull; both joining just behind the shoulders; but leaving a cavity between, of one foot and eight inches wide, sufficient to admit the end of a square beam of wood or stone, to connect the colonnade. Seven similar columns lying in a broken state on the ground near that which still stood erect, afforded me an opportunity to collect the proportions and measurement of the other. They are composed of a very dark

Pl. 16

Sir Robert Porter

T. Clark sc.

Rocks at Nakshi Roustam, with their various Excavations.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row. 1820.

grey marble, fluted with masterly execution; and possess a beauty and sharpness, as fresh as if the work of only yesterday. I carefully made a drawing of one of them, in all its parts, to a scale by which its proportions and singular architecture may be seen. (Plate XLV. fig. A.) A few yards to the north-east from this fallen group of columns, we found remains of thick walls, and the yet unmutilated marble-work of several large door-frames. Indeed, the surface of the whole stretch of this immense hilly terrace is covered with mounds of ruins, noble fragments of the finest architectural parts of a building, and several pieces of pillars and capitals of still greater dimensions than the one described. By examination, it appears evident that two distinct large edifices have stood here; apparently a palace and a temple; and, independent of their appropriate remains, we perceive it has been a fortified place. Its local situation admirably adapts it for that post, entirely commanding the entrance into the great valley; and the foundations of the embattled walls and towers which surrounded it, are yet standing. From this position, and these remains, it seems likely to have been one of the superb citadels to which Persian writers have given the name of Sheekwan. Its northern bank is washed by the Kur-aub; and at the foot of its southern slope, between it and the mountain, passes the road, which was formerly closed in upon the present fortress of the valley, by an enormous gate; the architecture and solidity of the walls, of which shew the antiquity of the structure, and the importance of its situation.

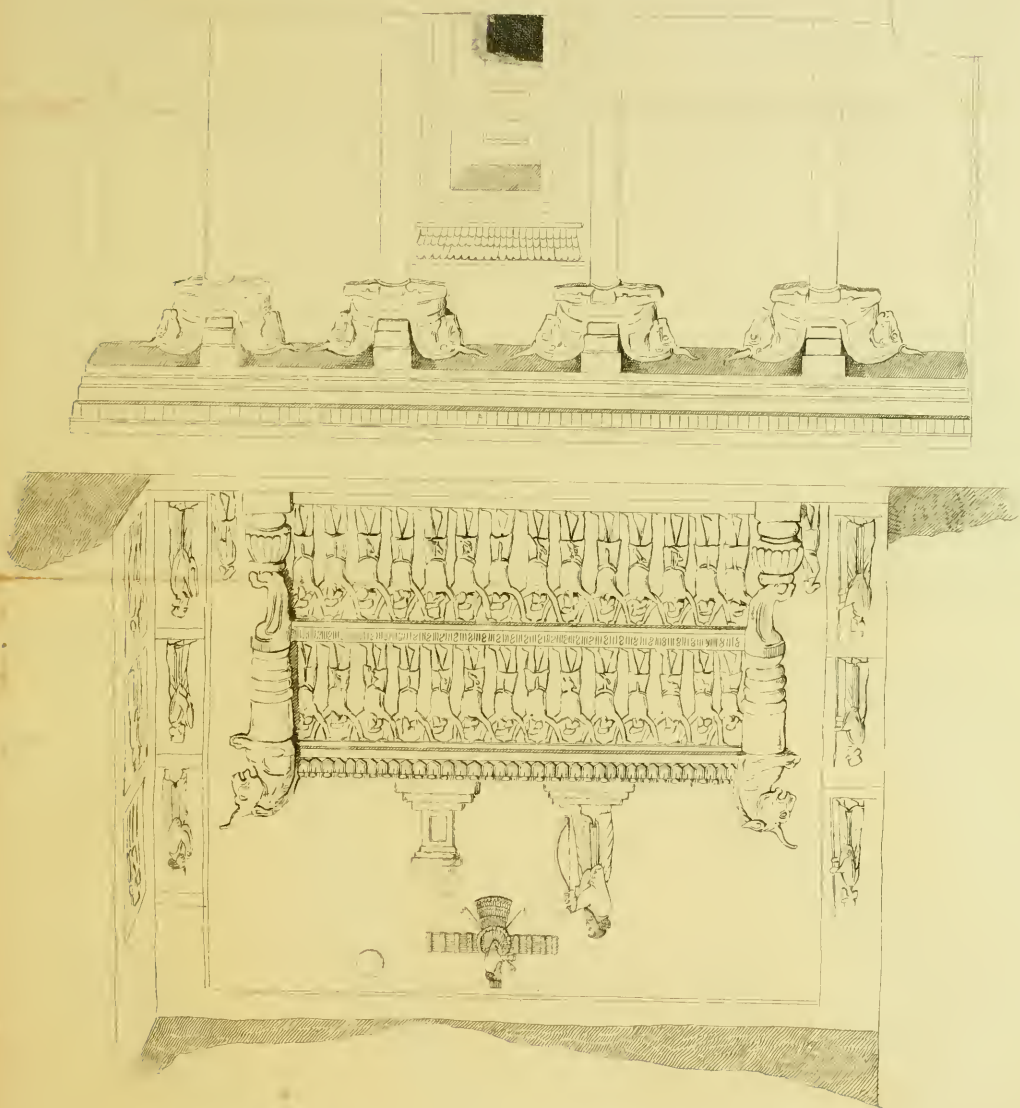
Nakshi-Roustam, or the Mountain of Sepulchres, (Plate XVI.) was the next object of my investigation. The village in which I had taken up my quarters, is distant from the mountain nearly three miles; and my daily visits were performed at sun-rise,

where I remained, fully occupied, until the heat of the day drove me away, by becoming insupportable amongst those unshaded rocks.

The face of the mountain is almost a perpendicular cliff, continuing to an elevation of scarcely less than three hundred yards; the substance is a whitish kind of marble. In this have been cut the celebrated sculptures and excavations, so long the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist, and the antiquary. These singular relics of Persian greatness are placed very near each other, and are all contained within the space of not quite the height of the mountain.

Those highest on the rock are four; evidently intended for tombs, and as evidently of a date coeval with the splendour of Persepolis. The range below, vary in ability of execution; and are all in a very inferior taste to those above; their sculptures chiefly represent combats and groups of people. I shall speak of them particularly hereafter; but, at present, I press immediately to those above, as preceding the last in time and merit.

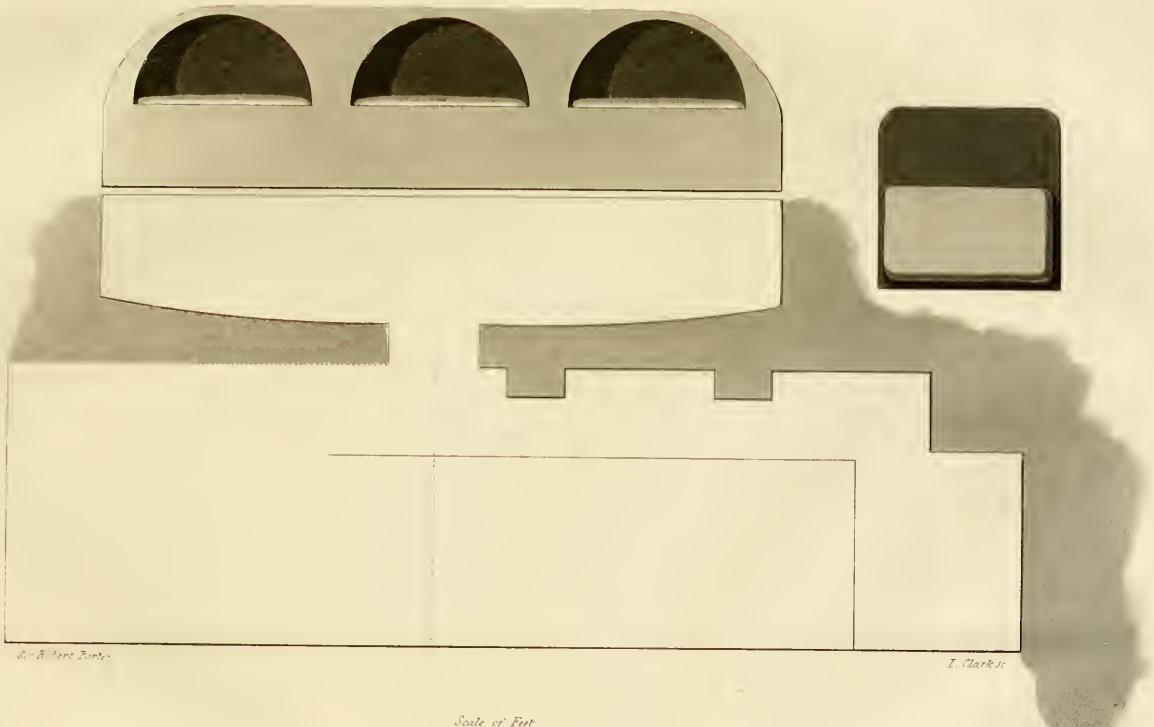
These four sepulchres differ in no way exteriorly; hence we may suppose they vary as little within; and the description of one may, generally, describe them all. The one I examined consists of an excavation of about fourteen feet, cut into the solid rock, in a form something resembling the Greek cross. (Plate XVII.) The upright division of it cannot be less than a hundred feet from end to end. The transverse lines present the front of the tomb. The face of the division below them, is a smooth surface; its base terminating in a deep hollow cut in the rock. The highest compartment is thickly sculptured with figures. The front of the tomb is ornamented by four round pilasters, distant from each other about seven feet, and as far from the caverned sides of the excavation. Their bases terminate by a tor on a plinth,



projecting from the face of the tomb one foot six inches. Their shafts are crowned by the double-bulls I have before described. But a horn issues from the foreheads of these. An additional capital (composed of three square stones piled on each other, the smallest and lowest fitting into the cavity between the bulls' necks, with the largest stone at the top,) supports an architrave, without any decoration, excepting a range of modillions near its upper ledge. The perfect elevation of the front of a building, where that sort of pillar was used, being shewn in the façade of this tomb, we see the intention of the hollow between the bulls' backs; and that the strength of its form is calculated rather for the support of a roof, than the connecting material of a mere colonnade. Hence we may conclude, that wherever we find these capitals, the structure to which they were attached was covered in. The temples of Mithra were on *high places*, and open above, until the time of Darius Hystaspes; who, on the reformation of the religion of the country, by Zerdusht, the Zoroaster of the Greeks, drew a roof over the temples, the better to preserve the sacred fire on the altars from accidents of the weather. Had we yet to prove the fact that the ruins at Mourg-aub are those of Pasargadæ, this change in the construction of the holy buildings would support the idea, that in the magnificent remains of the open temple at Mourg-aub, we see an erection of Cyrus. But to return to the tomb. Between the two centre pilasters, is the entrance. The door-frame is finely proportioned, with a curved projecting architrave nicely fluted, and divided into leaves. But the greater part of the apparent door is only marked like one; the entrance being confined to a square space of four feet six inches high, in its lower compartment. The breadth in the rock, which the whole front

occupies, is fifty-three feet. For the details of its proportions, see the plan, (Plate XVIII.) all drawn to a scale of measurement, as far as was within my reach.

The division above the front of the tomb is the excavation which contains the sculptured figures, and is cut in the way of a sort of frame inclosing them. The representation within consists of a double tier of fourteen figures each, in the style of caryatides, with their hands raised over their heads, supporting two beautifully friezed cornices. The figures are all habited the same, in short tunics; some having their waists bound with a simple belt; and others with a dagger pending from it, on the right hip; all are bare-headed, but the hair being very bushy, has the appearance of a wig. These persons, with the cornices they support, form the face of a kind of elevated platform, something like our ancient table-tombs, but there is no comparison in the dimensions. Each side of the structure is finished by a pillar of a very extraordinary shape. We may divide it into four parts; the base resembles an urn, on which rests the huge paw and limb of a lion, descending from the columnar part of the pillar, which is fluted horizontally half-way up; and from its summit issues the head and shoulders of the unicorn-bull, but without ornaments. The back of the neck unites it with the highest cornice, which forms the top of the structure; therefore the heads of the two bulls which form the pillars at each end, rise higher than the plane they support. On this plane stands a figure, elevated on a pedestal of three steps. He is dressed in an ample robe flowing to his ancles; in his left hand he holds a strung bow; his right arm is stretched half out with the hand quite open; bracelets are round the wrists, his head is bare, the hair bushy behind, and neatly curled; his beard falls



Inside of one of the Tombs at Nakshi Roustam.

London, Pub. by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820

to the breast. Opposite to him, rises another pedestal of three steps; this is surmounted by an altar, evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top; high over it, to the right, we see a globular shape, doubtless intended for the sun, of which the fire below was the offspring and the emblem. These altars always stood towards the East, that the worshipper might face the point whence the great source of light ascended; and we here find the orb in the same direction. Another figure floats aloft in the air, between the altar and the Archimagus or High Priest, (for such, it is probable, we may regard the man in the robe,) appearing as if it had issued from the sun; it approaches the man from that point. This aerial personage, or rather, perhaps, divine intelligence, seems supported by something like a collection of sun-beams, thickly carved in waving horizontal and perpendicular lines, interspersed with several divisions of narrow cloud-shaped masses of stone. The radiation is not circular, but forms three distinct collections of rays, pointing east and west, and downwards; they diverge from a ring or halo, out of the midst of which rises the figure; it being entirely above this "beamy chariot," from the waist upwards. It is habited in a robe similar to that of the man on the pedestal, with the hair and beard in the same fashion; but the head is covered with a fluted crown; the left hand holds a large and massy ring; the right is elevated and open, as if in the act of admonition; a couple of bands, apparently the ends of his girdle, flow down through the circle and beams in which the figure appears; thus proving the aerial texture of the seeming vehicle. But when we compare its forms, and the workmanship of its details, and its position with regard to its occupier, with the wings and finely wrought feathers of the bas-relief at

Pasargadæ, we can be in no doubt, from the entire difference between them, that the *radii* we have been describing, form a means of passing through the air totally distinct from the personage that uses it.

I have mentioned that this monumental elevation, with its altar and other appendages, is comprised within a square frame of stone; on the four exterior surfaces, at the front and the sides, we find figures three deep, stationed one above the other; those to the right of the altar, with their faces towards the back of the man on the pedestal, are clothed in robes similar to his; and they have bonnets on their wig-like hair, resembling in shape the crown on the head of the spiritual being described, but with the difference of not being fluted; these persons are armed with spears; there are three of them in a perpendicular line on the front of the western aspect of the frame; and six, rank and file, on the side. In the opposite direction, on that part of the frame which is to the left of the altar, in the front, is a perpendicular line three deep, of figures in precisely the same sort of dress as the spearmen, with the difference of these having no weapons whatever. These also look towards the altar, and appear as mourners, their left hands being raised to their faces, holding a part of their garments, as if wiping away their tears. Another line of figures is sculptured on the side of the frame, to which the three mourners are the front; but here, only one in three is in a weeping attitude.

Having fully examined the exterior of the tombs, my next object was to penetrate their interior; an attempt of no little danger, as well as fatigue. (Plate XIX.) There were no other means by which a stranger to these heights could reach them, but by the expedient of tying a rope round his waist, and some

A Bas relief at Nakshi Roustam

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C Heath sc

strong arms above, hauling him upwards. I immediately looked out for assistants. My mehmandar was at his stories and forebodings again, for tempting such dæmon-wrought places. But the peasantry of this district seemed to know better than to have fear of either deev or difficulty; and one of them more active and sinewy than the rest, managed to scramble up the perpendicular cliff, like a rat hanging by a wall; and, gaining the ledge of the platform, or vestibule to the tomb, he lowered down a rope, by which some of his nimble companions assisted themselves in ascending. I followed the example, by fastening the rope round my waist, and by their united exertions was speedily drawn up to the place of rendezvous. The distance was sufficiently high from the ground to give me time for thought; and during my ascent, in a manner so totally dependent on the dexterity of others, I could not but recollect the fate of half-a-dozen kinsmen of Darius Hystaspes, who had all perished at once in the very same expedition. Ctesias relates, that this great Persian monarch "caused a tomb to be dug for him while he yet lived, in the double mountain; but when it was completed, the Chaldean soothsayers forbid him to enter it during his life under a penalty of some terrible danger. Darius was intimidated, but some princes of his family could not resist a strong curiosity which impelled them to view its interior. They went to the mountain, and by their desire were to be drawn up by the priests who officiated there; but in the act, while they yet hung between earth and air, the sudden appearance of some serpents on the rock so terrified the people above, that they let go the ropes, and the princes were dashed to pieces." On this very spot, more than two thousand years ago, the catastrophe happened. Certainly, being in any noted place, has a

most amazing power in bringing two far distant points of time to meet; at least in the mind that contemplates them. I should have read the history of this disaster at home with almost as little concern as if the people had never existed; here I was on the spot where it happened, and the scene was realized; the persons seemed present with me, and I shuddered for them, while I rejoiced in my own safety. To incur the least possible danger to myself and my assistants, I had selected the tomb that was nearest the ground; but even that was upwards of sixty feet above its level; and I came off with not a few bruises, from hard knocks against the rock, in my swinging ascent.

Having gained the platform, I made my entrance into the tomb by the opening in the lower compartment of the door, and through a depth between the rocky walls of two feet. I then found myself in a vaulted chamber, completely blackened all over by smoke of some kind, either from lamps or other fires; the place was stifling and gloomy; at its farther extremity were three arched recesses, which occupy the whole length of the chamber; each contains a trough-like cavity cut down into the rock, and covered with a stone of corresponding dimensions. Every one of these covers have been broken near the corners, evidently to give a view to the person who committed the mischief, of what the sarcophagus might contain. I had a light introduced into the whole three, by which I saw the remotest cranny, and all were alike perfectly empty; not even any loose dust, that might have witnessed some former mouldered inhabitant. If these covers have at any time been removed, they have been very carefully replaced.

The length of the cave which forms the whole tomb, is thirty-

four feet, its height nine; each catacomb containing the deepened cavity for the body, is also nine feet from the top of its arch to the bottom of the cavity; the length of the sarcophagus cavity is eight feet three inches by five feet, its depth four feet four inches; the rest of the height being contained in the bend of the arch. The open space of the chamber, between the catacombs and the door, is about five feet; the entrance had originally been closed by a block, or blocks of stone, the deep holes being visible on each side which received their pivots. I observed some vestiges within of the mode of hanging so ponderous a security; but the avidity of the spoilers for lead and iron has injured every part where the objects of their cupidity could be rent away. The surface of the door, as it appears without, which will be seen in the drawing, is divided into four compartments; the lower one is entirely taken away, being now quite open to the air, with a small part also of the second division broken off, which probably happened when the passage was forced. When we look on these violences, committed on the last resting-places of the great, we cannot but be sensible that the humblest graves are the securest. The actual door of entrance, from every mark that remains of its former position, could not have been more than four feet in height, but the space is now six inches higher, since that much was broken away from the compartment above.

Having examined to the utmost of my ability every thing that could be seen in this curious monument of the most ancient times, I was lowered down on the level ground, and thence viewed the succeeding interesting objects of the rock.

Amongst the three remaining tombs, that which lies farthest to the eastward of the one I had explored, is cut in a receding angle of the mountain, and therefore faces the west; from which

fortunate position, its sculptured surface is less exposed to the burning effect of the sun, or any other injurious extreme in the weather; hence the delicate chiselling of its figures and their ornaments, with other exterior parts of the tomb, are in finer preservation than the others which look directly south-east. The second tomb from this last mentioned, is the only one whereon the marks of inscription can be traced; but over the whole tablet of the upper compartment, letters are visible wherever they could be introduced; above the figures, between them and the altar, along the sides, from top to bottom, in short, every where, we see it covered with the arrow-headed characters, and in good preservation. In the compartment below the sculptured division, inscriptions are there also between the two pillars on the left of the door; I counted several hundred lines, but these appeared in a very impaired state; any of the writing is with difficulty discerned with the naked eye, the tomb being so very high from the plain where I stood; but with my glass, I could discover every letter perfectly distinct. What a treasure of information doubtless was there to the happy man who could decypher it! It was tantalizing to a painful degree, to look at such "a sealed book," in the very spot of mystery, where, probably, its contents would explain all. But it certainly is a very distinguishing peculiarity of this tomb, that it alone should contain any inscription, and that the writing on it is so abundant; a circumstance that might warrant the supposition of this being the tomb that was cut by the express orders of Darius Hystaspes to receive his remains; for Strabo mentions that an inscription was on it, and part of which he gives. By great labour, and patience, and time, and the aid of a telescope, this invaluable relic might be copied. I cannot but hope that

this will be done by some one of the many learned and indefatigable travellers who direct their researches to this part of the East; and that Professor Grottefund's talents may be exercised in developing its meaning. From its length, it must contain much matter; from its diffusion over the monument, probably a great variety; and we might find some light on the obscurity in which the original name of Persepolis is involved; besides, we might gain a knowledge of the era in which the Persian kings first dedicated this rock to the rites of sepulture; but, should it not convey any of these informations, still it were worth the pains of translation; for it could hardly fail of deciding the point, whether the ashes of Darius Hystaspes reposed here, or that we must look for his tomb in the sepulchral mountain of Persepolis.

Cyrus was the first of the Persian kings whom history records as having ordered his tomb to be constructed during his life; but we do not find that it was to be erected in this, or on any other mountain, nor in the metropolis of his ancestors, but at Pasargadæ, the city of his own founding, and it was to be of a very singular shape. Yet, notwithstanding that he only is noticed as having concerned himself on such an occasion, there is no reason for concluding that he was actually the first prince of that country who had marked for himself a particular place of interment. To some, anxiety respecting the disposal of our mortal remains after death, appears an instinct of nature; but, though others deny the existence of such an idea as innate, we may yet find sufficient argument for the feeling, and its universality amongst mankind in all ages, from the reasonableness of the thing. I do not speak of a person under the light of revelation, who cannot but respect the depository of the body which is to

share the immortality of the resurrection, but of the heathen world; where little was commonly known from religion, but directions for its rites. Man, left entirely to his own conjectures respecting his nature, cannot fail to be anxious about what may be the condition of the only part of himself of which he has any certain knowledge, his body, after that dereliction of all its powers which we call death; since he can by no means be sure how long his consciousness of being may, some way, be connected with that body. Hence we find the misery recorded by poets of Greece and Rome, of a ghost fated to wander the shores of Styx, till his corse has derived the rites of sepulture. This impression being generally received, was enough to make all men in those ages, solicitous to prepare their own place of lasting repose; and, when kings had the object so entirely in their own power, it is not to be doubted they would also make it a part of their magnificence. Besides, we have it in many a page of history that from the twilight view which even the wisest of them had of man's future eternal state, they so mingled its spirituality with the grossest matter, that they supposed his heavenly happiness increased in proportion to the offerings consecrated at his tomb, and to the living creatures sacrificed to his manes. The heart is often inclined to two opposite actions, with regard to a departed person high in its esteem: to pray for his felicity one moment, and to beseech his intercession for comfort to itself, in the next. Something of this enthusiasm of regret on one side, as well as of antecedent pride on the other, has, doubtless, been instrumental in elevating the heroes of antiquity to the honours of deification. And, again; the same human judgment which made men gods, estimated the dispositions of gods by the temper of men, and supposed that the new inmate

of heaven, must rise in the respect of its ancient possessors, in proportion to the incense which smoked to him from his altars on earth. Hence arose successive sacrifices to these demi-deities, to propitiate their intercession with the higher powers, and, by such honours to the new god, to incline those higher powers more readily to yield to his mediation. Something of this, we must understand, in the monthly immolation of a horse to the shade of Cyrus; which was duly sent for that purpose to the priestly guardians of his tomb, by his son and successor Cambyses. (Arrian, lv. c. 29.) These ideas, which both princes and people generally entertained of the destined apotheosis of great men, would naturally add another stimulus to kings, to prepare and adorn the tombs that were likely to become their temples. From these reflections, we may fairly infer that some of the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam, and others at Persepolis, are quite as ancient, if not anterior, to the age of the great founder of the Persian empire. Persepolis, by whatever name it was then known, may reasonably be supposed to have existed many generations before the son of Cambyses and Mandana became its sovereign. According to the most ancient native accounts extant, Persia was governed from a very remote period by a race of kings, called the Paishdadian line (meaning the *distributors of justice*,) amongst whom was the renowned Jemsheed; and from whom, these authors relate, Cyrus was descended. The founding of Persepolis is attributed to this race of kings, and hence its name in the country is Tackt-i-Jemsheed, or the throne of Jemsheed. Why then may we not ascribe the first design of these sepulchral caves to some of the very ancient princes of that line? Professor Heeren, in his *Notice on Persepolis*, observes, while classing the monuments of antiquity in and near that

place, " that the tombs near it, indubitably belong to no later a time than the early Persian empire; and, probably, to a period *much before it.*"

At any rate, by whomever they were originally constructed, we have a variety of testimonies to the antiquity of their existence, and to what purpose they were designed. Diodorus (l. ii.) states, that " there were tombs dedicated to the Persian Kings in the mountain behind Persepolis;" and Ctesias, when mentioning that which was made by order of Darius Hystaspes, says, " It was in *the double mountain;*" ἐν τῷ διττῷ ὄρει, an expression that admits the inference of there being *another mountain*, in like manner devoted to royal sepulture; and that he made his election between them.

Throughout the Persian histories, we find the most scrupulous regard paid to bearing the remains of their kings and princes to the royal cemetery; and Q. Curtius (l. v.) records, that " Alexander so respected the *established customs* of the country, that when the body of Darius was found, he caused it to be embalmed; and sent it to his mother, Sysigambis, that it might be *buried after the manner of the Kings of Persia, and in the tombs of his ancestors.*"

Herodotus gives two accounts of the ancient manner of disposing of their dead. First, that the Magi enclosed the body in wax, and then consigned it to the tomb. This, no doubt, was the mode of embalming; and bestowed on the great alone. The second process was horrible. The deceased were exposed on the tops of buildings to be the prey of birds, and then their bones were buried. The same practice is mentioned in the Zendavesta, where it is said, that Zerdusht (Zoroaster) ordered the dead to be laid on the roofs of certain edifices, " where

neither man nor water passeth ;" and there remain till the birds had devoured, or time wasted away the flesh; when the bones were to be collected, and thrown into " a large cavity, in the middle of the public sepulchre." This latter part of the injunction seems to assign so disgusting a mode of obsequies to the lower ranks of people, who would be likely to fill a grave in common ; while the ancient tombs, we see so evidently shaped to contain separate bodies, must have been prepared for the nobler class, who were privileged to carry their limbs whole to their mother earth, and wrapped in " gorgeous cearments." In the book of the Persian prophet *Abad* (the first in the *Desatir*), verse 154, it is written, " A corpse you may place in a vase of aquafortis, or consign it to the fire, or to the ground." (Vide translation by Moullah Firuz, Parse at Bombay.) Certainly a more decent style of sarcophagus than the gorge of carnivorous birds!

The objects that have just been described, on the upper part of the Mountain of Sepulchres, being allowed to belong to the early race of Persian monarchs, whose dynasty terminated under the sword of Alexander the Great, we next turn to the remains which mark the lower line of the rock, and which are attributed to kings of the Arsacedian, and Sassanian race. The Arsacedian, or Parthian dynasty, took its name from Arsaces, a Parthian prince, who recovered Persia from the successors of Alexander, within a century after its subjugation by that conqueror. And, when we compare the sculpture on the tombs, with these lower bas-reliefs, we cannot but think it strange to see the taste of the artists degenerated, after they had so long been subjected to the Greeks, who were famed as masters in design and execution. About four hundred years after this Parthian revolution, another took place in favour of the Persian name. A native chief of

that country, professing himself of the blood of Cyrus, drove the Parthians from the throne; and established a new line, under the title of the Sassanian dynasty. His Persian name was Ardashir Babigan; his Greek, Artaxerxes the First; and he was in every way worthy of the noble blood he claimed. Hence, if any of these bas-reliefs be of Parthian origin, some centuries are between them and those of undoubted Sassanian design. At present, the whole number consists of six, in different degrees of preservation, and situated nearly in a line; some even with the ground, and others a few feet above it. The entire six, I have faithfully delineated; neither adding grace, nor restoration, where either might be wanting.

The first under consideration (Plate XIX.) presents itself soon after we pass the tomb in the most eastern direction. Much of it is buried in the earth; the three figures, which are its subject, being now only visible as high as the upper part of the thighs. The two principal are engaged in grasping, with their outstretched arms, a wreath or twisted bandeau, from which hang a couple of waving ends. The first figure, which holds it with his right hand, stands in the right of the sculpture, and appears to be a king. He is crowned with a diadem of a bonnet-shape, round which runs a range of upward fluted ornaments, surmounted with a high balloon-like mass, rising from the middle of the crown. From the imitation of folds in the stone, it is evidently intended to be a decoration of some sort of stuff. A fillet binds the bottom of the head-dress round the forehead; appearing to tie behind, amongst a redundancy of long flowing hair, whence it streams in two waving ends, resembling those from the wreath he is clasping. These loose ribband-like appendages, seem badges of Arsacedian and Sassanian sovereignty;

and we find them attached to various parts of the regal dress in all these remains of antiquity. His hair, as I observed before, is full, flowing, and curled; having nothing of the stiff wig-appearance so remarkable in the bas-reliefs of the race of Cyrus. The beard of this figure is very singularly disposed. On the upper lip, it is formed like mustachios; and grows from the front of the ear, down the whole of the jaw, in neat short curls; but on the chin it becomes a great length, (which, as I have noticed before, seems to be a lasting attribute of royalty in Persia,) and is tied together, just at the point of the chin, whence it hangs like a large tassel. At his ear is the fragment of an immense pearl, and a string of the same is round his neck. His outer robe, or scarf, is fastened on the chest by a double round clasp, and devolves down his back. His tunic has tight long sleeves, and is bound by a belt which passes over the right hip: the folds of the tunic at the top of the belt, are well expressed in the stone. To the other side of this girdle, it is probable the sword is attached, the hilt of which he is grasping with his left hand. But the whole of the rock in this part, over half his figure, and stretching on to the right-side outline of the opposite personage, is deplorably broken away. On my arrival afterwards at Shiraz, a Persian artist showed me a very old drawing of this bas-relief, where the present mutilated space was filled by the upper part of the figure of a boy, crowned with a diadem like the personage on the left, (whom I am about to describe,) and, like the figure of the king, clasping the hilt of his sword with the left hand.

The personage on the left is, without doubt, a woman; the outline of the form making it evident. On her head, we see a large crown of a mural shape; and from its top, where the

balloon-like caul rises from the King's, we find in hers, full and high curling masses, appearing to be part of her hair so disposed. A narrow range of fluted ornament, with its appropriate fillet, encircles the bottom of the diadem; and from it, behind, flows out the usual royal streamers. Long braids of hair hang over her shoulders and on her breast; one comes twisting down from her temple, passing before her ear, over her cheek; the ear sustains a large pearl, of the same size with those round her neck; her outer robe, or scarf, is clasped in front, like her companion's; and, like his, floats away behind; it also lies loose on the shoulders, and has two flowing ends from the clasps, similar to those which would, probably, be found attached to the clasp of the king, did not his arm interfere. A narrow band finishes her waist, carefully tied before with diverging ends. Her dress is exceedingly tight, showing the form of the person, and its sleeves reach even to the knuckles of the hands. The face is much broken, but enough is left to show the gigantic feminine features. Her right hand clasps the wreath with the king.

The third figure visible in the group stands behind the king; and, from some parts of his apparel, appears to be a guard. His beard is short and bushy, and is attached to a very fine countenance, not much mutilated. The hair of his head lies in braids on the back of his neck, and is surmounted by a cap or helmet, bending forward, and crested at the point of the bend with what has once been intended for a horse's head. He holds up his right hand in the attitude of enjoining silence, looking towards the place where the boy's figure has been defaced. His left hand also grasps the pommel of his sword, which is attached to a belt like that of the king. These belts appear to have no other purpose than holding the weapon, seeming to hang loose,

while another band, that is tight, secures the garment round the waist. It is fastened in front, and very neatly tied. No waving ends decorate him, a proof that they are marks of high rank. What is yet visible of this figure measures, from the line of the earth that has encroached on it to the top of his head, five feet ten inches; from the same embankment, to the summit of the crown of the king, seven feet eight inches and a half; and measuring what is seen of the lady, in the same way, it is seven feet five inches. The whole length of the excavation is nineteen feet.

From the composition of this piece, even as it now appears, shewing a royal union, and, as its more perfect former state is exhibited in the drawing I saw at Shiraz, where a boy with a princely diadem completes the group, I find that it corresponds with a Sassanian silver coin in my possession. On that coin are the profiles of a king, a queen, and a boy. On the reverse, is a burning altar, supported by the same man and woman, the latter holding a ring in her right hand. From the Pelhivi legend which surrounds the coin, it is one of the Baharams, which is there written Vahraran. Comparing certain peculiar circumstances which marked the reign of Baharam the Fifth, surnamed Gour, with the design on the coin, and with the figures on this excavation, I should conclude that the king in both is Baharam the Fifth. I have mentioned him before, and in a melancholy account of his death in a gour-hunt, as one of the bravest and best princes of the Sassanian race; or rather, in the words of Sir John Malcolm, "that ever ruled Persia." That author gives a curious anecdote respecting the love of this king towards his queen; and the circumstances which raised her into such high estimation with him, as to induce him to thus commemorate her image with his own. Though the tale is very

extravagant, yet it proves that there were some extraordinary grounds on which he founded so uncommon a reverence for his royal consort; and, as a specimen of the romantic taste of the times, I shall repeat it. The story is told on the spot, where they say it happened.

"The ruling passion of Baharam was the chase; and proud of his excellence as an archer, he wished to exhibit his skill before his most favourite wife. She accordingly accompanied him to the plain; and an antelope was descried at a distance lying asleep. The monarch drew his bow with such precision, that its arrow grazed the animal's ear. The antelope awoke, and put his hind hoof to the spot, to strike off the fly by which he appeared to conceive he was annoyed. The monarch shot again, and pinned the hoof to the horn. The exulting Baharam turned to the lady, with a look that demanded her opinion of his skill; but she coolly observed,—'Practice makes perfect.' So indifferent a reply, where he expected such warm praises, stung him to the soul with disappointment and jealousy; and in the fury of the moment, he ordered her to be carried to the mountains, and exposed to perish. The minister who was to obey this cruel command, took her hence; but, mercifully sparing her life, allowed her to retire under a deep disguise to an obscure village on the mountain-side. She took up her lodgings in the upper chamber of a tower, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a young calf, which she regularly carried once up and down the flight every day. This exercise she continued for four years; and the improvement in her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed his favourite to have been long dead, happened, after a fatiguing chase, to stop one evening at

this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished, and sent to enquire, how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a woman of apparently so truly a feminine form. The young person, who had wrapped herself in her veil, said she would communicate her secret to none but the king ; and to him only, on his condescending to come to the tower alone. Baharam instantly obeyed the summons ; and on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bid him not lavish praises, as if she had performed a miracle, for 'Practice makes perfect!' said the queen, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifting her veil. The king recognised, and embraced her. Struck with the lesson she had thus given him, and delighted with a proof of love, which had induced her for four years to pursue so arduous a plan of convincing him of his mistake in doubting its existence, he restored her to his affection, and rank as his favourite wife; and had a palace built on the spot of their reunion, to commemorate the event."

The female figure in the bas-relief, may very fairly be considered this redoubtable queen; for, notwithstanding the compliment paid to her "feminine form," while carrying her immense burden, we cannot suppose but that its proportions would in some measure spread, to yield such great augmentation of strength. Yet we know that an originally graceful outline, however extended, must always preserve beauty ; and that is sufficiently seen in the Juno port of the queen in the bas-relief, who seems as capable of asserting the rights of sovereignty, as the really manly form of the king by her side. But, setting all this aside, Baharam would only see the strength of his favourite's love, in the increased energies she had acquired to display its power, when the softness of the

heart subdued the heroine to woman in his presence. From that time, she appears to have become the partner of his glory as well as of his pleasures; and he associated her bust with his own on the coins of his empire. The son of their union is also seen on these coins, though now obliterated in the bas-relief; but from the primary authority of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarkh*, so elegantly translated by Malcolm, I think it only completes the animation of the sculptured picture, to transcribe a few of the circumstances which, first from pitying tenderness, and then triumphant affection, drew the young prince so conspicuously near each parent's heart.

"Baharam had a beloved son, but who was considered an idiot. In vain the best masters endeavoured to instruct him; he appeared incapable of all acquirements, and showed indifference to every earthly stimulus. One day his tutor came to the king in despair, and told him that he knew not what to do, for the young prince had added vice to stupidity. 'I have detected him,' cried the good man, 'in an attempt to seduce the beautiful daughter of a peasant who dwells near our palace.' Baharam's countenance beamed with joy:— 'Thank God!' exclaimed he, 'the clay is kindled!'—and sending for the father of the young creature who had thus, in a manner, awakened his son to existence, he spoke to him in these terms:— 'I do not seek to trifle with your honour; but I tell you that your daughter may become the instrument of this nation's happiness. My son loves her, and her power over him may be unbounded. Bid her hold the power, and it will be infinite; but teach her to arouse in him the desire of attaining manly perfection to obtain her. Infuse into her the virtuous ambition, to aim at this end; and she may, without danger to herself, give him sufficient encouragement to keep

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hope alive, and love will do the rest.' The old man engaged to lesson his daughter; and the young woman acted up so exactly to what she was enjoined, that the enamoured prince soon became all that his father wished and the nation hoped."—And afterwards, of course, making her his wife, when he came to the throne on the death of Baharam, the name of Yezdijird the Second was not inferior in renown, for wisdom and valour, to any of the greatest of his race. Indeed, he was so beloved in the army, as to receive the title of *Sipahdest*, or the *Soldier's Friend*. For the precise dates of these sovereigns' reigns, I refer my readers to the table at the beginning of the volume.

The next bas-relief (Plate XX.) is a few paces from the preceding; and, in like manner, weeds and other accidental accumulations, crumbling into dust for ages, have blocked up half the surface of the sculpture. It represents a combat between two horsemen; and has been designed with great fire, and executed in a style very superior to the preceding one. The proportions of the figures are good, and every thing proclaims it to have been the work of a different hand. Hence its general mutilation is doubly to be regretted, on account of the finer specimen of the art at that period, and as a valuable acquisition to elucidate the military costume of the era. The most conspicuous figure is in the act of charging his opponent with a spear, accompanied with considerable grace of contour, and a striking harmony of action in every part of his body. A winged helmet protects his head, between which feathered ornaments rises the oval mass, already described in the head-dress of the monarch in the former bas-relief. From this also devolves long bands, whose floating folds are much better disposed. To each shoulder an ornament is attached of the shape, and in the proportion, of large pine-apples; and another of the same

form is affixed to the top of the horse's head. By its evidently swaying backwards under the action of the air, in the career of the animal, it assumes a tassel-appearance; hence whatever were its principal composition, it must have been overlaid with a light and long fringe-like surface. A very lengthened and large quiver hangs pendant on the warrior's thigh; it is suspended by a belt, and perfectly empty of arrows. A part of the armour, which is still not quite obliterated on this part of the figure, represents some kind of metal formed into scales, but more generally into small plates lying on the limb just above the knee, like that worn by the Knights Templars, as seen on their tombs. No trappings now remain on the horse which he rides, but it is stretched at speed; behind him, scarcely visible, appears an almost effaced form, which must have been the standard-bearer; that ensign being yet very plain, aloft in the air in that part of the group. It consists of a staff surmounted by a large ring; beneath is a transverse bar, with each end attached to a hanging tassel of an enormous size, and of the fringed pine-apple shape of those described on the warrior and his horse. His opponent is also mounted on a charger, but both man and horse are so obliterated, that little remains except the general contour of the rider and a few traces of the steed; yet the spirit in both survives the mutilation. Indeed, notwithstanding the remains of the horses are rather clumsy, there is a surprising effect of concurring motion through the whole group. The spear of this second warrior is elevated in the air, in an oblique direction. His helmet is rather of a Grecian form, and something like the crest of that character crowns it. He likewise has streamers flowing about him, but not so amply as his adversary. A prostrate figure lies under the belly of the principal figure's horse. This excavation is twenty-four feet in length, and twelve in height.

The winged helmet on the head of the principal warrior, resembles that on the head of Baharam, on the coin I have lately mentioned, which might be one argument for this bas-relief being meant to represent the same hero; but there is another evidence in favour of the supposition, in my opinion yet more conclusive. It rests on a curious fact which took place during one of his wars with the Tartars:—He went to meet the Khan of Transoxania, who was in the field against him at the head of a very great power; Baharam's numbers were so insufficient in comparison, that he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered, that on the head, and about every man's horse, should be fastened a bladder or dried skin, filled with small stones; the noise these made when his troops charged, threw those of the enemy into confusion. A dreadful carnage ensued; and amongst the slain was the Tartar chief himself, who had met his fate from the arm of the Persian monarch.

The subject of the bas-relief under consideration, may commemorate this achievement; and the pine-apple, or tassel-like forms on the steed of the king, as well as on his shoulders, be specimens of the happy expedient which had promoted his victory. It is not to be doubted that these bladder auxiliaries would be ornamented some way, to conceal from the apprehension of the enemy what they really were, and also whence the noise came. The battle is said to have been fought near the city of Rhey; and the unfinished bas-relief, still extant amongst the rocks above that place, appears to be a repetition of the same event; for the head of the horse there, and the shoulders of the warrior, are appendaged with similar fringed orbs.

Baharam the Fifth, surnamed Gour, whom these two sculptures so probably commemorate, reigned eighteen years, beloved by

his people, and dreaded by his enemies, before the fatal catastrophe befel him in the chase, which terminated his life, A.D. 438.

The third bas-relief (Plate XXI.) is found in a perfect state, when compared with the others; and consists of four figures. The principal one is mounted on horseback, and certainly a king, from his whole attire. His crown is mural-pointed, and surmounted with the huge balloon-shaped mass of the former sculptures. The hair from under this diadem, which is not otherwise ornamented, flows on each side of the head in thick bunches of curls. The face is well cut with a marked expression of stern pride. The beard is disposed like that of the king in the first bas-relief. This figure too has a large pearl hanging to his ear, and a string of the same round his neck. A robe, clasped upon the breast, floats in ample waves at his back. His tunic resembles that already described on the person of the king in the first bas-relief; but here we see the whole of it; there, only to the hip. In this figure, it flows in many a twisting intricate fold to half-way down the thigh, where it meets a button, which seems to confine a trowser of a similar drapery kind of taste, and reaches as low as the ancle: there, the foot is broken off; but we still see a pair of ribband-like streamers which have been attached to it. His left hand clinches the hilt of his sword, which hangs to his belt, with the ends of a sword-knot pendant from the hilt. His right arm is stretched out, while he grasps in that hand the clasped hands of a person, who stands in that posture of submission before the head of his horse. The trappings of the animal are simple: a large rose ornaments the breast-plate or leather so called, resting nearly on the shoulder of the horse; a second decoration of the same kind is attached

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to the strap that passes under the tail, and lies on the flank. The tail itself is curiously twisted with ribbands, and garnished with floating ends. A chain, coming from under the seat of the figure, and hanging down over the side of the horse, sustains a large tassel; which is so perfectly represented as to allow me to describe it particularly. It seems to have been nothing more than a quantity of hair, silk, or probably gold fringe, issuing from an acorn-like head; forming a singular appendage to equestrian trappings; but I should presume a useful one, to disperse, by its motion, flies from annoying the horse.

Behind the royal figure, stands a man holding his right hand up, in the attitude of enjoining silence. A round-topped cap covers his head, with a sort of badge on its side, like part of a flower. Several close braids of hair hang from beneath it. The face is considerably damaged; but, certainly, never had beard nor mustachios; and looks more like a eunuch than a woman, which probably he was, and as likely one of that order of attendants, which used to be denominated mutes. The third figure in the first bas-relief appears to have the same character; only half of this person is seen, from the chest upwards; the rest being covered with a large open scroll, on which an inscription is written in Pehlivi characters, very full, but much defaced. It consists of seventy-eight lines. I copied two or three of them, to preserve a memorandum of the writing; and have to lament that it was not in my power to accomplish more. I can have no doubt that it contained the history of the subject in question. The length of the scroll is eight feet, and the inscription covers half its surface.

There are two figures near the head of the horse, habited in the Roman garb, their heads bound with chaplets of laurel. I have already mentioned that the royal personage on horseback

grasps the hands of the one of the two figures which stands upright. To put the hands between those of another, who claims superiority either by inheritance or conquest, has, in many countries, been considered the acknowledging act of submission and vassalage. The other Roman is bent on one knee, with his arms extended in a supplicating posture; and the expression of his face declares the same. Both figures have large rings round their ankles, probably intended by the victors for the fixture of chains; such bracelets never having been a part of the Roman dress. The whole length of this excavation is thirty-seven feet; that of the horse occupies fourteen of it. I cannot praise the general execution of the piece; the human figures, as well as the horse, being heavy and ill-proportioned; and all, with the exception of the heads of the king and the horse, very roughly worked. Those heads are evidently by a different hand from the one which completed the rest.

The great similitude in the face of the Persian king in this group, with that on the coins which I have seen, and have in my own possession, of Shapoor, the second monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, and the Sapor I. of the Roman history; also, the diadem being the same; and the subject of this design agreeing so well with the prominent event of Shapoor's reign, his conquest over the Roman Emperor Valerian, and the circumstances connected with it; I can hardly entertain a doubt that this sculpture is meant to record the deed. The unfortunate Roman prince, venerable in years and bravery, not only found himself surrounded by the Persian arms, but in the midst of a treacherous host, who had assisted in betraying him. Valerian knew that the prisoner of fair combat, is generally treated with some degree of respect, but that he who is taken by foul means, can

expect nothing but insult from his captor; and this was verified in the scene before us. On the instant that Shapoor seized his captive, that proud monarch put a double disgrace on the Roman purple, by investing a person of no note, called Cyriades, with the title of Emperor; and the Roman army in chains could not but ratify the election. This man was a native of Antioch, then the capital of the Cæsars in the East; and probably, as he immediately marched along with the Persian king to that city, and under sanction of his own imperial dignity, resigned the whole to the pillage of Shapoor, he had previously been the most eminent traitor, in compassing the captivity of his betrayed sovereign. Hence, as the kneeling figure with the laurel, the Roman badge of sovereignty, on his brow, must be Valerian, it would be difficult to conjecture who that other person is that wears a second diadem of the kind, unless we suppose him to be Cyriades. The crowned head, the satisfied smile on the countenance, so strongly contrasted with the earnest supplication in the face of the kneeling figure, together with the act of vassalage declared in the clasped hands, all would seem to urge, that this is the new emperor the Persian monarch set up to be his creature, and to dishonour the Roman name. His having shackles about his ancles (if they are so), like those of Valerian, would not militate against this supposition, since he might have thought proper to appear as a prisoner amongst the rest, until the king distinguished him by the public investiture of the imperial purple.

This event happened A. D. 260, and soon after, the unhappy monarch was led captive, with hundreds of his people brought from the Roman settlements in the East, to assist in building the city of Shapoor; a superb monument, as the victor intended.

of his conquest over an emperor of Rome. Artists, of course, of every description, would be found amongst so great a multitude; and, probably, some of them were commanded to execute these commemorating bas-reliefs at Nakshi-Roustam, while others were employed on the same story at the vaster works of Shapoor. The style of these I am describing, is precisely in the degenerated taste that prevailed with the Romans at that period; and, when transplanted here, the poverty of the execution made it appear even worse. But the devices on the money of Shapoor, coined after this acquisition to his empire, are so much superior to those on the moneys of his immediate predecessors the Arsacidæ, that we cannot but see, that some Roman artists of merit had imparted their talent to his.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the degraded emperor died in his captivity, after having suffered indignities so cruel, that Mr. Gibbon, in his remarks on the subject, questions the truth of their infliction. But it seems strange that a historian, whose eyes had been so long fixed on the sanguinary usurpations of Rome, could have any doubt of the cruelties of ambition in those times. Indeed, with the exception of a few rare instances, we do not find, throughout all history, that conquest in the heathen world was attended with any thing like the generous conduct towards vanquished enemies, which has gradually prevailed since the diffusion of Christianity. We no longer hear of a hero dragging his slain adversary at his chariot-wheels; nor of male and female captives, however illustrious, walking in exposed procession in the triumphal train of a conqueror; nor of victor kings mounting their horses, by stepping from the neck of a captive king at their feet. In short, though Christianity has not yet brought heaven upon earth, by destroying the principle of

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war in the human breast, and making men angels, it has restored wandered human nature from the ruthless ferocity of utter selfishness, to the nobler dispositions of man; and, by uniting humanity with ambition, has divested war of its most terrible horrors.

The fourth bas-relief (Plate XXII.) is a repetition of the single combat described in the second bas-relief, between Baharam Gour and his adversary the Tartar prince. This new edition, if I may be allowed to call it so, of the same story, though much mutilated, is in better preservation than the former, is designed with more animation, and executed in a higher style, though the horses are equally clumsy, and the riders disproportioned to their size. The principal figure is by far too small for the bulk of his steed. His head is crowned with a diadem in this bas-relief; in the other it was protected by a helmet: both, however, bear the usual badge of the royal head-dress assumed since the destruction of the Grecian dynasty, the balloon shape in the center. This crown is not of a bonnet form, like that he wears in the sculpture commemorating his re-union with his queen; nor of the mural shape worn (nearly three hundred years after his death) by Shapoor, one of his posterity, whose bas-relief we have just been viewing; but it is of three bending points, each end surmounted by a rounded ornament, as well as the middle pinnacle, which holds the usual oval form. Over the whole of this warrior's body, may be traced the originally perfect coat of small plate-mail. From the bottom of his waist, spreading over the back of the horse, appears an additional defence of scales, very nicely executed; and over it hangs a quiver, of too immense a size for arrows; hence, we must conclude it held the kind of darts then in use, and which we still see amongst the moun-

taineers and Arabs. There can scarcely be a doubt, that during both the Arsacedian and Sassanian dynasties, the military dress and weapons of the Persian nation varied little from what they had been before the conquest by the Macedonians, details of which may be gathered from various ancient authors. Heliodorus in particular, in the description he gives of the Cataphracti, or heavy-armed cavalry, minutely designates the plates and scales placed over each other in the armour of the horseman; in fact, he comprises the image, by saying, that such a soldier, fully accoutred, resembled a moving statue of metal. The figures in this sculpture, before time or rude hands despoiled them, have all, originally, been completely clad in this kind of scale-work. But that the horsemen of all countries, who, in those days warred together, were on pretty equal terms, we may readily suppose; both parties being usually quick enough in adopting military improvements. The heavy and long pike in the hands of these adversaries in the present bas-relief, is precisely what Heliodorus describes as the ancient Persian weapon, nearly what we see in the sculptures of the age of Cyrus, and almost exactly what we read of in other authors, as in the hands of the Grecian invaders of Persia. But no people perhaps, unless we may except the English bow-men, ever arrived at such an excellence in the use of the bow, as the Persians. Plutarch, in his Life of Crassus, draws a dreadful picture of the distress which the Roman soldiers under his command suffered from the Parthian arrows, which fell upon them in showers, piercing them in many places, and, wherever they pierced, inflicting the most excruciating tortures. When Crassus, in the last crisis of the battle, repeatedly called on his soldiers to charge home upon the enemy, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet

transfixed by the arrows to the ground, needing no other language to declare their despair. It may not be out of place to remark here, that, from the time that Arsaces, a Parthian chief, recovered Persia from the Grecian successors of Alexander, until the Sassanian dynasty extinguished the Arsacedian race, the whole nation went by the name of the Parthian empire; but with the accession of Ardashir, the father of Shapoor, Persia resumed its imperial title.

Having described the person of the principal warrior in this, the fourth bas-relief, I proceed to the caparison of his steed. Two full tassels, like that attached to the chain in the preceding sculpture of Shapoor, are here fixed to a sort of rope, and fly, as if from under the saddle, over the rump of the horse. Two more are seen on the animal's neck and chest; but their connecting cords are broken away. Along the belly, from the bottom of the chest, apparently quite under the stomach, to the hinder legs, runs a string of globular forms, hanging down in the fashion of bells. A horseman, mounted, and also clad in mail, rides immediately behind the diademed warrior, bearing a standard, much like the one in the second bas-relief. This is ornamented with five globular forms, on a cross bar. Pausanias remarks, that, at the celebration of a Grecian festival in honour of the sun, an olive-branch was carried in the procession; decorated at the top with a globe of brass, to represent the sun; with a smaller, a little below, to represent the moon; and divers lesser ones, suspended in different parts of the bough, to represent the stars. The objects of worship in Persia, having from the earliest ages been the host of heaven, and the monarchs arrogating divinity, by claiming descent from the solar god, might intend something of the same planetary reference in the

standard carried in their train. But, I confess, the number and arrangement of the globes on the cross-bar are not nearly so expressive of the matter, as the description of the solar olive-branch.

The opponent hero in this bas-relief, like the corresponding warrior in the other it resembles, is sadly defaced; however, parts of armour are still discernible on him also. He wears a high helmet, surmounted by a ball or tuft, and floating ribbands; he has similar waving appendages to his heels, and on other parts of his person; thence, from what was observed before, he can be no other than a royal personage. His spear is elevated and broken; that of his adversary seems to have passed through, or near to his neck. The horses are grouped together admirably. From tail to tail, they measure twenty feet. The warrior with the diadem is eleven feet six inches in height; but the lower part of the bas-relief, like the other it resembles, is half buried in the earth. Indeed, I cannot have a doubt that this is only a repetition, but better executed, of the great exploit of Baharam Gour, effected by the stratagem of the pebbles. The dresses are something different, but the persons and the action, nearly the same in both. He was a monarch so suited to the Persian character, and so entirely beloved, it cannot be a subject of surprise to find the memorials of his reign often repeated.

The next in rotation (Plate XXIII.) presents a piece of sculpture, that has been drawn by almost every traveller who approached the spot, and could use a pencil. But, on comparing all the outlines I had seen, with the original, I found them, every one, far from correct representations. In some, a careless eye was evident; in others, so extreme a delicacy of taste, that, by always guiding its pencil true to the perfection of the

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C. Heath Sc.

art, that in most respects enviable habit, made it here false to the portrait it was to copy. In my attempt towards making these sketches present a just picture of their originals, I have, as faithfully as lay in my power, transmitted every defect, as well as beauty; not omitting any thing of the contradictions between knowledge and ignorance, in the arts of design and execution, which are so eminently mingled in these specimens of the middle age of Persian genius in sculpture.

The subject of this fifth bas-relief is two men on horseback, meeting each other; the one bestowing, the other receiving, a circlet, the badge of sovereignty. The figure on our right, as we stand looking at it, wears a mural crown, the centre being filled with a low semicircular caul. One long ribband hangs from it in regular creases all the way down. His hair flows in ample and easy curls upon his shoulders. His beard long and rather waving, but cut square at the extremity. A robe divides on his breast, where it is attached by a large button, and then stiffly projects outwards. A sort of surcoat reaches midway to his knee, where it meets a long loose trowser. The toe just appears from beneath it, accompanied by two floating bands. His right arm is advanced over the neck of his horse, holding in his hand a circlet, from which pends a broad ribband. He seems in the act of presenting it to the opposite horseman, whose right arm and hand are held out to receive it. The left hand of the figure I am first describing, grasps a short club-like staff by the narrow extremity. The part of the bridle of his horse, which covers the animal's head, is thickly studded with round plain knobs; and large circular plates adorn the strap round his chest and buttock. A muzzle passes from between the nostrils to the place where we attach a curb-chain. The right foot, which is raised, touches

the head of a prostrate man, with serpents twisting over a band round his brows, in the place of hair. His eyes are closed, as if he were dead. His ear is formed like the united ears of a rabbit. His head rests on his right arm, and the drapery of his garment extends behind the horse's legs, almost to that side of the excavation. Two of the large acorn-topped tassels, suspended by chains, hang from the back of the horse. The tail is carefully arranged in a regular pointing form, and tied at the top with ribbands.

The opposite figure, who is in the act of receiving the circlet, wears a close scull-cap helmet. From its crest rises an enormous balloon-appearance, full of folds; which show that it represents some drapery material; from this flow the usual royal floating ends, behind. His hair falls longer, and more loosely than in any other of the bas-reliefs, over his shoulders. His beard is, in like manner with some other of the figures described, tied at the chin. A robe passes over his right arm, and thence devolves on the rump of the horse. He wears an under-tunic, and trowsers, similar to those of the other personage. His left hand is held up near his face, and firmly clasped. The face has a rather inclined position, with a reverential expression.

The bridle of this figure's horse is ornamented with roses, where the other has plain knobs. The strap on his chest has three lions' heads, carved beautifully in relievo on medallions. The left foot of the animal is raised, and touches the neck of a second prostrate figure, whose head is covered with a cap or helmet, with some sort of badge on its side. From the back of the neck flow the usual ribbands, which mark the highest rank. A rich collar encircles the top of his chest. His drapery reaches to nearly the end of this side of the excavation. The

horse of the balloon-crowned personage has a muzzle like the other, and a similar acorn-tassel and chain.

Behind this last horseman, stands a beardless youth, wearing a high round-topped cap, on which is some distinguishing mark. He holds a fly-fan of horse-hair near the head of the figure before him. The mark, and the smooth chin, seem to place him in the same rank with the figure half covered with the scroll in the bas-relief of Shapoor. Though on a spot where two dead bodies lie, as if on a field of battle, these figures have every sign of peace in themselves; nothing like a sword, or a belt that has held one, appearing about their persons. On the breast of the horses, just above the shoulder of the animal, are inscriptions, of which I shall speak hereafter, in the Greek and Pehlivi characters, but both rather defaced. The length of the excavation is twenty-one feet; the whole of the bas-relief, which is of white marble with a considerable polish, being in the most perfect state of preservation. The style of the sculpture is heavy, but elaborate, and finished with much care. It differs totally from the preceding four I have described, being in an extremely dry taste compared with them, and very deficient in grace and proportion. The horses are much too small for their riders, and clumsy as Flanders mares. From every detail and execution of the piece, it appears to have been the first excavation of the sort made in the rock, after the production of those specimens of remote antiquity on the mountain above.

The subject of the bas-relief seems historical, interwoven with allegorical references; and the sense of the inscriptions, as translated, illustrate the design of the sculptor. It is not a matter of any surprise to find inscriptions of that era written in both languages; Greek and native artists evidently having been

associated in all works of the kind since the empire of Alexander; and we find traces of the same partnership, in the coins of the Arsacidæ, with a Pehlivi legend and Grecian device. Indeed, from the peculiar style of this bas-relief, I would assign it to a Greek chisel.

The learned Mons. de Sacey, in his "Memoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse," gives the following translation of the inscription on the shoulder of the horse that bears the personage who receives the circlet. (Plate XXIII.) "C'est ici la figure du serviteur d'Ormusd, du dieu Ardashir, roi des rois d'Iran, de la race des dieux; fils du dieu Babec, roi." He thus gives the Greek in its renovated state, having followed the copy of Niebuhr:

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ προσωπΟΝ ΜΑCΔΑCΝΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤαξαρου βασιλεωC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ
ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ εκ γενουC ΘΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑκου ΒΑσιλΕΩC

The Greek is written on the shoulder of the animal, between two inscriptions; both in Pehlivi characters. The upper one is extremely defaced; but the forms of its letters differ materially from those in the lower inscription, being similar to the characters I copied in the cave near Hadjee-abad. However, what I was able to make out, satisfied me that it was only a repetition of the same sense, conveyed in both the Greek and the lower Pehlivi inscription.

On the shoulder of the horse, that bears the man who bestows the circlet, is an inscription which the same learned professor translates thus: (Plate XXIII.) "C'est ici la figure du dieu Jupiter;" and thus restores:

ΤΟυτΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ ΔΙΟC ΘΕΟΥ.

The inscription on this horse, is also written three times over; the Greek being between the Pehlivi ones. The upper Pehlivi here, corresponds in character with the upper Pehlivi on the other horse; and appears to me to be composed of more diphthong letters than the Pehlivic character used in the inscription beneath. It is, in consequence, very obscure; the alphabet given by the Professor not extending to these varieties. The following, in Hebrew letters, is all I have been enabled to place in corresponding value:

פתכלי· תבז· אזחז· ב־זכין·
אלהא·

Mons. de Sacey also found, on decyphering the Pehlivi letters according to their value with the Hebrew, that they produced precisely the same meaning. And by all this it seems fully proved, that none of the lower range of sculptures at Nakshi-Roustam are of Arsacedian origin, which many learned men have supposed, but are entirely of Sassanian work. So far their general character; and if the sentences on the shoulders of the horses, in this particular bas-relief, designate the names of their riders, we must regard its design as an emblematical representation of the restoration of the ancient Persian empire, in the person of Ardashir Babigan, the hereditary successor of the great Cyrus, its founder.

Arsaces had put an end to the Greek power in Persia, seventy-nine years after the establishment of the Seleucidæ. His posterity reigned there, giving it the name of the Parthian empire, for nearly five hundred years; it beginning about the year 250 before Christ, and ending A. D. 223; when a new revolution took place in behalf of the ancient royal race and name of Persia.

Ardashir, the son of Babeck, is recorded (Desatir B. of Shet Sassan,) to have restored the Kaianian race, or line of Cyrus, by his descent from Isfundeer, the celebrated Xerxes. Khond-emir gives this account of the genealogy of Ardashir: "Sassan, the brother of Artaxerxes (Longimanus), and therefore son to Isfundeer, on some family jealousy, left his native country, and retired into the mountains of Hinde, there to pass his life in seclusion. One of his sons, wishing to see the land of his father, besought his permission to visit it; and when there, he became so attached to it, that he entered into the service of a Persian nobleman called Babeck, who governed a province under the Parthian king, Ardavan. The governor finding the youth full of spirit and bravery, gave him his daughter in marriage; the fruit of the union was Ardashir; who, in gratitude to his maternal grandfather, took the surname himself of Babigan; but in honour of his paternal grandfather Sassan, by whose blood the ancient royal race was renewed, the dynasty assumed the title of the Sassanian line."

Ardashir (who was known to the Romans by the name of Artaxerxes) revolted from Ardavan (Artabanes), and by his defeat and death destroyed the last of the Parthian kings. He likewise reinstated the religion of Zerdusht in its original purity; the Parthians having much debased it by the introduction of the Grecian rites and deities. This circumstance, of mingling religions, may account for the change in the name of the same god, in these inscriptions; in one of them the word Διος being substituted for that of Ormuzd. This divine being, according to the doctrine of the Magi, is the *Spirit of Good*, created by the Supreme God, the All-controuling Power beyond Jupiter himself, which the Greeks and Romans denominated Fate. It is

impossible to look for a moment on these two Pagan religions, without respecting the pure philosophy of the one, and being equally offended with the commonly promulgated doctrines of the other. The Supreme Deity of the Persians, sends out a *Spirit of Good*, whose name declares his errand. The Supreme Deity of the Greeks, having once pronounced his fiat, appears to take no more heed of the matter; while Jupiter, his representative, enthroned on Mount Olympus with Venus on one side and Ganymede on the other, exhibits all the pomp of a god, without his virtues.

Ormuzd is intended in the bas-relief, under the figure with the mural crown. He is there as the Protector of True Believers, and as the restorer of the Kaianian Princes; and while his horse crushes under its feet the gorgon-headed dæmon of the Arsacedian idolatry, he presents to Ardashir (whose horse tramples on the representative of the fallen Parthian monarchy) the *Cydaris*, or ancient diadem of his ancestors. It consisted of a twisted bandeau of intermingled white and purple, and was always received as the peculiar mark of royalty by the Persians. Xenophon observes, that "the great Cyrus wore a turban rising high above his head, with a vesture of purple, half mixed with white; white, thus mixed, no other person is allowed to wear. (Doubtless, no other than the sovereign personage; because *white* was sacred to the sun; and he derived his descent from that orb.) The garments round his limbs were of a yellow or golden colour; and about his high turban he bound the diadem, or wreath. His hands he kept out of their coverings." A covering over the hand is regarded in most countries of the East, as a mark of subjection. Cyrus had then arrived at the full possession of the empire, in the united kingdoms of Media and Persia; and

at this juncture Xenophon describes the dress, observing, "he was so habited, to make his first procession from the capital of Persia, to *those portions of ground* that had been *chosen and set apart for the gods;* taking with him victims, he sacrificed on the *summit of a mountain*, as is the custom in Persia, with prayer." This sacrifice, made in a particular place, at some distance from the capital, is mentioned several times in the Cyropedia, and seems to point, without any force, to the *mountain-altar*, or Tackt-i-Sulieman at Pasargadæ, in the plain of Mourg-aub.

But to return to the bas-relief of his great descendant Ardashir. The figure in the sculpture that personates that prince, stretches forth its hand to receive the wreathed symbol of empire. His garments are all perfectly unadorned, without any peculiarity to denote royal rank, excepting the balloon-shape on the head, (or, shall we suppose it a globular representation of the sun, from whom the Persian kings derive their origin?) and the flowing scarf from behind his neck, and the ribbands at his heels. The attendant that holds the fan over his head, is a luxury allowed in the present times, to nobles as well as royalty. Neither of the figures possess the majesty they ought to designate; and, least of either, the one that would represent the god Ormuzd. Did not the inscriptions put a bar to conjecture, I should make a different explanation of the whole. I should have concluded the murally-crowned personage to be Ardashir; who, after gloriously re-establishing the Persian empire, and restoring its religion, "sated with success, and wearied with power, (as Sir John Malcolm elegantly expresses it,) resigned the government into the hands of his son Shapoor, after having reigned fourteen years an absolute sovereign in Persia." The staff in his left hand, might very well be con-

At Nakshi Roustam

London Published by Longman &c. 1821

Heath, Sc.

sidered a rude representation of the sceptre of regal power, which the empty, though clasped hand of the opposite person, seems raised ready to receive. The allegorical figures beneath, might hold the same meaning as they do at present; designating the fall of Parthian usurpation and idolatry. But, notwithstanding this inference to be drawn from the figures themselves, I am decidedly of opinion that the inscriptions tell the real design of the artist; and, therefore, the sentiment of the sovereign by whose order they were executed. Besides, human majesty, in those times, being always considered with some close affinity to the divine, the same attributes were usually given to both: while the majesty of form, and godlike expression of countenance, which alone can give the spiritual character demanded, must not be expected here, they being the latest perfections of the art.

The head-dress, and style of face, given to the figure in this bas-relief, which is denominated Ardashir, bears the closest resemblance to a coin in my possession, of a prince of that name; and which is spelt, in Pehlivi characters, in the same way as it is here written in the rock.

The last bas-relief that is legible, (Plate XXIV.) lies to the north-west of all I have been describing, and consists of a king standing in a niche, or rostrum, as if delivering an harangue. He is habited in a simple tunic, and rests his hands carelessly on his sword, which hangs in front of him. His head is covered with the winged helmet, and surmounted by the usual huge oval mass, reserved for royal heads alone. A thick cluster of curls falls on his left shoulder. His face, which is almost obliterated, looks over his right shoulder; his beard is short, and tied in the tassel shape; this fashion, too, appears appropriated to kings. A collar of pearls encircles his neck, and a couple of

immense streamers float behind him. His figure terminates at the knees, being there met by the front of the rostrum against which he stands. Its face is nicely smoothed, as if to receive an inscription. To the left and right of him, appear a row of persons, who are only seen as far as head and shoulders; the rest of their figures seeming to be concealed behind a sort of screen, divided in two, and between which division the king stands. Three of these men are to his left side, two of which have high caps bending over the forehead; from under them hang several twisted braids of hair. Round their necks are nicely ornamented collars; and their vests, or robes, are fastened with a double clasp on their breasts. All these figures hold up the right hand, in the attitude described before, of commanding attention. The third head in this group, wears a round-topped cap, on which is a crescent, with a small circle over it. The figure just before him has the crescent only. None of these are in the least defaced; indeed, so much to the contrary, the heads are excellently cut, and full of fine expression. Those to the right of the king are five in number; and three out of the five are very much broken. The most prominent in the group has something the contour of a woman. A low bonnet is on the head, with a double projection from its crown, pointing before and behind, in the manner of a crested helmet; the ornaments, though greatly injured, still shewing themselves to be the heads of dogs or of lions. From this coiffure two small rib-bands are pendant. Immediately behind this person, and in lower relief, nearly obliterated, is a smaller head with a similar cap of only one crested point, which projects its dog or lion over the forehead; little ends also decorate it. No appearance of beard can be traced on either of these heads; and I should be inclined

to think they are both females; or, possibly, a woman and a boy. There are two other beardless persons, one to the right, and the other to the left, of the one I suppose a female. The head to the right, is covered with a circular-topped cap, with a mark on it not unlike that on the fanning attendant in the last sculpture; he too is smooth-chinned, and appears to be a youth. The cap and badge, and beardless face, also occurred in the bas-relief of Shapoor; but that person holding the scroll, had the rugged visage of age; and, probably, was one of the eunuchs, who, in old times, were such favourite attendants with monarchs of the East. The last figure in this group, shews nothing more than his head and shoulder; he has no covering on the head, which fully displays the style of wearing the hair; it is short, but waving on the forehead, and very thick and curling behind, diverging from the back of the ears, down upon the neck and shoulders. The whole of this head is as perfect as if just finished by the chisel, and a very beautiful specimen of the art it is. The beard is short and square, and the features particularly handsome, with an expression, and general appearance, of greater nobleness than any of the others along the line. The face almost speaks. At one end of the rock, entirely distinct from the group, is the outline of an extraordinary figure notched in the marble, not unlike the first idle drawings of a school-boy.

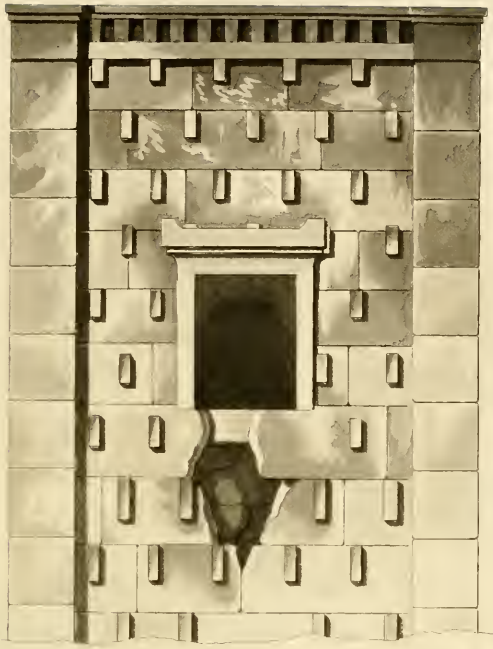
To say which of the Sassanian monarchs is the hero of this bas-relief, would be difficult; since it tells no circumstance in their history, to which we have a clew. However, the introduction of so many persons has afforded a curious specimen of the various costumes of the times. Selden remarks, in his "Titles of Honour," that "the Persian royal tiara differed from the common sort, because it ascended strait up with a sharp

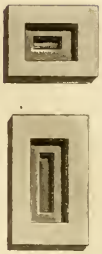
point, not bending any way; and that, on pain of death, no subject of the Great King durst wear a tiara, except the point were bent over his forehead; and the descendants of those princes who accompanied Darius Hystaspes in the assassination of Smerdis the magian, were alone permitted to have their tiaras with the top bent backwards." Prideaux, whose researches into the ancient histories of these countries is profound and full of satisfaction to an attentive reader, reverses something of Mr. Selden's account; and, but for the presence of the woman in the group, might cast a light on these seven personages behind the king in the bas-relief. Seven princes (of whom Darius Hystaspes was one) having entered into an agreement to destroy Smerdis the usurper, fixed upon a sign to distinguish each other during the anticipated confusion of the attack. Our learned Dean describes the affair thus:—"And whereas the king only wore his turban directly upright, and all other persons, till then, with its top reversed, or turned backwards; these princes, when they went in to fall upon the magian, turned the back part of their turbans forward, that they might by that signal be easier known to each other in the scuffle. In memory of which, when the son of Hystaspes came to be king, they were ever after permitted, as an especial honour, to wear their turbans turned forward in that manner. And from that time, the Persian monarchs of the race of Darius Hystaspes, had always seven chief counsellors, by whose advice the great affairs of the empire were transacted." After this hint, were it not for the female apparition in the group on the right hand of the royal personage in this last bas-relief, we might be led to suppose it a council of the seven sages, listening to some one of the Sassanian kings of the line of Darius. But a comparison of its style and details, with other works of the kind I have yet to examine in

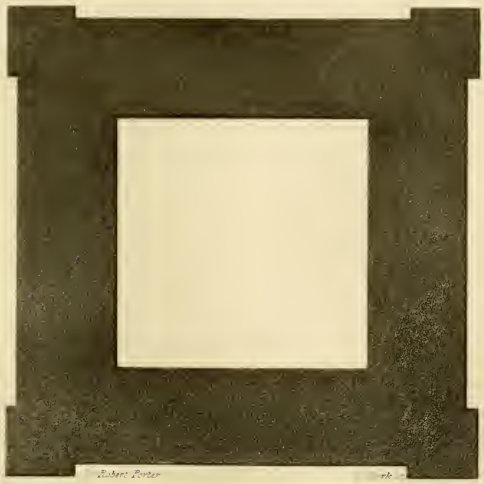
this eventful country, may lead to some elucidating re-consideration of the subject. Meanwhile I shall just remark, that with regard to any particular restriction being laid on a peculiar way of wearing the turban, it is probable the privilege would be extended in the course of time; and besides, the various changes of dynasties which, in the flow of several centuries, succeeded the immediate line of Hystaspes, could not but annul by neglect, a law of fashions, then of no importance to maintain. On the coin of Baharam Gour that is in my possession, and which I have mentioned before as containing three profiles, the king, queen, and young prince, (Plate LVIII. fig. 4.) the two latter wear tiaras of this leaning-forward shape, crested at the projecting points with the head of an animal; that over the female brow, appearing to be a bull's or a cow's; that on the boy's, a hawk's. This form of bonnet, when found with these decorations on any bas-reliefs of the Sassanian age, seems generally appropriated to women and youths; but when plain, at least without prominent ornament, it probably belonged to the several orders of officers about the court; and the different flat marks we see on it, either when so bent, or when worn quite rounded, are likely to have been badges of the respective rank or function of the wearer. That similar distinguishing uses have been made of the shape or colour of a cap in after times, in Persia, we find in the history of the *Kuzel-bash*, or "golden-headed" tribes, who associated themselves to place the Sefi family on the throne.

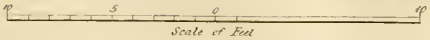
Having examined, to the utmost of my power, the remains of antiquity on the rock, I turned to some interesting objects near its base. Immediately opposite to the third tomb, and about twenty yards distant from the rock, stands a building similar to

that already mentioned at Mourg-aub, and which is commonly called the *Fire Temple.* This temple differs from the other, in being higher and narrower. It has suffered no material injury from time or accident, and afforded me an excellent model of the sort of place, from which I drew an accurate plan and elevation. (Plate XXV.) It is built with marble from the adjacent rocks, each block being three feet six inches in width, but varying in their length. One single slab forms the cornice of the northern face, which is twenty-two feet eight inches long; an amazing mass, to have been placed where it now is. Accumulated earth, loose stones and rubbish, have doubtless diminished the visible height of the building, by encroaching on its lower range; this is very credible, from observing how the increased ground has grown up over parts of the bas-reliefs at the foot of the mountain. Ten layers of marble blocks are now all that we see, which give the edifice an elevation of thirty-five feet. The entrance is in the north front, situated about eleven feet from the earth. Its exterior ornaments are perfectly simple. This portal is five feet wide and six high; leading through a wall of five feet three inches, into the sacred chamber. The grooves for the pivots of its doors are deeply cut, both at the bottom and the top, where they were fastened to the sides of the wall; so that the ponderous stone divisions must have met in the middle, and shut close. The circling marks of their movement are strongly worn in the marble floor. The chamber contained within such an immense solidity of wall and door-way, is only a square of twelve feet, and in height does not exceed fifteen or sixteen. The ceiling consists of two slabs, the floor of several. The whole beneath, an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate, has proved to be an entire mass of building, without a cavity; it was broken just under the threshold of the door, as









Plan and Elevation of a Building near Nakshi Rousta

A. *Upper range of False Windows.* B. *Lower range of Dº*

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may be seen in the drawing I made on the spot. The hope of hidden treasure, no doubt prompted the violation. Small blocks of marble, arranged at certain distances, project a short way from the exterior face, where the entrance is. On the surface of the three remaining sides, are two lines of small false windows, each of an entire piece of dark-grey marble. I could not find any trace of writing, either within or without the temple; but the state of the interior of the chamber supplied the place of an inscription, in proclaiming the ancient use of the edifice. There was no aperture in the room but the door, to admit light or air, and the walls were perfectly black with smoke.

That it formerly held the sacred fire of the Magi, there can be no doubt; but I would venture to suggest, that it was not as a temple, where the rites of the religion, of which it was a part, were performed, but as a kind of sacristy, a repository for the preservation of the element during the suspension of the great solemnities. The confined dimensions of the building within, and its closeness, sufficiently prove that few priests could move, or long breathe in it; the walls witness the constant flame that has been there; and hence, as there was no space for sacrifices, or indeed rites of any kind, we can only suppose that here, a duly relieved watch of one or two Magi tended the preservation of the everlasting fire night and day; and, from its unextinguishable fountain, supplied the priests for their diurnal sacrifices in the temples, or on the high places. The building at Mourgaub, which answers in appearance to the one I am describing, from its proximity to the immense marble platform on the rock, on which I suppose the kings were inaugurated, and the great public sacrifices made, corroborates these opinions. That the fire was not kept perpetually in the temple where the religious

rites were to be celebrated, is evident from the account Xenophon gives of one of Cyrus's processions to make a great sacrifice, in which he says, " Next to the bulls, there were horses led, for a sacrifice to the sun. After this proceeded a chariot, with its horses adorned with scarlet trappings; and behind it, followed men that bore fire upon a large altar."

The sacred flame in these repositories was never allowed to go out, except, it is said, on the death of a king; and on that event, it would appear from Diodorus Siculus, the fire became extinguished. But he may mean that portion of it only, which might be additionally brought forward on a monarch's accession, and on his death be permitted to expire with himself, to give a more awful solemnity to the event. For Strabo, and other authors, positively imply, that the great fountains of this holy element in the temples were never to be extinguished. Such was the care taken of its purity, and to preserve it from any blast of air, that it was fed with wood stripped of its bark, and never blown with bellows; indeed, so far from being even breathed upon, the priests never drew near it, without linen cloths over their mouths. From the smoky appearance of the vaulted roofs of the tombs in the rock of Nakshi-Roustam, lights must have been burnt there also; and, whether in lamps or on an altar, of course they would be kindled from the repository I have just described. Several ancient writers inform us, that the sepulchres of the Persian kings not only contained the royal bodies, but consecrated offerings of great value; hence it became necessary to watch the place, not merely on account of religious reverence, but to protect the accumulated treasure with a constant guard: and affection united with state ceremony in establishing a custom, that some one of the favourite servants of the deceased

monarch should devote himself to the duty, and be the guardian of his remains. The chief eunuch of Darius Hystaspes passed the last seven years of his life in the tomb of his master: and the usage of such gloomy vigils is still to be traced amongst the existing followers of that prince's faith; the Parsees of Yezd, and those of India, always placing a watch in the sepulchre of their dead, who never quits the spot till he is relieved by another; or more frequently remains there, till he himself dies. So strict are they in this duty, the sentinel must not leave his post for any purpose whatever, not even to see his dearest relations; every thing must be taken to him by others; and those he wishes to see, must go to him, for he cannot come to them. A most melancholy entombment alive. And when we consider him seated alone, from year to year, in that narrow and dismal cell, the walls darkened to the hue of perpetual midnight by the gradually collecting smoke from the lamp, which it is the business of his life to gaze upon and watch, that no breath of air should extinguish it; when we think of the cold gleam it casts on his only companion, the ceared-up body of his dead master; one cannot imagine a more gloomy scene, or one more calculated to craze the senses of a poor imprisoned wretch.

On quitting the last bas-relief, a very few paces brought me to the termination of the rocks to the west; at which angle they take an abrupt turn to the north, but soon bend round with an amphitheatrical sweep to the westward again; whence they join the high cliffs commanding the passes that lead into the Ispahan road by the way of Imaum Zada Ismael: and in this curve they also form a boundary to the north-western side of the luxuriant plain of Merdasht. I skirted the mountains on my right a little way, to see if any more relics were to be found; and I had

scarcely gone sixty yards when I discovered, close to the plain, a large projecting mass of rock, out of whose solid substance had been cut two altars, almost in contact with each other. (Plate XXVI.) The height of their bases, from the level of the ground beneath, did not exceed twelve or fourteen feet. Both stand on the same platform of rock, which is gained by a flight of steps hewn out of its side, and ascended from the south. The form of each altar is a square of four feet six inches. The corners are blunted, by every one having a heavy and rudely-shaped column running up its side, and resting on a square plinth. A kind of zone terminates the top of these columns, from which springs an arch. The whole is crowned with an architrave, ornamented with a range of cylindrical forms. The shape of the altars narrows upwards, so that their upper surface or plane measures, in each, a square of three feet eight inches. In this square top we find a hollow of the same form, excavated to the depth of eight inches, and one foot two inches wide. Although the shape of these do not correspond exactly with the altars on the neighbouring tombs, nor with those on the different Sassanian coins, their forms manifest their use; and are very interesting specimens of, perhaps, the gradual progress of sheltering the sacred fire, when it was brought out of its own especial tabernacle to form part of the mountain rites.

Both Herodotus and Strabo assert, that the Persians had neither images, altars, nor temples; and that they offered up their sacrifices on mountains, or high places, with extreme simplicity, to the Supreme God, and to the sun and moon. This ought, unquestionably, to be understood of the Persians in the very earliest times; much antecedent to the age of Herodotus himself; for, on examining nearly collateral testimonies, we

Pl. 26.

Sir Robert Porter.

I. Clark Sc.

Fire Altars near Nakshi Roustam.

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find how rapidly that simplicity became magnificence, how soon the images of men usurped the altars of God. The *Desatir*, a very ancient Pehlivi work, and the *Dabistan*, compiled from the old Gueber writers, give accounts to support the conclusions we may draw from Xenophon and others, to the fact of such early changes. We learn that the primeval religion in Persia was the worship of the Great First Cause, typified in the solar orb; and that he was adored in the open air, from an idea that any human temple would have seemed to exclude the Deity. Burnt sacrifices could hardly be otherwise than open to a space whence the flame of the pyre might freely ascend; but some altar must always have been demanded; some spot distinguished from the common rock or earth, on which the holy offering was to be laid; therefore, whether it were a mere platform of marble, or an elevation of stones, it mattered not; the shape was nothing; such an appropriated place, sanctified by its use, was an altar, to be recurred to again and again for the same purposes of worship. The simplest principles and rites of the Mithratic religion, appear to have prevailed in Persia till the Assyrian conquerors (long previous to the time of Cyrus) overran the country, and encumbered it, first with the polytheism of the moon and stars, and secondly with a train of graven images. The earliest native annals extant, some of which I have just named, notice these changes from their primitive faiths. After the pure ages of the Mah-abad kings, and a grievous interregnum, when all sorts of anarchy broke loose, they tell us, that a *Distributor of Justice* appeared in the person of Kaiamurs, who founded a new royal line, and lived in all ways according to the precepts of their first prophet, the holy Mah-abad. But Houshong, the son and successor of the *Distributor*

of Justice, commenced a new religion, or rather added to the old; for, "discovering the element of fire, in an accidental collision of flint stones," he supposed it an emanation of the sun, imparted to those earthly substances; and calling it the *Nour-e-khodah*, or light of God, ordered it to be worshipped. This innovation was followed in the next reign by another, for his son Tahamurs introduced the idolatry of images. This latter monarch is mentioned as the uncle of Jemsheed, the great founder of Persepolis, and ancestor of Cyrus. I have referred to these native writers, who, though full of confusion in their accounts of persons, places, and times, yet afford us some satisfaction, by shewing that a vague memory of actual events has survived amongst them, through all the changes of their country; and that the Greek accounts of what happened before and after the era of Cyrus, though dispersed by these writers into totally different periods, may derive elucidation from even their scattered lights. Hence, I would deem it probable that when the mountain-altars, or other high places, were open to the air, as they certainly were in the time of Cyrus, that the sacred fire was not an object of adoration in itself, but only considered holy as an element first kindled by the sun, and by whose consuming agency the sacrifices were offered to that orb, or rather to the Divine Intelligence it contained. In this view we find the fire borne to the sacrificial altars in the processions recorded by Xenophon, in the eighth book of the Cyropedia. But when Zoroaster (or Zerdusht) pretended to bring the sacred flame direct from the presence of God, then what was before only sanctified, became divine; and henceforward it appears to have shared the honours of worship. We find that it was by the suggestion of this new prophet, that Darius Hystaspes made so great an alteration in the religious rites of his kingdom; "that

he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came; for whereas hitherto the kings had erected their altars on the tops of hills, and there performed their adorations in the open air; where often, by rains or other accidents, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices disturbed." But the previous union of the simple and manly Persians, with the gay and luxurious Medes, and afterwards, by conquest, with the magnificence of Babylon, gradually increased the splendour of the Mithratic rites; and laid them open to the corruptions of the more extended paganism, which, in after-ages, profaned the land of the Sun with many strange altars, long before the invasion of Alexander claimed one for the Jupiter of Greece. The Parthians, who followed the Grecian successors of Alexander in the empire, professed the ancient religion; but the worship they affected to restore, was only an entangled web of all that had preceded them; and not until the accession of Ardashir Babigan, who revived in his own person the Kaianian, or line of Cyrus, were the real doctrines and rites of Zoroaster re-established. Hence it is probable that under his direction these two altars of Nakshi-Roustam may have been hewn, as an example of the original simplicity of the religion he renewed; or they may even be as ancient as Darius Hystaspes himself; and afford a specimen of his first attempt at placing a protection round the sacred fire, in the shape of the cylindrical forms which parapet the summit of the altar; and from there being no memorial extant of any similitude to these altars having existed in either of those ages, these rough-hewn stones may as reasonably be attributed to the one time as to the other; and the arched form used as ornament on their sides, may have been suggested to the Magi by the natural bend in

the Mithratic caves, the first tabernacles, without doubt, of the sacred fire.

Not far from the altars, we began to ascend the mountain. Its face was steep and rugged, but still it was accessible without forcing us to the expedient by which we had mounted to the tombs. As we advanced we saw a small marble column, which had neither capital nor base, appearing where the heights break off to the west; and on gaining the highest point of the rocks, immediately over the perpendicular where the sepulchres are excavated, we observed several large spots of different dimensions cut out of the level of the mountain, as if for the floors of rooms. The one of greatest space is a square of more than twenty feet; and on its surface we found three or four steps, elevated above each other in the manner of a pedestal to a throne, or an altar. It is just over the sepulchres, and probably was coeval with them. On that spot, when the royal personage was entombed beneath, the funeral sacrifices might have been performed. Indeed it bears a striking resemblance to the elevated platforms on the bas-relief of the tomb, where the Archimagus stands. Finding nothing more to detain us above, we descended to the lower ground, towards the north-west, in search of the inscriptions mentioned by Mr. Morier, but could not discover them. I observed nothing particular during this part of my ride, excepting a few square holes of different sizes and depths, cut in the sides of the rocks. Every where else was wild, and as abandoned to nature as if the footsteps of man had never been there; and as I turned round, to view the venerable scene again, before I put my horse to the spur to carry me back to my quarters, the wide extended solitude of the mountain above, the tenantless and highly-wrought tombs in its bosom, with the gigantic figures at its base,

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At Nakshi Rajab.

London, Published by Longman & Co 1821.

like men of another age turned to marble, all these awful forms, with the silence, and magnitude of every object, gave a particular grandeur and solemnity to my last impression of Nakshi-Roustam.

June 21st. I left the village of Hadjee-abad this day; crossing its valley, and river, at a short distance from it; and continuing along the base of the hills, on its southern side, for about three miles, till they terminated nearly opposite Nakshi-Roustam. We then bent to the south-west, still close to the mountains, and so entered the celebrated plain of Merdasht, in whose bosom lies so many treasures of antiquity. A ride of two farsangs more, brought us to the village of Kanarah, which is situated about two miles from the ruins of Persepolis; and within its humble walls I set up my head-quarters, while examining the interesting relics of one of the most splendid capitals in the world.

June 22d. This morning I rode about a farsang back, along the plain, on the road we came yesterday; and at the foot of one of the mountains called Nakshi-Rajab, which constitute the Persepolitan range, approached a large natural recess formed of rude masses of rock, receding and projecting in a variety of picturesque shapes. On the faces of three of them, I found as many historic bas-reliefs. That to the right (Plate XXVII.) is the same in subject, but in smaller dimensions, of the one at Nakshi-Roustam which represents the two colossal horsemen holding the royal circlet between them. There is so much difference in the compositions, that the prostrate bodies are omitted in this, and the execution is evidently of a later age and less skilful workmen. The figures are more clumsy, and the draperies all in a flutter. It is greatly mutilated, but not by time; the marks of savage violence are scarred over it in a thousand places; and have passed on to

commit the same outrages on the sculptures in its neighbourhood. Chardin mentions, that soon after the death of Shah Abbas the Great, the prime minister of his unworthy successor ordered sixty men to be employed every day for a certain length of time, in the sole business of destroying the ruins in this plain. Some disgust had been taken at the passion European travellers had shewn to visit these remains; and thus a barbarous policy attempted to sweep them from the earth.

The costume in this bas-relief is similar to that of Shapoor in the sculpture with Valerian, having the like curling drapery falling from the thigh to the ankle. But the king's crown here, resembles that of the queen's in the sculpture of Baharam Gour, and is appendaged with vast volumes of floating streamers. The length of the excavation is seventeen feet; and like its companions, is begun six feet from the ground. The next, occupies the center of the recess, (Plate XXVII.) and is a repetition of the former subject, only the actors are on foot. With one hand, each person holds the wreath firmly between them, while with the other they grasp a couple of strong staves. Their head-dresses, robes, &c. are like those they wear at Nakshi-Roustam, with this only difference, that the king in this sculpture has no flowing curls. Two attendants stand behind; one is beardless, with the usual badged cap, and holding a fly-chaser; his companion is resting on the pommel of his sword. In the rear of the other great personage, stands a long pole, on the top of which appears a half-defaced square mass. Near it are two figures, with visages hideously ugly, yet having the contour of women. A couple of very small forms are still visible between the principal ones, but so demolished as only to allow us to trace with great difficulty that they carry something resembling

ΤΟΠ ΟΠΟΝΤΟΥΥΟΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΥΘΕΟΥ
ΛΠΩΙΟΥ ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΒΑΣΙΝΕΩΙ ΩΝ
ΙΚΑΙΑΝΑΡΙΑΛΩΝ ΚΓΟΥΘΕΩ
ΜΑΣ ΣΝΟΥΘΕΟΥΑΡΤΑ ΑΡΣΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝΕΚΕΝΣ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΘΕΥΠΑΠΑΚΟΥΒΑΣΙΛ . *M. Nakshi Rajab.*

London Published by Longman & Co. 1821

an ancient standard. Taking this altogether, it is the most inferior of any specimen I had hitherto seen of the ancient Persian sculptor; the proportions being bad, and the work extremely rude. It appears coeval with the superior labours of the kind at Nakshi-Roustam; and, though far beneath them in merit, it is valuable on account of showing the fashion of the sword at that time, and the mode of carrying it. The length of this excavation is only fifteen feet.

The third bas-relief is by much the largest. It has suffered so deplorably from the mallets of the destroyers, that hardly a face of the whole group, which fills the marble, has a feature left. The leading personage is evidently royal; he is on horseback, preceding a train of followers on foot, who appear to be all in one position, leaning both their hands on their swords, which are fastened in front of their belts. These men are habited in tunics, trowsers, and outer close vests clasped on the breast. Their collars, belts, caps, and every other accoutrement, differ not in the least from each other; hence we may suppose the originals represented the favourite guard of the monarch: but the disproportions in their effigies, and their utter violations of every law of perspective, amount perfectly to the ridiculous. The king and his steed are in better taste, for although the latter be of dray-horse bulk, it is full of spirit. His majesty, too, is not deficient in royal port; and his decorations are answerable. He has an abundance of curls on each side of his head, and quantities of floating drapery. His body is covered with a vest, most fantastically pointed, and curiously chiselled. It reaches midway down his thigh, where it meets a dagger attached to his side by an endless involvement of ribbands. Near its point we discern something like loose trowsers, which flowing downwards,

terminate near the ankles in a couple of waving ends. A rich collar binds the top of his vest, and an additional crossed band of pearls appears below it; the waist also is bound by a cestus of the same costly material. The present king, Futteh Ali Shah, wears a similar ornament on days of ceremony. The remains of a high diadem, and its balloon summit, finish the regal dress. Both hands are broken away. The trappings of the horse differ little from the caparison we saw on Shapoor's stately animal at Nakshi-Roustam, and has a similar chain or rope, attached to an acorn-tassel, now almost obliterated. An inscription, both in Greek and Pehlivi, is engraved on the breast of the horse; but part of the latter runs out on the wall, just before and under the nose of the animal. I subjoin the renovation of the Greek by Mons. de Sacey, in his *Memoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse, &c.* He has followed Niebuhr's copy, which, strange to say, having been made so many years anterior to mine, exhibits an inscription much more defaced than I found it. This may be seen, by comparing the large letters in my copy on the drawing, with the large letters in this; the smaller being introduced by the learned foreigner to complete the general sense.

ΤΟ ΠϱΟCωΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑCδαCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
CΑΠορ ΟΥ ϵΑCΙΑϵωC ϵΑCΙΛϵωv αριαΝΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑvΩΝ ϵκ γϵΝΟΥC ΘϵΩv υιου
ΜΑCδαCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤαξΑΡΟΥ ϵασιλεως
ΒΑCΙΛϵΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ϵΚ ΓϵΝΟυς θεων
ϵΚ ΓΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛεως.

" C'est ici la figure du serviteur d'Ormuzd, du dieu Sapor, roi des rois de l'Iran et du Touran, de la race des dieux; fils du serviteur d'Ormuzd, du dieu Ardashir, roi des rois de l'Iran, de la race des dieux, petit fils du dieu Babeck roi."

From this translation, supported by that of the Pehlivi, which gives precisely the same meaning, we find that the king here represented, is Shapoor the First, at the head of his guards, or nobles, in some royal procession. It is fortunate, as a memorandum of antiquity, that the swords of these men are in such good preservation; they differ so entirely from every description, given by old writers, of the weapon called a sword by the ancient Persians. The change from the old form, is said to have been introduced by the last Darius, in imitation of the Greeks, in the time of Philip; and from which innovation, the Chaldeans prophecied the downfall of the Persian empire by Grecian arms. (Q. Curtius, l. iii. cap. 3.) But every sword that I have seen amongst these remains has been invariably straight.

About half-a-mile westward on the plain, is a large and high square platform, of perfectly smooth white marble, around which, at a little distance, are several heaps of ruins, seeming to be the remains of some considerable edifice which had formerly surrounded an extensive area, of which the superb platform, whatever might have been its superstructure, formed the center. From the various mounds and scattered fragments, lying all the way between this spot and Tackt-i-Jemsheed, and again further to the south-east, I cannot doubt that the capital stretched along the whole foot of the mountain, even to connecting itself with Nakshi-Roustam, and thence extended to the north-west upon the plain. At about a farsang's distance from hence, rises a pointed hill, on which is the appearance of a considerable building. This, I concluded to be one of the three fortresses mentioned by the Asiatic author Hamdoullah, under the names of Istaker, Chekesch, and Chekwan, and which of old formed the great bulwarks of the plain. But the people of

Hadjee-abad, and Kanarah, seemed to know nothing of the matter, when I enquired particularly about the most famed of them all, that of Istaker.

Having returned from the sculptured recess of Nakshi-Rajab, my whole attention became absorbed in the ruins of Persepolis, the great capital itself, which lies in latitude 29° 59′ 39″. I settled my people at Kanarah, and followed the same plan in my daily excursions I had adopted at Nakshi-Roustam. On the morning of the 23d, under a sun which made a fire-altar of the rock, I began my investigations. Certainly, a positive knowledge of the original names of ancient cities, is a great satisfaction to both historian and antiquary; but since these magnificent remains are sufficiently recognised, to identify their having made part of the splendid capital of the East, so long celebrated by authors under the name of Persepolis, it seems to me a subject of no material consequence, that we do not know whether it were primevally called Elamais, Istaker, or Tackt-i-Jemsheed. After the establishment of the empire by Cyrus, it is well known that he and his immediate descendants divided their residence chiefly between Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana. He was a conqueror long before he was a king; and while Cambyses, his father, reigned in Persia and occupied his own capital; and Cyaxares his uncle yet lived, and maintained his state in Ecbatana, the principal city of the Medes; Cyrus resided at times in Babylon, which he had subdued, and then afterwards at Susa, when the death of Abradates gave the whole province to his generous prince and friend. Cyrus did not live more than eight years after he became master of the empire, and therefore could not have had much time to distinguish Persepolis by any long residence there; though we find that he often went thither, as well as to his sacer-

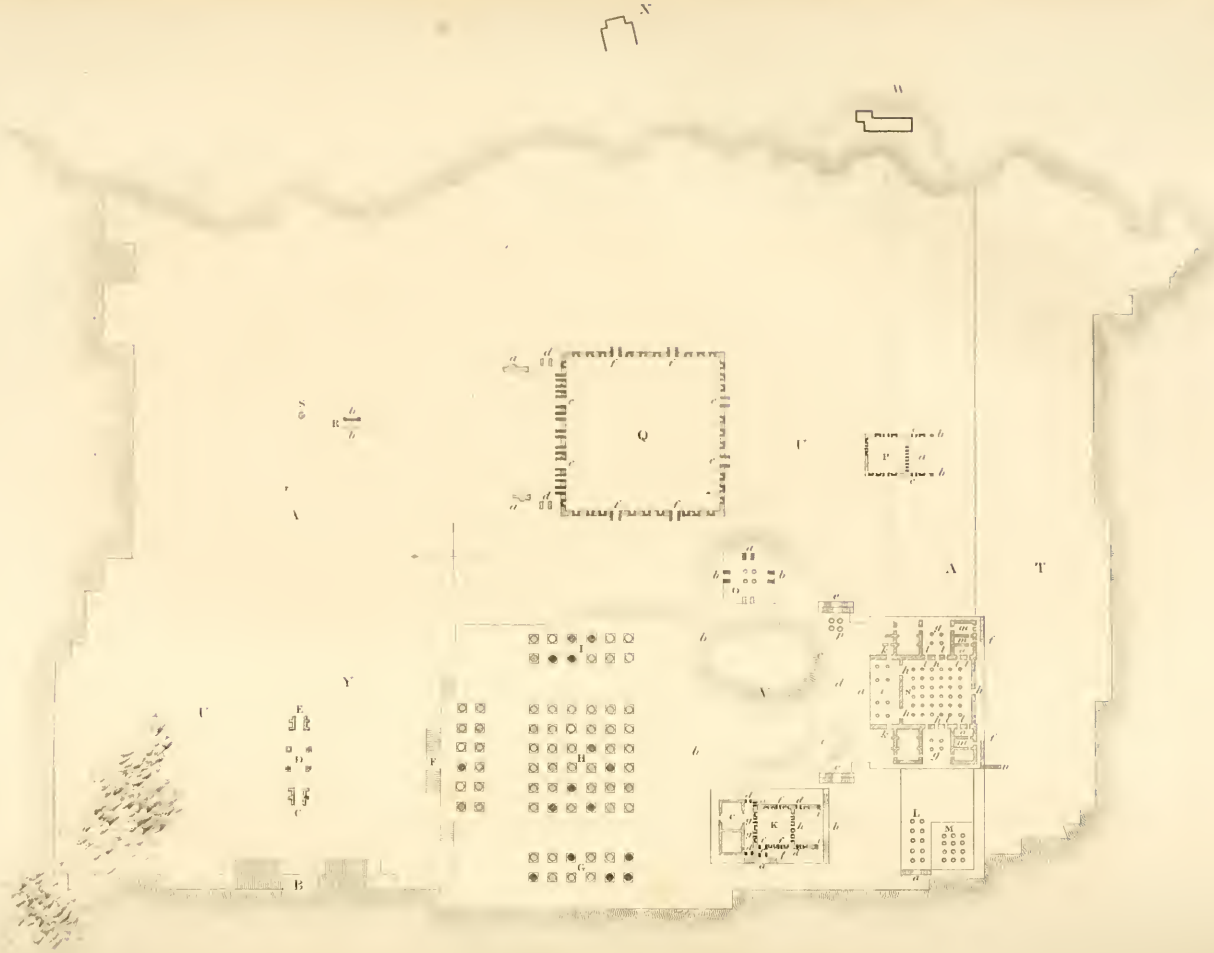
Pl. 29

Sir Robert Porter

I. Clark Sc.

Remains of Persepolis

London, Pub. by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820



● Columns erect.

◎ Bases remaining.

▢ Those totally buried by Ruins.

Scale of Feet.

50 100 200 300 400 500

Plan of the remains of Persepolis

London Published by Longman & Co 1839

Engraved by Sidw Hall, Sun

dotal city in the neighbourhood, to bestow the beneficence of a king upon their inhabitants, and to offer his oblations to the gods. We learn from everal writers, that at different periods both Cyrus and his successors had added to the splendours of the city which the Greeks called Persepolis. (Strabo. Diod. Siculus.) Xenophon clearly points out its situation, by noticing its no great distance from the frontiers of Media. But however the Persian monarchs might choose to pass their lives, first in one capital, and then another, of their wide dominions, their ultimate repose was always sought in the sepulchral caves of their native mountains. Here we see their tombs; and the most authentic historians testify, how almost invariably their remains were transported hither. The traces which were left of the once great and flourishing capital of ancient *Persis*, have been gradually disappearing ever since the year 982, when the final blow which destroyed it as a city, was struck by Sumeanah-a-Dowlah, a vizier of the caliph of Bagdad, then master of Persia. Succeeding princes and their ministers, (though seldom either of the native race,) continued an extraordinary hostility to these memorials of former greatness; as if the destruction of the works and earthly monuments of the illustrious dead, could destroy the memory of virtues which can never die! But notwithstanding these incessant dilapidations for so many ages, mighty ruins yet survived; and a few human beings still found a dwelling-place amongst its roofless walls, so late as the the sixteenth century; but, "how was the glorious city become dim!" We are told that only a few huts then occupied the courts of the successors of Cyrus. Mons. Favine, in his curious and chivalric "Chronicle of the World," published in Paris about the year 1619, gives an interesting account of how the very subject we are now discussing

was considered by scholars in his days. "The capital city in the kingdom of Persia (he says,) was named Susa. It was thwarted with the great river Choaspis, of which water, and none other, the kings of Persia used to drink, in whatsoever place they were. At one *parasangue* from Susa, (a parasangue containeth three-score stades, which made seven thousand five hundred paces, amounting to two miles or thereabout, at four thousand paces for a mile,) was a village called *Persepolis* for excellency, and therein was a temple, dedicated to Pallas, the goddess of arms, and named *Pasargadis*, in which temple the monarchs of the Persians were crowned." It is curious to see how a really learned man of that period has abridged the distance between these two ancient capitals; and while he shows so much knowledge concerning the history of the places he names, how he makes so great a jumble of their relative positions; yet, it is not unsatisfactory to find, from what he says of the *temple* of Pasargadæ, that opinion had then placed its site so near the situation where we believe its ruins stand; if not within the boundaries of Persepolis, yet not many farsangs from them.

To attempt any guess of the period when the city of Persepolis first rose from the plain, would be as useless and bewildering as to analyse its various names; the means now in our hands, of forming any satisfactory conjectures respecting its origin, can only reach to the probable era of the different remaining ruins; by comparing their architectural fragments and sculptured relics, with the yet existing specimens of these arts in those countries which were once connected with Persia either by conquest or alliance. The most conspicuous remains in Persepolis, or, as the natives call it, Tackt-i-Jemsheed, (the throne of Jemsheed,) are Chehelminar, or the Forty Columns. The immediate impression

that struck me in my first walk amidst them, was, that en masse, and in detail, they bore a strong resemblance to the architectural taste of Egypt. A circumstance which need not be a matter of surprise, since the early wars, mutual conquests, and reciprocal captivities of each other's subjects between the sovereigns of this part of the world, may well account for a general resemblance in the building of their cities, and even in the manners of their people. And when we recollect certain particulars in the history of Egypt, we may more readily understand why we find the columns of the Nile on the plains of Persia. About forty years before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, Nebuchadnezzar over-ran the whole of Egypt, and loading himself and his army with the rich spoils of the country, returned to Babylon with a multitude of captives. This great conquest achieved, and after having made an end of all his other wars, he set himself down to erect and to finish the great buildings of his own gigantic city. Hence, what is more probable than, in consequence of the family relationship between the Persian monarch Cambyses (who had married Mandana of Media, the sister of Amyitis, the queen of Nebuchadnezzar,) and the conqueror of Egypt, that he should be permitted to share in the talents of the ingenious, amongst the captives of his kinsman and ally? And again, when Cyrus the son of Cambyses annexed Babylon to his empire, and brought away with him its treasures and artisans into other cities of his kingdoms, Babylon would then yield the lessons it learnt in Egypt, to the Persian conqueror. And if these are not enough to account for the Egyptian appearance of Persepolis, Diodorus Siculus gives ample details of the expedition of Cambyses the son of Cyrus against Amasis, and his successor Psammenitus; both princes having refused the usual tribute to the

new sovereign of the empire. The Persian monarch soon subdued his refractory tributary, and carried away from Thebes the richest ornaments of its edifices, to decorate his palaces of Susa and Persepolis; besides, he wisely accompanied the spoil with Egyptian workmen, to place them properly in their new stations. (Diod. Sic. l. i.) These artisans must have been amongst the six thousand captives of Egypt, whom Cambyses brought from thence, and which are mentioned by Ctesias. Future princes followed the same example, of adorning their capital with the talents, as well as treasures of the countries they conquered, till, in the words of Q. Curtius, "Persepolis became the glory of the East; no other city existing that could be compared to it." But the description that enters closest into particulars, is that of Diodorus Siculus; and ere I repeat my own observations, I shall give an extract from him, that what he says may be compared with my sketch of the ruins of the Palace of Forty Pillars; and the correspondence between the past and the present will be more clearly seen.

"A triple wall encircled the place. The first wall was sixteen coudes in height, defended by parapets, and flanked with towers. The second wall was in form like the first, but twice its elevation." These two embattled walls were probably built out pretty far on the plain, and not a trace of them remains. But to return to our historian. — "The third wall is a *square*, *and cut in the mountain*, being sixty coudes in height. It is defended by palisadoes of copper, and has doors of the same, of twenty coudes high. The first wall is to inspire awe, the second for strength, and the last for the defence of the palace. To the east of this, about four hundred feet distant, is the spot called the Royal Mountain, containing the tombs of the kings. Here

the rock is hollowed out into several chambers; to gain the entrance to which the coffins are hoisted up by machinery: no other way of ascending to them exists."

I shall now proceed with the result of my diurnal investigations, which the general plan of the place subjoined will additionally illustrate. (Plate XXX.) It includes the part of the mountain that lies immediately behind the great platform of the immense square cut from the rock, which Diodorus describes; as, no doubt, this division of the hill comprises what that historian calls the "Royal Mountain." There the tombs are to be found. The connection of this sacred inclosure with the great plane of the edifice below, naturally comes within the bounds of what might be called the castellated palace. On the ground above, appear several mounds and stoney heaps, marking three distinct lines of walls and towers; which may readily be traced by the observer who does not estimate fatigue when in pursuit of information. They were a protection to the city on this side; which, otherwise, might have been exposed to invasion from the higher ground. Their situation and direction will be seen in the plan; and may convince us, that a palace so well defended on all sides, was rightly named by Q. Curtius, when he called it a bulwark of the capital. His words are, "From the situation of the palace, partly on the rock, and partly on the mountain, it became a kind of citadel." When the Arabs attacked the still remaining strength of Istaker, or Persepolis, at the close of the reign of Yezdijerd the last of the Sassanian race, in the year A. D. 642, the slaughter was so great in this dilapidated capital, that every part of it was covered with the dead. But they must have possessed themselves of these higher works, before they descended to the destruction of the

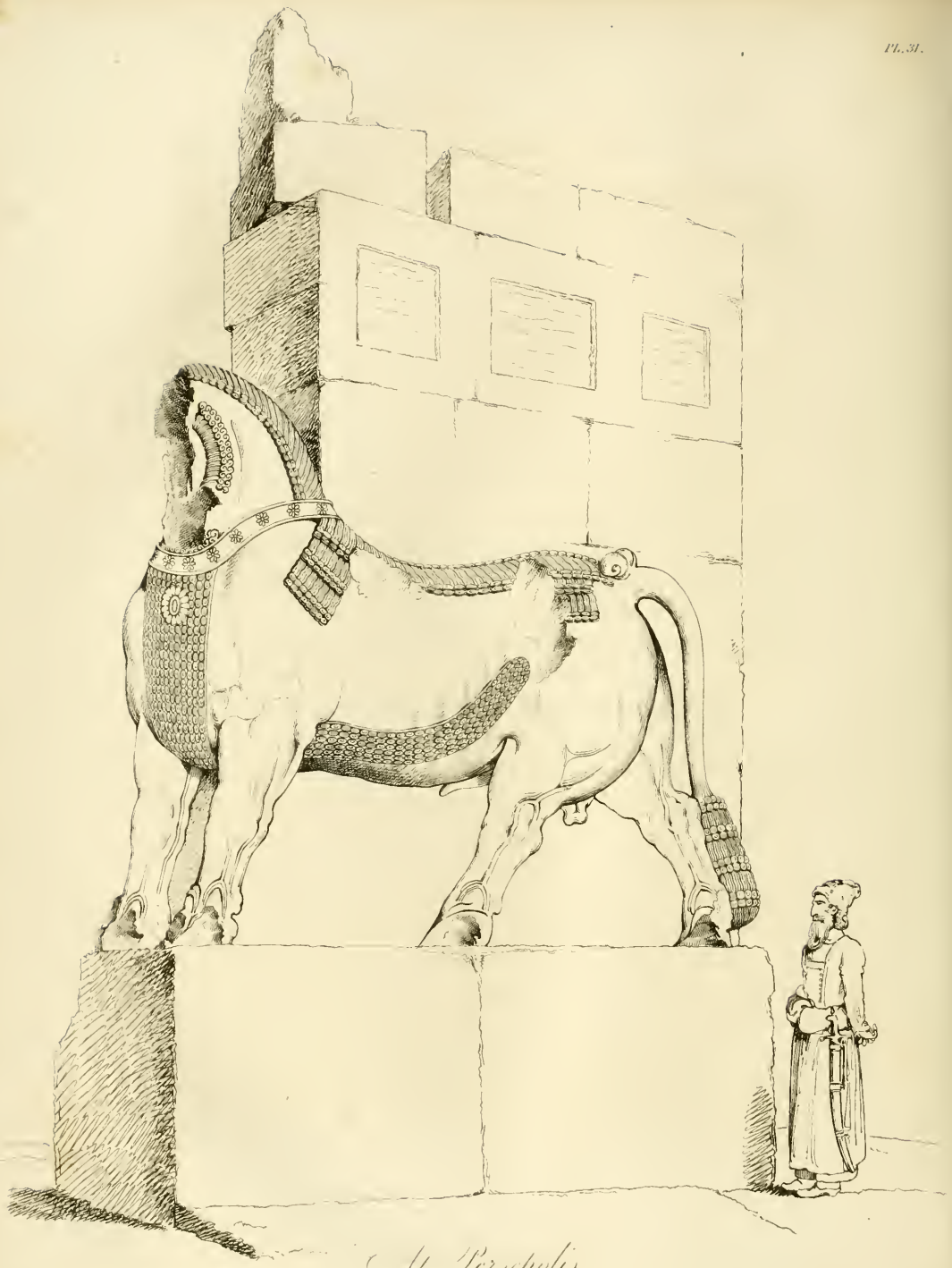
rest; innumerable quantities of arrow-heads being found from time to time, along the ruins of the walls above, also over the ground below, and on the tops of the remaining walls of what is called the palace.

The artificial plain, on which the ruins of this immense royal citadel or palace stand, is of a very irregular shape; probably it was in a general way the original form of the rock, and the projector judged, in cutting it, that as long as he obtained the expanse demanded, the nicety of the square on the extreme verge, was of little consequence. However, like the foundations of all the great works in Egypt, connected with religion and the monarch, this platform faces the four cardinal points. The scale on which the plane is drawn, will show the return of all the angles. The following is the full extent of each face. That to the south, is 802 feet, to the north 926, and to the west 1425. The level on which the buildings have been erected, is become exceedingly uneven, by being raised in parts by the accumulation of fallen ruins, and the soil which from various causes collects in time over such heaps. To the north-west, considerable masses of the native rock show themselves without encumbrance, and still bearing the marks of the original hammers and other implements with which the higher pieces had been hewn down to the level required. In the same direction, just beyond the face of the artificial plain, the rock protrudes itself in vast abrupt cliffs, but still showing traces of not having quite escaped the pick-axe, which had spread the great surface in their neighbourhood. In deeper cavities, the progress of a quarry is visible; part of the rock in some places being half hewn through; and in others, lying in completed slabs, ready for removal. Indeed there are plain indications,

both above and below, that even at the close of the last branch of the Kaianian dynasty, this superb structure was not deemed entirely finished. It was a costly gem, to which every succeeding hand thought it could give an additional polish. But what had already been done, could not be exceeded; nor can any thing ever transcend the strength and beauty with which the rocky terrace has been constructed. Its steep faces are formed of dark-grey marble, cut into gigantic square blocks, exquisitely polished; and, without the aid of mortar, fitted to each other with such closeness and precision, that when first completed, the perfected platform must have appeared as part of the solid mountain itself, levelled to become a foundation for a structure whose yet proud columns may bear a date of above two thousand years. The height of the platform from the ground is in general considerably lowered from what it was in the time of Diodorus's description. The encroachment of ruins and vegetation, and other heaping-up matters, at its base, have raised hillocks against all the sides, making rough slopes where once were the smoothest perpendiculars. I measured them in several places; and at a spot near to the group of columns, its present perpendicular line is thirty feet; but from observation, there can be no doubt that, might we clear away all that hides this beautiful wall, we should find an additional depth of twenty feet, and most probably more. The southern side, at this time, does not rise higher than eighteen or twenty feet; and, I think, never could have exceeded thirty. To the north it varies from sixteen to twenty-six. This spacious artificial plain, may be said to consist of three separate terraces. The first, and lowest, embraces the whole length of the southern face (T), and is in width one hundred and eighty-three feet. The second contains the whole

of area (U U). The third and most elevated (V), has been entirely covered with buildings, and certainly the most magnificent of the whole. Along the edge of the lowest terrace, larger masses of stone remain in different spots, which appear fragments of a parapet wall: they are worked with the same colossal strength, and gigantic proportions, as the rest of the edifice. On the edge of the third, or highest terrace, to the south, are decided marks where a strong range of railing or palisadoes have been. These marks cease at the top of the flight of steps which connect this terrace with the one beneath, (N). At the top of the steps we find two large holes, cut deeply in the stone, which received the pivots of the gates that anciently closed this ingress. I have thus given a general idea of the ground on which the great citadel-palace, "the glory of the East," stood in "the day of its beauty and its power." I shall now, in detail, describe the ruins that remain.

There is but one way by which the summit of the platform is attained, and that consists of an ascent by steps, situated in its western face. This approach is so stupendous, and on a scale so magnificent, that it fully prepares the mind for the corresponding forms of vastness and grandeur it is to meet above. A double flight of stairs on a very gentle ascent, rise north and south, emerging from a flat place, which is gained from the face of the valley, over a considerable slope of accumulated ruins and rubbish. This space occupies 45 feet by 22, the latter measurement forming the width of the steps; each step is three inches and a half in height, and in all they number fifty-five. The masons had not required many blocks of marble for their structure, each block being so large as to allow ten or fourteen steps to be cut into its solid mass. The size of the base these cover is 67 feet



At Persepolis.

...don Published by Longman & ...

J. Heath, Sc.

by 22. On ascending the first flight, an irregular landing-place presents itself, of 37 feet by 44, from whence springs a second flight, formed of forty-eight steps, and covering 59 feet by 22. A couple of corresponding staircases terminate on the grand level of the platform, by a landing-place occupying 64 feet. I dropped a line from this upper landing-place to the lower one, and found the distance produced was 29 feet. As there cannot be a doubt that the present visible height of the platform is not much more than half its original elevation from the plain, so the length of the flights of stairs from the plain must have been abridged in the same manner. The beauty and ease of the ascent which remains, will readily be understood, when I mention that I invariably rode my horse up and down them during my visits to their interesting summit. It struck me as a singular taste, to have made the only entrance to this vast space, not in the center of any one of its faces, but so much to the contrary, as to be 961 feet from the southern face, and 208 from the northern.

On reaching the platform, the first objects that strike the astonished traveller, are the lofty sides of an enormous portal, (C). The interior faces of its walls are sculptured into the forms of two immense quadrupeds, which, on nearer approach, we found to represent a couple of colossal bulls. (Plate XXXI.) They look towards the west; their heads, chests, and fore-legs occupying almost the whole thickness of the walls in that direction, the rest of their bodies is left in relief. A kind of pedestal, formed of two blocks, elevates them five feet above the level of the platform. On the fine surface of the hewn stone, which forms the portal, and at a considerable height over the backs of the animals, are three small compartments, and all

filled with the arrow-headed inscriptions. Whatever may have finished the top of these walls, is so totally destroyed, that not a vestige remains, to give the least ground of judging whether a friezed cornice and flat roof connected the gate-way at its summits, or that they always stood as they do now, perfectly separated. The heads of the bulls are entirely gone, but enough is left of the animals to show distinctly what they are. In the one I have drawn, the cloven foot of a bull, with the strong outlines of his form, are very apparent; and the bold, powerful fixture of his station, is particularly striking and grand. The loss of his head deprived me of the only means of knowing whether he carried one or two horns; but I have no doubt on the subject, every symbolical animal of the kind, that I have seen in Persian architecture, having only one horn. Round the necks of these bucolic sentinels are broad collars of roses, executed with the most critical nicety; and over the chest, back, and ribs, extends a kind of decoration resembling short curling hair, but cut with a correctness and delicacy of chiselling so peculiar to Persian sculptures of antiquity, that I have been elaborate, I may say to a hair, in delineating such distinguishing marks of the art and its epoch. The proportions of the animals are admirable; and, although the manner of their execution be *sec*, yet there is a corresponding grandeur in their forms, which perfectly accords with the prodigious scale on which all around them is designed.

The dimensions of the wall that forms one side of the portal, are as follows. Its breadth, facing the west, is five feet, and its length twenty-one; its height agrees exactly with what Niebuhr calculated, thirty feet. The proportion between it, and the Persian who stands with his back against its outer side, in

the drawing, will give a tolerably correct idea of its sublime appearance. The one wall is distant from the other about twelve feet, and the intervening space finely flagged with beautifully polished slabs cut from the neighbouring rock. In having thus described one side, I need only say that the other corresponds to it exactly. On both, I am sorry to say, I found a cloud of initials, and names, and dates, of former visitants to the spot, to the no small injury of the fine surface of the stone.

In the very learned and distinguished observations made on the remains of Persepolis by Professor Heeren, I have found cause to remark, in more than one instance, how that gentleman has been led astray by the incorrect manner in which travellers have copied these bas-reliefs. I am certain that if he were to be standing on this platform, and viewing the portal, he would immediately pronounce that the two colossal animals which support the portal, are bulls, and in no way resembling the monociros of Ctesias. He supposed this extraordinary creature to have existed in the mountainous tract north of India, and east of Persia, bordering on the desert: indeed, it is there that he finds pasture for all his fabulous animals. The bulls at the gate of Persepolis have all the marks of the most powerful strength; a neck muscular and short, with joints gigantically knit, and a force of muscles, which show the perfect knowledge of the artist. The broad ornamented chest, and the position of the animal, are full of a ponderous majesty. It is something extraordinary, to see such weight of body and limbs, united with such spirit in the attitude, and action of the muscles, that the whole seems ready to move from the great mass to which it is attached. The tail and cloven hoof differ totally from the wild ass, and indicate decidedly the animal to which they belong. Supposing that the head were

here, and that we found it had only a single horn, still that would be no just ground for affirming that the creature it belonged to, must be the monociros of Ctesias. A little recollection of the opinions entertained respecting the bull by certain nations of the East, and the ancient Persians amongst others, will be sufficient, when connected with its colossal image on the stone, to make us apprehend that it was planted here for a profounder reason than mere ornament. In Egypt, Syria, and India, the animal was worshipped as a divinity. The Indians, who adore their gods in symbols, conceived the bull to be the best representation of creative energy, and therefore worshipped Seeva, the Creator, under its form. The Apis of the Egyptians received divine honours from the same reason. The ancient Persians peculiarly venerated the bull, from the lessons they had learnt of the Chaldean astronomers, of its association with the sun when that genial luminary enters the constellation of Taurus; an event which filled the whole nation with joy, as proclaiming the approaching renovation of nature; and the Magi, more clearly to impress on the people the regenerating power of this celestial conjunction between the divine Mithra and the planetary emblem of the animal most useful in replenishing the earth, ordered that, on great occasions, the bull should be slain in sacrifice to that creative god. But, from this very circumstance of its having been made a victim, we learn that, however venerated, it was not regarded as an object of worship itself. From first to last, in all its figured appearances on Persian remains, it seems a point of some emblematic imagery. In many places of these ruins I shall have to notice allegorical combinations of men and animals, also to speak of animals alone; and the present station of the bull stands the first in the range, seeming a very apt

symbol of Power, that kept the gate of the great king. Throughout all pagan mythology, we find the bull set down as the emblem of power, and the lion, of royalty. The lion and the bull, either singly, or in forms compounded of both animals, are found some way connected with almost all the ancient structures in Persia; and the frequent recurrence of this kind of hieroglyphical inscription on the architraves of palaces, or the sides of gates, or the roofs of temples, may easily be read as declarative of the *royal power* by which they are all sustained. The horns of an animal are another symbol of strength, or perhaps we had better say of force, since they are only useful to the owner as a weapon of attack or defence. The strength lies in the bull; the act of force, in the horn with which he strikes. Two or more horns rising from the same head, in the hieroglyphic language of the East, being generally-understood to represent the number of kingdoms under the command of some supreme monarch; why might not the single horn on the head of the bull be typical of the concentrated force of an empire? But the prophet Daniel (who wrote in this very empire) thus explains the position of such a horn: "And the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king;" (Dan. c. viii. v. 21.) meaning the founder of an empire. A single horn representing Cyrus, on these symbols, in the same way that Daniel speaks of Alexander under this figure as founding the Macedonian empire on the ruins of that of Cyrus.

In the Zendavesta, it is stated that the bull was the first created animal; that his essence proceeded from the moon, and from him sprung men, and all other animals. Some remarks of Mr. Faber on this subject, to be found in that invaluable treasury of profound learning, his work on the "Origin of Pagan Idolatry," are highly illustrative of the true meaning attached to

this mythological account of man being the offspring of the moon and a bull. This strange fable, if believed by the Persians, would certainly increase their reverence for the image of their horned ancestor; but that they had no notion of worshipping the animal, either in reality or in effigy, may be corroborated by the fact of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, stabbing the Apis of Egypt in indignation at so gross an idolatry. Xenophon, who remarks that the bull in Persia is held sacred to Mithra, also gives an account of its being led as a victim in the great triumphal sacrifice by Cyrus. On the chest of the bull, at the gate I have been describing, a large radiated orb is sculptured.

Proceeding onward to the East, (D) at the distance of twenty-four feet in a direct line from the portal, once stood four magnificent columns. They were all erect at the time Sir John Chardin visited Persepolis. Two only now remain; but not a relic of their companions. They were placed equidistant from each other at twenty-two feet. The accumulation of ruins now mouldered into earth, has nearly buried the bases of those which yet stand. Their capitals are singular and beautiful; (Plate XLV. fig. B.) consisting, as it were, of three combined into one. The shaft gradually narrows towards the top, varied by thirty-nine flutings near the cincture, each of which is four inches in width. The tor is thirteen feet ten inches in circumference; and from thence to the top of the capital is about forty-five feet. As the base on which it rests, seems to differ in no respect from others I shall have to describe, to prevent repetition I omit its description here. The surface at the top of the capitals is perfectly smooth, without the least vestige of any loose fragment; and I should be led to imagine, that when the four stood erect, and were united, they might have sustained the plane or pedestal of

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some sculptured symbolical image. I have before mentioned that these columns had been placed at about twenty-four feet from the first portal; an equal space separates them from a second (E), which differs in no way from the preceding, either in form or dimensions, excepting that its length is eighteen feet instead of twenty-one. The inner sides of this are sculptured in like manner with the other; but the animals represented here, are of a very extraordinary formation. (Plates XXXII. XXXIII.) Their size is gigantic, like the others; but their appearance is monstrous. They have the body and legs of a bull, ornamented with similar trappings to those already described; but an enormous pair of wings project from the shoulders, extending high over the back, and covering the breast, whence they might seem to spring, as the whole chest is cased with their plumage. The huge feathers which compose the wings are exquisitely cut; corresponding to each other, with the usual care so peculiar to the earliest sculptors of this country. The heads of the animals look direct to the mountain, which is due east, and show the faces of men; but the blind zeal of the viziers of the caliphs, if not some later hand, has terribly mutilated the features; yet enough remains of the whole visage and its appendages, to show that it was meant to symbolise no ordinary personage. The expression of the countenance is severe; and a long and carefully curled beard adds to the majesty of the general air. The ears are those of a bull, and from them hang large drop ear-rings of a very elegant form. On the head is a cylindrical diadem, on both sides of which, horns are clearly represented, winding from the brows upwards, towards the front of the crown; the whole being surmounted by a sort of coronet, formed of a range of leaves like the lotos, and bound with a fillet beautifully

carved in roses. We find the hair ranged over the forehead in the usual style of the ancient Persian kings; the beard, also, is disposed in the way peculiar to royalty; but the hinder hair lies in long and close curls round the back of the neck, totally differing from any of the bas-reliefs in other parts of the ruins. From the top of the crown to the hoof, the animal measures nineteen feet. Three compartments of incription are cut in the wall over his body.

This is the only specimen known to exist in Persia, where the human and bestial form are conjoined; in vain I sought for any trace of a similar union; and I have been assured by the most unquestionable authorities, that no other can be discovered, either here, or in any other part of the kingdom. Various opinions have been conceived of its meaning; and amongst others, Mons. Anquetil du Peron advances very cogent reasons for supposing it to be a symbolical representation of Noah, the second patriarch of mankind, the great legislator of the earth, and instructor in all the arts tending to human comfort. Mons. de Sacey considers it to be the emblem of Kaiamurs, the first sovereign of the Paishdadian dynasty, (whom the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh derives as third in descent from Noah;) and he draws the name Kaiamurs from *Gaw*-i-*mird*, bull-and-man. But it is not less interesting to observe how this singular hieroglyphic might be attributed to Cyrus himself, whose empire over the East was prophesied by Ezekiel, under almost the same figure, upwards of fifty years before his accession. The prophet beholds in a vision, the symbolical images of the four great empires which are to succeed each other until the coming of the Messiah; and he thus expresses himself: "And their feet were straight feet; the sole of their feet was like the sole of a *calf*'s foot, and they

sparkled like the colour of burnished brass. Their *wings* were joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward. As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the *face of a man*, and the face of a lion on the right side: and they four had the face of an *ox* on the left side: they four also had the face of an eagle." (Ezek. ch. i. ver. 7. 9, 10.) Daniel foretels the empire of the same prince, under a similar union of the human with the bestial form, describing it as a *lion with eagle's wings;* and he adds, that he gazed on it till "it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and *a man's heart* was given to it." (Dan. ch. vii. v. 4.) Commentators have explained the human attributes, given in these symbolical imageries, as prophetic of the peculiar wisdom and clemency of Cyrus's character. But whatever be the real intention, in the bull-man, which is here planted in the ancient seat of the earliest monarchs of the East, in the gate of his palace, his attributes fully answer the general idea of an emblematic reference to a just sovereignty. In the bull-form, we have the plenitude of power; in the human head and regal ornaments, the sovereign and the sage; in the exalted horns, the force of action, and a lofty sense of the awe it inspires; and the wings may either typify the celestial descent, or the kingly activity, or the parental protection, of the royal character.

On turning to the right of the portal, an expanse of a hundred and sixty-two feet lies between it, and the magnificent terrace that supports the multitude of columns, from which it takes its name. One object alone, interrupts the attention in our progress towards them; this is a fine and conspicuous cistern, hewn out of the solid rock, in dimensions eighteen feet by sixteen. It stands now only three feet above the level of the rock, or rather earth

that has collected over it. Subterraneous aqueducts filled it with water; and as another of these channels runs in a parallel line to the west, it is probable that a corresponding reservoir may have been in that direction.

On drawing near the *Chehel-minar*, or Palace of Forty Pillars, which is the name given to this splendid division of ruins, the eye is riveted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flights of steps which lead up to them. This superb approach consists of a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length of which is two hundred and twelve feet; and at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps: again, about the middle, projecting from it eighteen feet, appear two smaller flights rising from the same points. Here the extent of the range, including a landing-place of twenty feet, amounts to eighty-six. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is extremely gradual; each flight containing only thirty low steps, none exceeding four inches in height, in breadth fourteen inches, and in length sixteen feet. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture. The eye, at first, roves over it, lost in the multitude of figures, and bewildered by the thronging ideas instantly associated with the crowd of various interesting objects before it. But I took time to distinguish every figure, to examine all its peculiarities, and to copy them as distinctly as I could; (Plate XXXIV.) and this drawing being done to a regular scale, with a description in explanation, will, I hope, give some just impression of the general aspect of so magnificent a piece of work.

The space immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments. The centre one has a plain surface, as

if intended for an inscription: probably, writing may have been there, which is now obliterated. To the left of it, are four standing figures about five feet six inches high, habited in long robes, with brogue-like buskins on their feet. They each hold a short spear in an upright position, in both hands. The fluted, flat-topped cap, before described on other bas-reliefs, is on their heads; and from the left shoulder hangs their bow and quiver. The nicety with which all the details are executed, render these sculptures particularly interesting to the historian, and to the historical painter; they mark the costume of the time and the people, and their progress in the form, variety, and use of arms; and in the latter instance, I cannot omit noticing the clearness with which they show the ancient method of stringing the bow, and the manner of attaching the leather cover to the quiver, which protects the feathers of the arrows from damage. Being an old bowman myself, these peculiarities of archery were more readily observed by me.

On the right of the vacant tablet are three figures only. They look towards the opposite four, and differ in no way with respect to their robes and fluted helmet; but they have neither bows nor quiver; carrying the spear only; with the addition of a large shield on the left arm, something in the shape of the body of a violincello; or rather, I should say, exactly in the form of a Bœotian buckler. It appears extraordinary, that none of these armed figures wear any thing like a sword or dagger; but on examining all the sculptures throughout, I did not find the representation of what we call a sword, on any one of them. As this seems to have been the grand approach to the entrance of the palace above, doubtless the spearmen just described must have been intended to pourtray the royal guards; the fashion of whose

dress accords perfectly with the account given of it by Herodotus, (b. v. c. xlix.) who states that "they were armed with a bow and a short spear, and habited in long robes, with their hair flowing full behind." When describing the army of Xerxes, he writes, — "The Persians defend their heads with a small helmet called a tiara; their bodies are covered with sleeved tunics of various colours: upon these are plates of steel, like the scales of a fish; their thighs are protected in the same way. They are armed with large bows and arrows, the shafts of which are reeds. They carry a short spear; and for defence use a shield denominated *gerra:* beneath it is the quiver; and on their *right side* is a dagger hung from a belt." — In neither of these descriptions do we find a sword mentioned; but Xenophon, in his Cyropedia, particularly names it, whenever the arms of the Persians are noticed. From all this, and never finding the vestige of a sword on any of these most ancient basreliefs, I am led to think that when the authors of greatest antiquity speak of the Persian sword, they can only intend this dagger-like weapon, the ἀκινάκης of the Greeks, and the *acinaces* of the Romans, the poniard, so accurately delineated by Herodotus, being invariably worn on the right side. We find another sort of weapon of the kind, mentioned by writers as having been in use amongst the Persians; such as the *copis* of Q. Curtius. (b. viii. c. xiv.) But I should regard this latter, as the short falchion peculiar to certain tribes immediately bordering on the shores of the Euphrates, and the Persian gulf, who would, at times, serve in the Persian armies. It is described as curved, like the dagger of the present day, which is in use amongst their descendants.

Before I proceed farther in describing these memorials of,

perhaps, the most interesting empire of the earth, I shall subjoin what Xenophon narrates of the change of dress which Cyrus introduced amongst the leading people of his native Persia, when he united that kingdom with the realm of Media. "Cyrus was of opinion that princes should not only excel those under their dominion in virtues, but in appearance also. Hence he chose to wear the Median robe, and persuaded the companions of his exploits to do the same; urging, that if a man had a defect in his person, the flowing drapery concealed it; and if he were of fine proportions, the nobleness of the dress added to the dignity of his stature. With this habit, they adopt a sort of buskin, between the sole of which and the foot, a small substance may be introduced to elevate the wearer to any increase of height he pleases.

"Cyrus also allowed his associates to colour their eyes, that they might seem to have finer eyes than the rest of the people, and gain respect from their beauty. He was careful however to keep their manners as severe and decent as before, exhorting them never to be seen to spit, or blow the nose, or to commit any other sort of irreverence before the people. When he made his first grand procession from his palace, he called around him all those, both Persians and others, who were high in command under him, and distributed to them Median robes: it was then that the Persians first assumed that dress; and when he had given the finest robes to the greatest men, he produced others of a less costly sort; but they were sufficiently gorgeous in colour, being scarlet, and purple, and crimson; and presenting them to the chiefs he had already adorned, bade them dispose these as they pleased amongst their friends. So these men, going their ways, and sending for those most dear to them, arrayed them as

the king had said. And afterwards, when the day of procession came, Cyrus appeared without the gates, in a vesture of purple mixed with white, (a union of colours which no one else is allowed to wear;) yellow stockings, or buskins, were on his legs; a robe, wholly of purple, on his shoulders, and a high turban on his head, bound with a diadem or wreath. His kinsmen wore the like mark of distinction, and they have it to this day. His hands he kept out of their coverings. When his chariot advanced, four thousand of the guards led the way, and the chiefs about his person, to the number of three hundred, finely clothed, and with javelins in their hands, followed after on horseback." (Cyrop. b. viii.) Thus much of the description is sufficient for my present purpose.

Two angular spaces on each side of the corresponding groups of spearmen, described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull, (Plate XXXV.) a most spirited and admirable performance. The bull is decorated with the same kind of curled hair over its chest, back, and tail, which ornaments his similitude at the gate of the first portal; but with this difference in the additional ornaments, the collar of the animal in the combat is perfectly plain, and there is no radiated form on his breast; here, the head is perfect, and we find a single horn projecting over his forehead. From the circumstance of a collar round the neck of the bull, it proves him to be no wild one, and that we are not to understand the combat as accidental. But whether it may be received as a proof, that such conflicts were brought forward before the Persian people, is another question. That wild animals of the untameable sort were not merely hunted by the bold spirits of these Eastern princes, but preserved near their

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palaces, is evident, from the lion's den which we find at Babylon after its conquest by Cyrus; but by no accounts that I can recollect, does it appear that the beasts so immured were ever used for sport of any kind after their first capture. Every historian of these countries, and all remains of the principles of their religion, bear one testimony to their tenderness for the brute creation; and the fondness of the people for the chase no way contradicts it; for it certainly is one thing to the humane feelings of a man, whether he engage in the open sports of the field, often putting his own life as much to hazard as the animal's he hunts, or sits at his ease to see two noble creatures pent in an arena, tearing out each other's brave hearts for his amusement. Had any thing of this sort been customary with the Persians prior to the time of Cyrus, we should have found some trace of it in the games he established after his accession to the empire; but we read only of horse and chariot races, and similar exercises, calculated "to raise emulation in men to perform great and intrepid actions."

Hence, as we are not to consider the bas-relief under discussion, as representing a combat between two animals in any thing like the Roman fashion; the question remains, are they, like the bulls on the portals, allegorical figures? Were we to regard this group in a point of view analogous to the mysteries of the Zend-avesta, it might be supposed to allude to the conquest of Ahriman, the power of darkness and of evil, over Ormuzd, the power of light and goodness, in the person of his creature the bull, or bull-man, which the Zend-avesta represents as having been so subdued; but I cannot imagine that the devout Persians would have any gratification in thus celebrating the defeat of the power whom they worshipped. Besides, there is one

argument conclusive against the idea. Ahriman is invariably described, when assuming a visible appearance, as under the form of a serpent or a dragon, clearly pourtraying the subtilty and fierceness of the character. But in this bas-relief, we find the bull is in the grasp of a lion, the usual symbol for only the most royal virtues: and as Cyrus himself was typified in the East, under the form of "a lion with a man's heart;" and the Assyrian empire under the form of an ox, or a bull; it does not seem improbable that the conquest of Cyrus over the two great empires of Assyria and Babylonia, united at Babylon, should be typified on each side of this ingress to his palace, by the lion's seizure of the one-horned bull; the single horn being so large and twisted, as very well to symbolise the union of a double power. But to return to the description of the subject as a piece of art. The more it is examined, the more distinctly we see that the sculptor, whether native or foreign, was master of his business. With an admirable ingenuity, he has adapted his group to the form of the space, by placing the bull in a rearing posture, as if from the pain occasioned by his antagonist's double grasp; the lion having seized him by the back and loins, not only with his teeth, but by his claws. The fire, beauty, and truth, with which these quadrupeds are hewn, may appear hardly credible to one who has not beheld them on the spot; for no artist of Greece or Rome could have been more faithful to the proportions of nature, or shewn more knowledge of the anatomy of their forms. But it must be remarked, that wherever any of the brute creation are represented amongst these relics, we always find their limbs, muscles, and actions, given in a more perfect style than when the same sculptor attempts the human form. The same observation will be found to hold good with regard to the

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antiquities of Egypt, Syria, and India; and my only way of accounting for the consummate knowledge in one respect, and as conspicuous ignorance in the other, is, that the frequency of seeing the most minute dissections of the brute creation in the daily sacrifices; also the variety of their actions under seizure, of the tame; and of the wild, when hunting; would give to these sculptors of old, advantages that our artists can hardly attain; while the superstition that universally prevailed against putting the hand on a dead man, prevented all insight into the laws of the human frame.

On the inclined planes, corresponding with the slope of the stairs, runs a kind of frieze, on which is cut a line of figures, one foot nine inches in height, (Plate XXXVI.) answering in number with the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. The figures themselves appear a lengthened rank of those already described on each side of the blank tablet; and a similar range runs up the opposite slope. As the lines of figures are so disposed as to face each other, both looking towards one center-point, those on the right present their left sides to the spectator, by which the whole of the bow and quiver they carry, are more accurately seen. A narrow border of open roses, closely set, finishes the upper edge of the frieze, while an equal number of figures ornament the interior face of the same staircase. We can have no doubt, in casting our eyes over the numbers, the uniform dresses, arms, and positions of these men, that they are the stone effigies of the vast body guard, the *Doryphores*, which once held an actual station on these very spots. Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon, chose ten thousand spearmen from amongst his faithful Persians, for this very purpose; and

Xenophon adds, that in his day, the royal guard was still kept on the same footing. These men had already received the distinguishing mark of honour, the Median robe, (the *Kaliaut* of that time, and probably the origin of the custom ;) and also the high cap worn by Cyrus himself. This description of the great King's munificence, and equalizing his general appearance with that of his immediate followers, fully accounts for the similitude of the caps and robes, in these ranges of figures, to the head-dress and raiment of the royal personage in the bas-reliefs which express himself. But with regard to the high cap, or tiara, when mentioned as a universal costume with the Persians, we should recollect it was of many varieties, and not always to be considered as resembling the royal turban, or tiara. On examining the bas-reliefs, it will be found that none of the figures wear the same-shaped high cap with the sovereign's, but those who are distinguished by the same full robe ; hence, all who appear in that garb, though stationed where modern refinement would only place a guard of rank and file, may be esteemed the kinsmen and friends of the king, to whom alone he gave the privilege of wearing the form of the royal tiara. The diadem of Cyrus is described by Xenophon, in two parts ; the turban or high cap, and the wreath or *cydaris ;* but the materials alone, seemed what he held sacred to the kingly dignity. Mons. Favine describes the *cydaris* as " round, yet pointed above like a sugar-loaf," quoting several authorities to that effect ; and indeed the ancient writers, to whom alone we can look for information on the subject, speak so confusedly of the forms and fashions of the royal Persian head-dress, that it is almost impossible to obtain any clear notion about the matter. Probably that which they so frequently name the curved tiara,

cyrbasia, originated with Darius Hystaspes, when he, as well as his six associates in the death of Smerdis the Magian, bent forward their high caps, to distinguish each other by that mark in the confusion of the fray. When he mounted the vacant throne, he privileged his six coadjutors, with their families and descendants, to wear their caps in that fashion; thus, in the manner of Cyrus, distinguishing by a badge similar to that on his own brow, an especial band, attached to his person by the strongest motives, affection or self-interest. In the course of time, these sorts of particular distinctions became so general, by the multitude of real descendants from such privileged families, or pretenders to that honour, that they ceased to be badges at all; as we see in the green turban of the Islamites, which used to be the mark of the Prophet's race, and is now become as common as the grass of the field, by the false pretensions of a multitude of wearers. This may very naturally account for the confusing appearance of all these respective styles of tiara in the bas-reliefs of the later kings, where they are of every form, and apparently dispersed amongst all ranks of people. Before I quit this range of guards, I must not omit mentioning, that at the extremity of the spears of the least mutilated, I observed an ornamented ball, which recalled to my mind the *Melophores*, or thousand guards of Xerxes, who bore at the end of their lances, apples or pomegranates of gold. (Herodotus, vii. c. 61.)

I now proceed to the objects on the face of the next flight of stairs, first taking the left wing, which stretches to the east. Here again, in the triangular space formed by the slope of the steps, we find a repetition of the contest between the lion and the bull, occupying a length of twenty-three feet. It is divided by a tablet, on which may be traced an almost obliterated

inscription, which reaches nearly from top to bottom, at present six feet ten inches deep, and in width four feet ten inches; from whence begin the lines of three rows of sculpture, all sadly defaced, but covering an expanse of sixty-eight feet, and terminating at the top of the steps of the outward approach. Of the upper row of figures, their lower extremities alone remain, appearing no deeper down the surface of the wall than twelve inches; the rest having risen above the level of the terrace to form a kind of parapet, but it is now totally broken away, and vestiges of it may be seen thickly scattered over the ground below.

This deplorably mutilated row of figures, commences with a chariot drawn by two bulls; a second follows it; then comes a horse, with the feet of a man appearing on its opposite side, as if in attendance on the animal; again, two others in succession; then five figures habited in short vests; and after them comes an uninterrupted suite of forty-four long-robed spearmen. It is curious to observe how the rotation in this procession resembles that of Cyrus to his first great royal sacrifice; the chariots and the bulls, and the led horses for sacrifice to the sun, the spearmen, &c. &c. A border carved with roses, divides each row of bas-relief from the one below it. By the frequency of these ornaments, we see how indigenous the rose has ever been in this country, and how admired from the earliest times.

The next begins with a range of thirty-two figures, (Plate XXXVII.) of which every alternate one is clothed in a long robe, its full loose sleeves reaching to the wrists, and its flowing skirts to the ankles. In front, about the center of the waist, the robe appears gathered up, both for convenience and grace of drapery; for there, connected with a girdle, it falls in regular folds over

each thigh; and where the knots of the belt are tied, is stuck a dagger, the handle of which exactly resembles that worn by the Persian of the present day. What is discoverable of the upper part of the sheath, shews a very singular form, not unlike that of the Malay Creesse. These figures in the flowing robes, always have earings, and collars, and some, the addition of bracelets. On their heads they wear the high fluted tiara, covering a bushy fulness of hair, profusely curled upon the neck, and combed up from the forehead, with a termination of curls there also. The beard partakes of the same taste, and is not long, but ending rather square. The feet are enveloped in the sandal buskin. And in this range, we find the figures so habited always holding the hand of the person immediately before them, or the one as immediately behind; a circumstance which would imply their belonging to the establishment of the king; and so leading forward persons, comparatively strangers, to the presence. With the exception of one or two, they all hold in their right hands a flower, resembling the lotos; and several of them have a cased bow hanging on the left hip.

The other alternate figure is attired in a short tunic, reaching to the knees, with long tight sleeves; indeed, the whole of the dress seems so close, that not a fold appears. His lower extremities are covered by trowsers, meeting at the ankles a high shoe, at the top of which they seem to be tied; and yet there is something in their form and smoothness that gives one the idea of jack-boots. On his head is a round-topped cap, projecting at the top a little over the brow. This style of coiffure differs entirely from the fluted cap or tiara, and resembles what we call the Phrygian bonnet. I should be led to suppose, from its simplicity, and the corresponding plainness of the habit

almost invariably worn with it, that the entire dress presented by the figure who wears it, is the genuine Persian habit; I mean the dress of the people of Persia Proper, not of the empire in general. The robe and tiara described above, are evidently the Median fashions. The strap which binds the body of this ancient Persian is very distinctly marked. He wears a second, to which depends, on the right side, a dagger of a quite different shape from that of the robed courtier. This is very broad in the blade, and the point of its sheath seems fastened to the right thigh, near the knee, by a thong. Though not much larger than the common dagger of the time, used by other nations, still I look upon this stout little weapon to have been the actual Persian sword of that early age; which all the ancient accounts describe as "extremely short, and worn on the right side." Some of these figures carry the cased bow, some are decorated with ear-rings, collars, and bracelets, and others have a long cloak hanging from their shoulders, and attached by strings to the breast. All carry the lotos. Twenty-eight robed Persians, armed with spears, and every one in the same attitude, close this line. These do not wear the fluted cap, but have each a fillet round his head, on which are the traces of leaves. Ten or a dozen sculptured cypress-trees, complete this bas-relief, and terminate near the stairs. The height occupied by the line of figures is only two feet ten inches.

The third and lowest bas-relief presents the same procession of robed and tiara-capped Persians, alternately arranged with their tunicked brethren, to the number of thirty-two; and, in like manner as above, followed by a train of twenty-one guards, in the same uniform as those in the upper bas-relief. Time, assisted by the destroying mallets to which I have referred

before, has cruelly defaced the middle series, after having entirely demolished the best part of the row above; but this lowest range, happily for the antiquarian, has till very lately been concealed, probably for ages, under heaps of ruins at its base. In Le Bruyn's time, the heads only of the figures were visible; but some of the gentlemen belonging to one of our late embassies in Persia, set men to work, and were successful in bringing this more perfect specimen to the eye of observation.

I made a drawing of nine of the figures that are in the second row, and another of seven, which belong to the lowest; they are both engraved on the same plate, where each particular that I have mentioned may be seen in the copy. I now proceed to describe the opposite wing of this magnificent approach, and shall defer any remarks on the subjects of its decorations until I have gone through the details of the whole.

This wing, like the other, is divided into three lines of bas-relief, but each is subdivided into compartments, by a large cypress-tree. Vast fragments of this also lie on the ground beneath; the higher range of figures, like those opposite, presenting no more than twelve inches of their original surface, but enough is left to shew, at the commencement of the procession, the lower parts of men and horses. The number of groups which occupy the spaces in this range between the cypresses, are six. The figures are exceedingly broken, but still I could discern that every man carried something in his hand like an offering, and that almost all the parties had a horse in their train. From most eastern historians we learn, that animal was as valuable a present to the monarchs of Persia in those days, as it is considered at present. A continuation of these remnants, becoming more explicable, but not increasing in

height, completes the line along the slope of the stairs, forming its parapet till it meets the ground, and the figures appear to be as follows. The feet of several men are traceable, and the last leads a bull; then intervenes a tree; five more men follow, the fifth leading another bull; then comes the cypress; again five men appear, one bearing a round shield, the remainder carrying spears; then come a couple more; after whom are two bulls drawing a kind of chariot, covered with lozenge ornaments; the suite is closed by a figure leading an animal resembling the Ibex.

The row on the second line (Plates XXXVIII. XXXIX. XL.) begins with a robed Persian armed with a dagger at his belt. In his right hand he carries a staff, apparently the ensign of his office, whilst his left holds the hand of a person behind him, whom he appears to be leading forward. This person precedes four others, as being their chief; three of them bear on both their hands different articles of dress; the fourth, in a similar way, carries a couple of large cups. The style of carrying any thing, as well as presenting it, to a superior, appears to have been the same then as it is now; the most trifling offering being always given with both hands. The whole of this group of five behind the robed Persian, are uniformly habited in short tunics, bound round the waist with a simple buckle and belt. Their legs and feet are covered with a sort of hose, of the jack-boot appearance I mentioned before; and, as a long pair of stockings are amongst the raiment borne, we may conclude that this under-garment is of that character. The upper parts of the figures are too much defaced to shew any thing of a head-dress. A tree divides these from the second group. In this, the leading personage is habited in the old Persian tunic, with the same simple belt as

belongs to the dress in the opposite wing, and without a dagger. He bears a staff, though not so long a one as the robed personage of the same apparent office in the preceding group; he has a collar also, to mark his consequence. With his left hand he leads forward the first figure in a group of six. This suite are habited in a sort of wrapping surtout, the arms naked from the hand to the elbow, where they meet a short sleeve; a kind of cape with a tasseled end hangs over the shoulder, down on the breast. A helmet-like cap covers the head, from which depends a bag, very similar to what is worn in some parts of Kourdistan at the present day: shoes are on the feet. The little that is left unbroken away of the hair, appears in the bushy style of the Medes. Two of these men carry basins, and a third, something like a piece of stuff; the fourth, holds a staff in his right hand, and the end of a halter in his left, by which he leads a large bull; the fifth, walks by the side of the animal, with his left arm over the back, carefully guiding it; he also holds a staff, The bull is admirably sculptured, and the usual heavy sullen step of the animal is shewn to perfection. In this, the artist has displayed the earthly creature, having copied his original of the pasture with the most masterly fidelity; while the colossal bulls, at the portals, present a contrast which fully shews his design in each. A glance at them conveys to the mind an image of the same animal, but of some supernatural order; making the like distinction between them and the natural bull, as the Greeks accomplished, when the gigantic Hercules was hewn from the quarry, giving more than mortal dignity to the common proportions of man. The same *beau idéal* is displayed in the forms of the lions; and this very distinction, so happily shewn on the same platform, may be another argument for

supposing a symbolical meaning is couched under all the animals exhibiting such supernatural elevation of character. The third group in rotation, is preceded by a robed Persian, leading by the left hand the first man of six in suite; the heads of the whole are totally demolished, but in other respects they are not much damaged. A tight gabardine sort of dress, with short sleeves, reaches below the calves of the legs; on their feet are short boots, neatly tied upon the instep. Their waists are bound with sashes, with fringed ends tastefully disposed on the left side. The second man carries a couple of basins; he is followed by one bearing in each hand two regular-shaped forms, evidently the skins of some small animal; the third holds a piece of stuff. Two others come forward, attending a couple of sheep with very huge horns, and fine curled coats; which corroborates the idea of the foregoing skins being probably the beautiful fleeces of the young lambs. Such fleeces, from a peculiar breed, are still in great request in these countries; particularly the grey curled lamb of Bochara, which, both in Persia and Russia, bring the greatest prices.

The introducer, in the fourth group, is one of the tunic-dressed Persians. The person he leads by the hand, seems in all things habited like himself, if we except his staff and collar of office; and the appearance of a cap falling low in the pole of the neck of the led personage. The cap has a peculiarity of curving backwards at its high top, instead of forwards, as we have usually seen on figures wearing the short tunic. On the left side of this man, hangs a cased bow, the only one in the group. The next person, dressed in the same way in all respects excepting the bow, appears walking by the side of a horse, which he holds by its bridle; the mane and tail are nicely tied

up, and the peculiarity of its form, no doubt marks the particularity of its breed. The succeeding four figures carry articles, apparently of horse-furniture; one of them holding a sort of saddle-cloth and stirrup attached. The usual intervening cypress separates this last group from the fifth, and here we find a robed conductor, (indeed, throughout these bas-reliefs, this duty seems to be alternately exercised by the Median-robed Persian, and the Persian in the genuine habit of his country,) leading a person in a different costume from any of the former. The hair, as we may judge by his followers in the same general raiment, is bound by a fillet, and projects a little behind in small neat curls: the beard is very short. Both arms and legs are naked, the feet being defended by a sandal. A short tunic comes to the knee, and is open at the side, being bound at the waist by a very broad belt. A tight mantle, through which passes the arms, hangs almost like a modern European coat, to near the calf of the leg. A tasseled end falls between the arm and the vest. Two persons in this garb conduct a bull, not at all inferior in spirit and beauty to the former; and he, likewise, is meant for a beast of earthly pastures. He is followed by three spearmen, dressed precisely like their three preceding unarmed compeers; but the foremost of these warriors carries a spear in his right hand, and a large round shield on his left arm, covering his person from the chin almost to the knee. His two followers have no shield, but each carries a spear in either hand. The cypress concludes the group. Along this line may be seen the extent of the native artist's skill in pourtraying the uncovered parts of the human figure; and I have copied his delineation with all the accuracy in my power, to shew the correctness of his chisel, even to the most difficult parts of the

extremities. The fine management of these naked limbs, the truth of the muscles, and the spirit of their action, might lead one to think, that the same hand that executed them, did not touch the stiff, wooden-like legs belonging to some of the figures more completely covered; and, probably, this was really the case; the master-chisel only applying itself to the general sketch and perfecting finish of the most scientific parts of the art. The sixth group is led forward by one of the old tunicked Persians, with his staff and collar of consequence. The front of his cap has been a little knocked off, else his head might be called in excellent preservation; the face is perfect, and shews a fine physiognomy. The man in his charge has not been so fortunate; the whole of his face is gone, having left only the beard; which is much larger than any I had seen in the other bas-reliefs, excepting those which represent royalty; but the hair in this beard is perfectly straight, and cut square at the end. The hair of the head behind, appears to be turned up smooth over a roll, surmounted by a kind of skull-cap helmet, bending forward in the Phrygian point over the forehead; two flaps proceed from the helmet, guarding the ears. The dress of this man, and his five followers, is exactly alike; and all sharing the same progress, more or less, towards decapitation. Their upper garments are tight, with sleeves to the wrist, and flying off slopingly behind the thighs, in a point still more like a modern coat than the one I mentioned before. A large buckle and strap confine the waist; but what makes this garment look most like a European dress, are two or three lines from the shoulder down the front of the breast, which have the appearance of lapels or facings. The first, who is lead forward by the conductor, wears a cased bow at his side. The four who follow him have a similar appendage;

but the first of them carries in addition, a dagger, or short sword, held up by both hands, with the sheath and fastenings to the belt attached to it. Hence, I should suppose, from that being the only weapon of the kind which we see on these sculptures, that its steel original answered indiscriminately to the name of sword or dagger, according to the ideas of the ancient writers who described it; for, perhaps, it is as much too large for the common fashion of the one, as it is too small for the usual size of the other. The next figure carries a couple of immense bracelets, or fetters, like those in a preceding bas-relief; and the two succeeding men are armed with war-hammers, holding one in each hand. The last person in the group wears the same dress as the others, with the exception of the belt and cased bow; his occupation is to lead a very fine horse, of a totally different description from the former. The tree terminates this line of sculpture, by the side of an inscription. (Plate XLIV.)

We now commence the lower range, (Plates XLI. XLII. XLIII.) which is clear all the way to the very feet of the figures; at which point I am inclined to think the ornamented part of the stairs finished; leaving only a few feet of plain surface below, now hidden by the mouldered ruins, before we come to the original level of the top of the first terrace.

The conductor of the first group in the lower row, is one of the robed Persians, with his short sword, and Median fluted cap. He is the only one whose staff of office has retained its rounded top. The three figures which immediately follow him, wear high pointed tiaras, seemingly formed of rolled linen, and shaped like the descriptions we have of the priests' mitres. Neither their hair nor beards differ in any way from the common fashion of the time, excepting that behind the ear hangs a long

single braid, terminated by two large beads. Their under-garments reach nearly to the ankle. Over them is a shorter vest; and a mantle with a deep cape, which falls loosely down the back, and over the naked arms; tassels are at each corner. Sock-like boots are on their feet. After the chief of the party, who is led as usual, follow the two other mitred persons, carrying bowls in each hand. Then comes a third figure, in the same dress as the foregoing, but without a cap of any kind; he bears a couple of immense bracelets in his hands, whose circular form is connected by the heads of serpents. The one on the right hand is perfect; but the other, in the left, can just be discerned as having been. The two remaining persons of the group are in charge of a chariot, which is drawn by a pair of magnificent horses. One of the men, in ampler garments than his compeers, and bare-headed, holds the bridles of the horses. His companion in the rear, dressed more like the man with the bracelets, follows, leaning his left hand on the backs of the animals, and holding a long wand in the other. The horses are without trappings, but the details of their bits, and the manner of reining them, are executed with the nicest care. The pole of the car is seen passing between the horses, projecting from the centre of the carriage, which is in a cylindrical shape, elevated rather above the line of the animals' heads. The wheel of the car is extremely light, and tastefully put together. In fact, the whole of this chariot-group is pourtrayed, and finished, with a beauty and accuracy that alike excite our wonder and admiration.

The second party consists of five persons, exclusive of the tunicked Persian, who is their master of the ceremonies. The heads of these men are covered with a very extraordinary kind of bonnet, pointed and inclining forward, and appearing some-

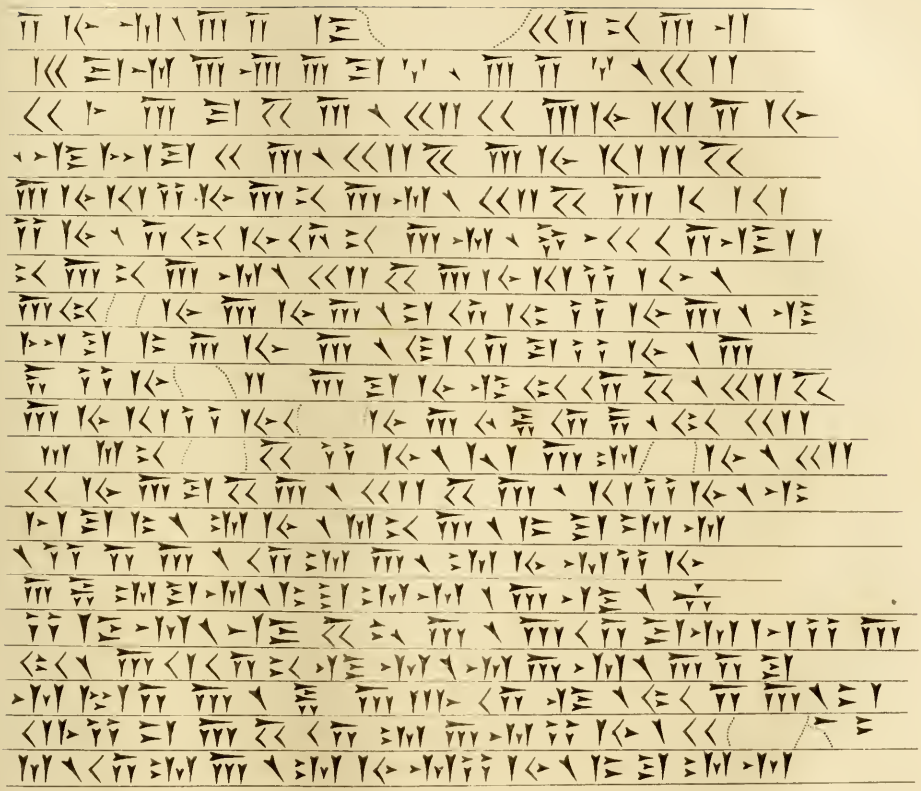
thing cloven at the top, where an interior cap shows through the cleft. Two large corners from each side of the bonnet are drawn back and fastened up behind; evidently to be let down at pleasure, and drawn forward for the protection of the ears and chin, like the bashlicks of the mountaineers, who use them as a defence from the wind and snow. The peasantry of the plains too, frequently case their heads in the same protection. In all other respects, the dress of the men in this group, resembles that of their conductor; only, he wears the low common Persian cap, with his collar and staff of office; and in addition to their simple tunic, they have a short scanty mantle, fastened on the left breast with a clasp or buckle in the form of a bow. Tassels ornament the corners of the mantle. The second figure which follows the leader of the group, is attendant on an almost gigantic horse, whose ardour he seems to check, by the tightness with which he holds the bridle. Round the animal's neck are a collar and a bell; his mane is hogged, though enough has been left on the forehead to form a tuft, which is tied like a brush; apparently a favourite ornament with these people from a very early time. The three following figures bear articles of dress; the last is almost obliterated.

The approaching line of persons which compose the third group, consists of eight, all bare-headed, and in one attire; the same precisely with the unbonneted men who precede the chariot, excepting that the texture of the under-garments of these is carved in waving stripes; with the others it is plain. Three of these persons carry variously formed bowls; two others follow, holding some folded substance in their hands, not unlike the bread of the country; two more close the party, each

charged with a couple of globular forms, probably melons. The conductor of these is a robed figure.

In the fourth group we return to a succession of five persons, who are led by a tunicked Persian. They are clothed in tight vestures of the same kind, with long sleeves like his; but their waists are bound by a cord, knotted in front. They wear very full and loose trowsers, hanging in wavy masses over the tops of their boots, which reach to the calf of the leg, and are a little turned up at the toe. Their heads have neither cap nor bonnet, but are tied with a fillet. The hair and beard are quite smooth and uncurled; and these, and the group which follows, are the only people with that sort of ring in their ears. Three of these persons carry bowls; the fourth supports himself by a long staff, and leads by the bridle, with his left hand, a dromedary, whose neck is decorated with a collar and bell. In comparing the general character of this animal, particularly those I have seen since my arrival in Persia, with its delineation here on stone, I found it a most faithful copy; the head is finely marked, and the bunches of hair behind his ear, and below his throat, with the large round protuberances above his knees, are accurately placed; the muscles of the limbs are so well cut, as to give an appearance of almost actual movement to the animal. The dromedaries most in use amongst the northern tribes of the empire, are commonly natives of the country about Bakou; and are valued, for size and strength, far above the camel. Some, to improve the qualities of the latter, cross the breed with a dromedary.

The fifth and last group of the procession is conducted by the robed introducer, who leads forward the chief of the party, a dignified looking person, enveloped in a large folded cloak,



At Persepolis

Engraved by Sidr Hall

London, Published by Longman & Co 1824.

which is thrown carelessly over the left shoulder, and reaches nearly down to his sandalled feet. His hair is uncurled, and bound with a fillet. The rest of the party are almost naked, their only covering being a small piece of garment resembling a short petticoat, which is confined on the hip by a thick roll of some sort of stuff or linen. The first of them bears on his shoulders a pair of large scales, which contain four small bottles. The next man brings four more bottles, set in two basins. He is followed by one who guides an animal, which I immediately recognised to be the gour or wild ass, from its perfect resemblance to the fine creature of the sort I had pursued in my way hither. Another attendant stands behind it, while the last person in the group brings up the rear with a pair of implements like mallets in his hands. Here end all the remains of the bas-reliefs on this division of the edifice, by which we may collect any idea of what might have been the subject of the whole representation. Having noticed, some pages back, a considerable resemblance between certain objects in these successive groups, and the first grand procession of the great founder of the empire, I shall offer an abstract of Xenophon's account of the solemnity, before I proceed to my own remarks on the subject.

"But now," says the historian, "we will relate how Cyrus first marched in grand procession out of the palace; for the majesty of this procession seems to have been one of the means by which he held his government in such high consideration. First, therefore, he arrayed himself, and his commanders, and other chosen officers, in the splendid robes of the Medes, that they might all appear beautiful and noble. There stood first before the gates, four thousand guards, drawn up four in front, with lances in their hands; two thousand on each side of the

gates. The Persians stood on the right hand, and the other allies on the left of the way. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, first came forth certain bulls, very goodly beasts, four abreast, devoted to paternal Jove, and to such other of the gods as the Magi directed. Next to the bulls, horses were led, for a sacrifice to the sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, very costly, with its seat of gold adorned with a crown, and sacred to Jove. Then came another white chariot, sacred to the sun, and decorated in the same manner. After that, a third chariot, with horses in scarlet housings; and behind it, followed men bearing fire upon a large altar. After these, Cyrus himself appeared, clad in his royal robes and diadem. When the chariot of Cyrus advanced, the four thousand guards led on before, and two thousand attended on each side; the chief officers of his person, gallantly mounted, and finely clothed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of three hundred, followed after. Then were led the noble horses maintained for Cyrus himself, with their bridles of gold, and caparisoned in housings wrought with raised stripes; and these horses were two hundred. After them marched two thousand spearmen. Then came the first formed body of Persian horse, to the number of ten thousand, marshalled a hundred deep, under Chrysantes. After these, marched a second ten thousand, under Hystaspes. They were followed by the like number, in the leading of Datarnas. Then came the Median, the Armenian, the Hyrcanian, the Caducian, and the Sacian horse. And after these troops, went the chariots, ranged four abreast, under the command of the Persian Artabates. Upon this occasion Cyrus established equestrian and other games amongst his chiefs and followers; and to the victors he

gave oxen, and cups, that they might sacrifice, and feast. The method of this procession, then settled by Cyrus, continues to this day; excepting only, that the victims make no part in it when the king does not sacrifice. Every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own: and every city did the same." (Cyrop. b. viii.) We are told, that Cyrus received such presents in the way of tribute from the nations at large; but from the Persians alone he took them as free gifts. In the preceding quotation, we may trace some affinity between its solemn procession, and bringing of presents, with the series of subjects just described in the bas-reliefs on the palace-walls. I do not mean to say that they were intended as a commemoration of this, or perhaps any other of Cyrus's personal solemnities of the kind, but my reference shews the antiquity of the custom and its details. He was much less likely than his successors, to erect that sort of monument to the honour of his conquests and institutions; and nothing is more probable than that these magnificent registers of a great empire, were chiselled from the rock, by the command of his not unworthy successor, Darius Hystaspes. He mounted the throne of Persia hardly ten years after the death of Cyrus. Ctesias asserts, that the tomb which Darius ordered to be made for himself, was excavated in the mountain near Persepolis; but whether he chose his last rest to be there, or in the sacred caves at Nakshi-Roustam, does not affect the probability of his having devoted some part of his long reign, and the labours of his numerous artists and artisans, to the embellishment of this ancient metropolis. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had begun

many public works, both here and at Susa, employing the captives he had brought from Egypt, in the decoration of his two favourite cities. The usurper Smerdis, who followed the short reign of Cambyses, had hardly time to seat himself on the throne, ere he was dispossessed and slain, by the son of Hystaspes, the friend and kinsman of Cyrus. Drawing his claim to the sceptre, or rather confirming his hold of it, by that affinity; what is more likely than that the avowed restorer of the ancient royal line, should thus embellish the native palace of his great predecessor, by commemorating on marble the very institutions which he had made the principles of his own government. The length of his reign allowed him ample time for the prosecution of the most elaborate works, and the extent of his resources afforded him liberal means of carrying the most magnificent plans into execution. From all that is related of him, he appears to have united two characters hardly to have been found in the breast of one man, in those days of romantic heroism, or churlish barbarity, — the hero and the man of business; and the sketch of his government, as given by Herodotus, evinces what would be called well-ordered policy, even in our all-accomplished times. When Darius Hystaspes assumed the regal seat, in the capital of his ancestors, (where his father had resided as governor during the reign of Cyrus, and probably of his son,) he came into possession, not merely of all the countries which Cyrus had conquered, but of those also which the younger Cambyses had added to the empire. Xenophon tells us, that Cyrus divided his dominions into one hundred and twenty provinces, placing a governor over each; and we find from Daniel, (chap. vi. 2.) that over these, three leading counsellors were placed, of which he was one. But all this was disturbed by the tempestuous reigns

of Cambyses, and the usurper; and Darius, on his accession, lost no time in regulating his kingdom, after the confusion which had been introduced by the madness of the one, and the treason of the other. The first step that he took towards this end, seems to have been the division of his empire into twenty satrapies, to fix the amount of the tribute from each, to place governors over them, and to exact a regular annual payment through their hands, of the sum in gold, besides some remembrance of the former gratuitous offerings. This determined style of revenue, Herodotus notices as an innovation; observing, that during the reigns of Cyrus, and his son Cambyses, there were no specific tributes, presents of value being made instead. I cannot suppose that we are to understand from this, that the conquered countries would at any time be indulged with so slight a yoke, as to lay only what they pleased at the feet of their conqueror; and, therefore, I would presume that Herodotus means to say, that Cyrus taxed neither Media nor Persia; which kingdoms he derived by inheritance, and, uniting into one empire under one name, he treated both with equal paternal indulgence; extending to the Medes the ancient and apparently unalienable right of his patrimonial Persia. Our venerable historian gives us reason to think that such might have been the claim of Persia Proper, since he mentions that even Darius Hystaspes exempted that portion of his empire from paying a fixed tribute, accepting presents instead; but we do not hear of the same privilege being extended to the Medes; and that may be the innovation meant by Herodotus. That voluntary offerings, at stated seasons, to the sovereign, have always been considered as the most ancient practice in Persia Proper, appears evident, from what the native authors write of Jemsheed, to whom they

attribute the foundation of Persepolis. Their accounts transport him back to within the seventh descent from Noah; and they relate, that after having divided his people into classes, introduced agriculture, built cities, founded colleges of astronomy, and reformed the calendar, he instituted the feast of Nowroose at the commencement of the year, and then received the grateful oblations of his people. The same historians inform us, that Jemsheed reigned seven hundred years; from which extravagant calculation, Sir William Malcolm most satisfactorily concludes, that this king's name is not to be regarded as that of an individual; but rather to be received as the title of one particular dynasty, which was displaced for a time, when the Assyrian empire, designated by these poetical writers under the dragon name of Zohawk, subjected Persia to its yoke. Zohawk, who, in these legends has even more centuries allotted to his existence than were bestowed on his more virtuous rival, is supposed, from his fiery and impious character, to have been the Nimrod of Scripture, the real founder of the Assyrian empire. Hence we may conclude, that as many generations of the sons of Cush were comprised in the person of Zohawk, so the acts of many Persian princes are attributed to Jemsheed; the etymology of whose name might lead us to find Scripture authority, for his having been the founder of the Persian monarchy. In Genesis, chap. x. v. 22, we read that Shem was the father of Elam, who spread his posterity and name over all this quarter of the East; and Shem and Jemsheed bearing such affinity in name, as well as the latter being traced by the native genealogists to Noah; surely we might be warranted in believing, that some prince of that descent was indeed the founder of the Persian monarchy; and that his descendants reigned there, till the posterity of Cush,

princes of Nineveh and Babylon, under the derivative appellation of Zohawk, made conquest of the land, and maintained possession of it for several centuries. Regular history informs us of the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians from the Assyrians of Nineveh, about seven hundred and fifty years before the Christian era; at which time Persia also recovered its liberty, and the restoration of its princes. Hence, if we may assume with Sir William Malcolm, that the name of Jemsheed was the title of a race; and, as Sacred Writ plants the immediate offspring of Shem, or Jem, in this very tract, it seems not unreasonable to think, that the city we call Persepolis, may, from the earliest ages, have borne a similar appellation to that which we find it now holds in Persia, namely, Tackt-i-Jemsheed, the throne of Jemsheed; and this consideration alone seems a fair argument for the great antiquity of the capital, and the venerable date of its usages. In carefully comparing the native Persian accounts, mutilated and confused as they are, with the notices of their country contained in the Greek and Jewish writers, the descent of Cambyses king of Persia, the father of Cyrus, can be sufficiently traced to the line assumed to be that of Jemsheed; and we may suppose that a capital so ancient, as to be called his throne, must have derived great extent and consequence under so many successive monarchs. Though if we are to judge of their taste in architecture, from the garb and manners of their people at the time Cambyses espoused the daughter of Astyages, the whole must have worn the simplest appearance; and we may conclude that this marriage with a princess from the comparatively refined court of Media, was the first introduction here, of those splendours in architecture which mark a rich and polished nation. Xenophon mentions, that the royal parents of Cyrus

lived to an extreme old age. They, of course, would inhabit Tackt-i-Jemsheed, while their renowned son, as the Prince-general of his uncle Cyaxares, was winning for Media all the then known Asiatic world; and, probably, Cambyses might have a pride in causing some of the sculptures I shall presently describe, to be executed on the walls of his capital, to commemorate the triumphs of a native prince, in whose person, by a double inheritance, the two kingdoms of Media and Persia were hereafter to be united in one. Egyptian captive artists, obtained first by alliance with the Babylonians, and secondly by Cyrus's conquest over them, would afford to his father, and to himself, when he became sole monarch, architects and masons to pursue the most magnificent designs. But whatever works of the kind might have been commenced by Cambyses, or accomplished in after-years by his grandson of the same name, Cyrus himself appears to have confined most of his architectural improvements to the building of Pasargadæ; and the erection of spacious resting-places along the roads, for the refreshment of travellers, and the convenience of the posts continually passing to and fro throughout his extensive dominions. (Cyrop. b. viii.) Hence we come to the conclusion, that the fine finishing of some of the superb works we find at Persepolis, and the planning and accomplishment of most of the others, must have been done by the direction of Darius Hystaspes; who, emulating to tread in the steps of Cyrus, felt establishing his claim of birthright, and consequent hold on the empire, by every stroke of the chisel that perpetuated the happy institutions of a predecessor, who alone had acquired the great name of *Father of his People*. Besides, Darius, like Cyrus, was of Persia Proper, and could not but find a son's gratification in aggrandizing his native capital. His spirit

appears to have equalled the magnificence of his fortunes; and from the number of Grecian prisoners who fell into his power previous to the battle of Marathon, there could be no want of hands to complete his designs in the highest taste of the arts. We may collect good argument for this supposition, in the style of the works themselves. Though, at first sight, I acknowledge a general similitude to the Egyptian contour strikes the mind, yet the impression gradually wears away when the details are examined; the finishing of the parts, and the grace and truth of the bas-reliefs, every where proclaiming the refined taste and master-chisels of Greece. When comparing the colossal proportions of the structure, and its gigantic sculptures, with the delicacy, beauty, and perfection of the execution of its ornaments, I might say, with the poet, "Here the Loves play on the bosom of Hercules."

That the design of the artist who composed the bas-reliefs lately described, is not to display a religious procession, seems clear, from the nature of most of the articles borne by the different groups of the train; and as Darius adopted the style of Cyrus, in receiving presents from his own countrymen, instead of tribute, I am not diffident in assigning the sculptures in question entirely to Darius; supposing them to represent the feast at the vernal equinox, when the Persians would present their gratuities, and the governors of provinces, with their delegates, would bring in the annually collected tax from each, with a due proportion of offerings besides. This ideais supported by Mons. Heeren, when writing on the same subject, in his work on the "Policy, &c. of the Nations of Antiquity." Indeed, I have already remarked, that such a procession, at such a time of year, and to a similar purpose, was celebrated here so early as the times of

Jemsheed, under the name of the Nowroose; and the deep antiquity of the like annual assembling of the chiefs under a sovereign power, may be found intimated in the Book of Job, (chaps. i. and ii. ver. 6. 2.) The practice of princes and nobles appearing before the king with presents, and the homage of loyal dependence, is still the great business of the Nowroose in Persia.

But to proceed with the bas-reliefs themselves. We learn from Xenophon, how the usual attendants on the Persian sovereigns were disposed; and we find that a certain number of the chosen guard were always stationed at the different doors of the palace. The seven figures, grasping spears, and standing as in front of the outer flight of steps, probably represent these favourite sentinels; their appearance being military, and their situation perfectly unconnected with the train of groups drawn along the line of the left wing of the staircase. All the groups face that part of the stairs which leads on to the terrace; and, therefore, we must consider this approach as pointing immediately to the presence of the Great King. The procession of personages on the left wing, appear to be nobles and high officers of the empire, whom the sovereign had distinguished with different degrees of honour; those in the Median robe and fluted tiara, were probably of the highest order, that which Cyrus denominated *the like-honoured;* while collars, bracelets, &c. were dispensed to those whose situations might claim less conspicuous distinctions. Not one amongst this succession of persons carries the short staff, the badge of royal ushers, as we see it held in the hands of their compeers in the opposite wing. Hence, I should consider these to be nobles and great officers of the empire, present at court, but independent of assisting in its

ceremonies; and that the connecting action of laying hold of hands on one side, and touching the shoulder or garment on the other, is to shew that chain of brotherhood which, subsisting amongst the *alike-honoured*, might extend to the next in degree at court; something in the style of the grand-commanders and knights-companions in our more modern orders of chivalry. In this train, the tunicked and the robed have all the cased bow, or the dagger at the belt; which appears to have been as indispensable to the dress of ceremony in those days, as the sword is in our own times, both in Persia and in every court of Europe: a general usage, which, by-the-bye, very plainly shews the original purport of such assemblings. In the bas-relief upon the tomb of Nakshi-Roustam, we see that even at a religious solemnity, this appearance of arms was not excluded; for the principal personage, who stands before the altar of fire, leans on a bow which he holds in his hand. That this weapon has been the especial boast and defence of the Persians, from the earliest ages, we have both sacred and profane writ to testify; Greek and Roman historians speak largely to this point; and Isaiah and Jeremiah, in the records of Israel, write of the "bow and quiver of Elam."

Almost every one in this procession holds in his hand a figure like the lotos. This flower was full of meaning to the ancients, and occurs all over the East. Egypt, Palestine, Persia, and India, present it everywhere over their architecture, in the hands and on the heads of their sculptured figures, whether in statue or in bas-relief. We also find it in the sacred vestments and architecture of the tabernacle, and temple of the Israelites; and see it mentioned by our Saviour, as an image of peculiar beauty and glory, when comparing the works of nature with the decorations of art. It is

also represented in all pictures of the salutation of Gabriel to the Virgin Mary; and, in fact, has been held in mysterious veneration by people of all nations and times. The old heraldic work of "The Theatre of Honour," published in France about two hundred years ago, gives this curious account of the lotos or lily:—"It is the symbol of divinity, of purity, and abundance, and of a love most complete in perfection, charity, and benediction; as in Holy Scripture, that mirror of chastity, Susanna, is defined Susa, which signifieth the lily flower; the chief city of the Persians bearing that name for excellency. Hence the lily's three leaves in the arms of France, meaneth Piety, Justice, and Charity." So far the general impression of a peculiar regard to this beautiful and fragrant flower; but the early Persians attached a particular sanctity to it.

Water, according to their belief, was held in the next degree of reverence to fire; and the white flower which sprung from the bosom of the colder element, was considered an emblem of its purity, submissiveness, and, above all, of its fecundity, when meeting the rays of the great solar flame. These symbols, united in the lily their joint properties had produced, represented to the poetical conceptions of the East, first, the creative and regenerating attributes of the Supreme Being himself; and, secondly, the imparted powers of the great elements of earth, air, water, and fire, to act mutually on each other, so that, at the return of certain seasons, moisture should spread over the land, from the clouds or the rivers, the air should dry the ground, the sun's beams fructify it, and the grateful earth, at the call of all united in the genial breath of spring, put forth her increase. Hence, as the sovereigns of the East have always been revered, according to a tradition of their being the express vicegerents of the Deity, it is

not surprising to see the same emblematic flower carried in a procession to their honour, which would be found "breathing sweet incense," amongst the symbols of an entirely religious festival.

The very mutilated range of figures above these lotos-bearing nobles, and on the upper line of the stair-case, I have described in a former page, are preceded by a file of military; and being in part composed of horses, chariots, bulls, and other objects likely to be selected as fit oblations at the vernal feast, I have no doubt that a continuation of a similar train went along the exterior inclining wall of the steps, in the manner of the corresponding bas-reliefs still existing down those to the west. It would be a vain task to attempt assigning to the particular parties, divided by the marble avenue of cypress-trees, each its separate country, according to its different costume. The account Herodotus has left, of the national dresses of the various people who accompanied the great expedition of Xerxes, is so purely military, that little resemblance can be expected between their garb of war, and that of peace. Particular details of the dress of the Medes and Persians, under both circumstances, he, as well as Xenophon, has given us; but with regard to the home garments of any other of the satrapies, we have only a few scattered remarks. However, sufficient variety presents itself in the respective groups, to make it evident that they came from parts of the empire as distinct in climate, as different in the fashion of their garb; some being so lightly clothed as merely to wear what decency demands; and others covered up from the sock to the chin. Yet none of them shew any of the heavy furs, which might designate the most northern tributaries; nor could it be expected that nations from those remote regions, would bring shelters from the cold, to a climate of the south,

and particularly at the season of the year when every thing puts on its summer-garb. The gold and silver arising from the stipulated tribute, would, probably, be paid into the treasury of the king; and the gratuitous offering alone, brought into the royal presence at the festival. Hence, we find the most valuable animals the tributary countries could produce, the horse, the sheep, the bull, the dromedary, and the gour, the wild inhabitant of the desert, so precious in the eyes of a Persian prince as an object of chase. Others present specimens of manufactures, in articles of dress and arms; and some carry vessels of honey, perfume, and spices. Yet it is likely that all the vases and bowls we see in the hands of the provincials, were not appropriated to holding these lighter kinds of oblations, but were of themselves additional gifts of the most weighty materials, masses of gold or silver in those portable forms. Herodotus mentions its having been a custom in the East, to melt the pure metal, and pouring it into earthern vessels, when the liquid gold or silver cooled and became solid, the mold was broke, and the metal came out in the shape it had received. (Herod. lib. iii. c. 96.) Counting the number of groups which fill the space between every two cypresses, I found eighteen on this face of the wall, and two at the commencement of the slope on the steps, which makes up exactly the twenty governments into which Darius divided his empire; a coincidence we may regard an additional corroboration of the idea, that these bas-reliefs represent the delegated tributaries of that partition.

Two of the cuneiform, or arrow-headed inscriptions on this part of the platform, have been so far translated by Professor Grottefund, as to shew that Darius is the subject of both. One

is to be found on the surface of the wall at the entrance, (Plate XLVI.) and it runs thus:

" Darius the brave king, the king of kings, the king of nations, the son of Hystaspes, the descendant of the sovereign of the world, in the constellation of Môro."

In the second it runs thus:

" Darius the lord, the brave king, the king of kings, the king of all zealous (orthodox) nations, the son of Hystaspes, the descendant of the sovereign of the world, Jemsheed."

The latter part of this inscription leads me back to my former argument, that Shem was the patriarch Jemsheed; whose son Elam gave his name to the country, while the more venerable one of his father, was perpetuated in the successive dynasties of his race, even till Yezdijird, the last king of the line, who perished under the arms of the caliphs, in comparatively modern times. When the Professor has completely decyphered the remaining parts of these inscriptions, it is probable we shall then be decidedly informed of what the whole of the sculptures connected with them are designed to commemorate. But having read these writings on the walls of Persepolis, we can no more doubt of the decorations, at least in this part of the palace, having been done under the direction of Darius Hystaspes, than, after decyphering the name of Cyrus on the pillars at Mourg-aub, we can hesitate in believing that he was the founder of the city to which they belonged.

On ascending the platform on which the palace of Chehelminar once stood, nothing can be more striking than the view of its ruins; so vast, and magnificent, so fallen, mutilated and silent: the court of Cyrus, and the scene of his bounties;

the pavilion of Alexander's triumph, and, alas! the awful memorial of the wantonness of his power. But every object, when I saw it, was as beautiful as desolate; amidst the pleasing memories of the past, awakening poignant regret, that such noble works of human ingenuity should be left to the desert alone; that the pile of indefatigable labour should be destined, from the vicissitudes of revolution, and the caprice, ignorance, or fanaticism of succeeding times, to be left in total neglect; or, when noticed, doomed to the predatory mallet, and every other attack of unreflecting destruction.

This immense space of upper platform stretches to the north and south, three hundred and fifty feet; and from east to west, three hundred and eighty; the greater part of which is covered with broken capitals, shafts of pillars, and countless fragments of building, some of which are richly ornamented with the most exquisite sculpture. The distribution of the pillars, stood in four divisions; consisting of a center-phalanx, if I may use the figure, of six-deep every way. An advance body of twelve, in two ranks; and the same number flanking the center. The first, or advanced division, is to the north. It is composed of two parallel lines, of six columns in each, falling twenty feet back from the landing-place of the stairs, and meets the eye immediately on ascending them. The columns are at equal distances from each other, on a line pointing right and left as we approach. One only is now standing; the shattered bases of nine others still remain, but the places only are left of the other two which completed the colonnade. About thirty-eight feet from the western edge of the terrace, appears the second double range of columns, the most northern of them being one hundred feet from that face of the height; but on the western

side, they seem on the brink of a precipice; for there, this upper terrace rises stupendously from the plain beneath, its perpendicular on that face descending directly to the level earth; whereas the base of the other three sides meet the intervention of the vast table surface of the great platform on which they stand, like a smaller hill on one of larger dimensions; but being erected close to the western edge of the immense foundation which supports the whole, the walls of both terrace and platform taking there one perpendicular line, present a grand and fearful precipice. Five of the twelve columns in this western division, are still erect; the capitals are in tolerable preservation, and the bases of the whole equally perfect. From hence, to the eastern range of a similar number, is a distance of two hundred and sixty-eight feet. Four of those are standing, and the pedestals of four more are yet undemolished; but the rest have been totally destroyed, or lie buried under masses of ruin, which become hillocks at this point; spreading very far, and indeed so deeply, as to form a regular slope to the walls of a spacious edifice, standing farther to the east on the great platform; by which circumstance the face of the terrace in this quarter is almost completely lost.

The form of the columns which compose the three distinct colonnades just described, is the same in all, and perfectly beautiful. (Plate XLV.) I gazed at them with wonder and delight. Besides the admiration which the general elegance of their form, and the exquisite workmanship of their parts excited, I never was made so sensible of the impression of perfect symmetry, comprising in itself that of perfect beauty also. The total height of each column is sixty feet; the circumference of the shaft is sixteen; and its length, from the capital to the tor, forty-four feet. The

shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions : at its lower extremity begin a cincture and a torus ; the first two inches in depth, the latter one foot, from whence devolves the pedestal, in the form of the cup and leaves of a pendent lotos. It rests upon a plinth of eight inches, and in circumference measuring twenty-four feet six inches ; the whole, from the cincture to the plinth, comprising a height of five feet ten inches. The capitals which remain, though much injured, are yet sufficient to shew that they were all surmounted by the double demi-bull ; and, by what I could observe by my glass, they seemed to differ little from the one I described at the harem of Jemsheed. Plate LXV. A. A. represents the base of one of the columns in the eastern range, which varies in a small degree in its ornaments from the others. I have drawn them large, to a scale, by which their details are more apparent.

The heads of the bulls forming the capitals, take the direction of the faces of the respective fronts of the terrace ; and I think there can be no doubt, that the wide hollow between their necks received a beam, or some other detached substance, meant to support and connect an entablature, over which has been placed the roof; for I do not see the purpose of these three distinct colonnades, at such equal distances from the grand center quadrangle of pillars, unless they were covered piazzas, to exclude the direct heat of the sun from the attending nobles, or higher rank of guards, near the person of the sovereign, when holding his court in the palace. The distance between each capital is not so wide as to preclude the possibility of a single length of stone being used as a uniting medium; and as its thickness could not exceed two feet six inches, the weight would not be so great as to become an obstacle. That pillars so terminated

were intended to be connected, is made evident by those on the fronts of the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam. But as the ruins that lie scattered near these divisions, seem, by far the greater part, to consist of fragments of the fallen columns themselves, I should be of opinion that the superstructure was of different materials; probably some sort of timber overlaid exteriorly with a thin covering of stone to defend it from the weather. A no inconsiderable degree of resemblance appears to exist between the general disposition of these colonnades, and the palace of Solomon, called in the book of Kings, the House of the Forest of Lebanon; and in the account of that building, we find that "the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits; and above were costly stones, after the measure of hewn stones, and cedars. And it was covered with cedar above, upon the beams, that lay on forty-five pillars, fifteen in a row." I make this extract, to shew the use that was made in the East, of different sorts of timber, in the connecting parts of the noblest structures, even so much anterior to the age of Cyrus, as the reign of Solomon. Had the cavities between the bulls' necks, in the capitals I have just described, been filled with connecting blocks of stone, some fragments of it would certainly be found attached to some of them, even at this day; but all I saw were perfectly void. Had they supported statues, which, on many accounts, is improbable, some marks must have been traceable: remnants adhering to the capital, or the capital fractured in breaking the figures away; the lower extremities of those embellishments being usually cramped to the pedestal or pillar on which they stood, by masses of iron; therefore, a foot at least, from amongst seventy-two statues, which number would have occupied all the columns in question, must surely have survived any sweeping wreck along

their surface. Such figures too, must have been colossal, to bear any proportion to the foundations on which they stood; and that no fragment, either above or below, should ever be noted in the memory of any traveller, or held in tradition by any of the people about, would be miraculously wonderful, if such relics had ever existed. But I am not aware of a precedent in any idolatrous country, for such a wilderness of gods, as we should have found assembled here in effigy; and, least of all, could we expect to find such extravagant proofs of polytheism in a palace that appears to have owed its origin to the immediate ancestors of Cyrus, the simple worshippers of Mithra, or the sun; and the proudest decorations of which may be dated from Darius, the follower of the philosophic Zoroaster, who imaged the god of his idolatry in nothing grosser than the element of fire. To suppose these pillars to have been the supports of commemorating statues to the honour of the heroes of Persia, seems equally untenable; for it is not in absolute monarchies, as in republics; or in commonwealths, where kings form only one great member of the body politic, that the eminent warriors and worthies of the land have such monuments erected to them. In Persia, we find the bas-reliefs of its kings and their attendants on the walls of its palaces: in Rome, we find the statues of Brutus, and Cato, and Cicero, under the ruins of the Forum.

At a distance of sixty feet from the eastern and western colonnades, stood the central phalanx of columns, to the number of thirty-six; but no more than five, at present exist entire. Therefore, when we calculate these, with those standing in the three other groups, there are just fifteen remaining erect, amongst the fallen host which lie in all directions, broken, or mouldered to dust on the ground. This central group is

arranged in rows of six deep on all sides; forming, of course, an exact square, and planted at the same spaces from each other, as the columns in the other three divisions. The dimensions of these in circumference, and in the depth of the pedestal, as also the general particulars of their ornaments, are similar in every respect to the others; but there is a great difference in their height; those I have before described being sixty feet high, and these only fifty-five. Their shafts, which are fluted like the others, are about thirty-five feet in length; but the capitals which surmount them are of a quite different character, (Plate XLV. figs. c, c, c, c,) being of the same description with that I noticed in the great portal, where the crowned and winged bull is so conspicuous an object. The two lower divisions of the capital (it being of a triad form) are evidently constructed of the hallowed lotos; and naturalists who are interested in that branch of nature's works, would be particularly delighted with an examination into the beautiful details of this division and reunion. The upper compartment has only two volutes. The middle compartment, which is one division of the lotos, appears to have had some extraneous body introduced into the opening between it and the lower compartment of the flower; and the angular and unfinished state of that side of the capital seems to testify the same. Here, then, the connecting line must have run, whence the roof could spring. I remarked another circumstance, on inspecting these columns, which may corroborate the idea of a roof having been here, from a manifest appearance of some immense body having, at some period, fallen against the interior of the capitals, and fractured them there to a very ruinous degree, while their outward faces are nearly without a scar. Hence, I would conclude, that the whole of these central

columns have been attached to the support of some covering, either in one, or three divisions of roof; a question that might have been decided, had the capitals of any of the interior shafts been still remaining. But there is one peculiarity attached to the middle range of twelve, pointing north and south, that gives support to a very interesting idea. All their pedestals rise some feet higher than any of those by which they are surrounded; the stone-work being rough and unfinished, and projecting in strong unshaped blocks, as if to sustain an additionally elevated pavement. To an eye which had so lately witnessed a vernal procession to the foot of a Persian throne, the present scene seemed well adapted for a similar celebration; and as the representation of the tributary procession along the face of the terrace, turned the faces of all the groups to the entrance which fronted this central line of columns, it appeared to mark their approach thither, to some adequate object, which could only be the king. Hence, we may consider this terrace as the distinguished place for the grand ceremonies of the court; and, as the sovereign is now, and by every account always has been seated above the level of his courtiers; on this very marble pavement, or flooring of some "costly wood," which I have supposed formerly covered these rugged pedestals, probably stood the throne; which held the good and the great, or the proud and the mighty monarchs of Persia for many generations; who, seated here, surrounded by their nobles, ministers, and guards, with ease beheld the epitome of their vast empire, laying the offerings of provinces and kingdoms at their feet. It is curious to turn again to the Book of Kings, to still farther compare this particular spot on the "throne of Jemsheed," with what is said

in Holy Writ of the situation and fabric of the throne of Solomon. Speaking of the palace, the sacred historian proceeds : —

" And it was covered with cedar above, upon the beams that lay on forty-five pillars, fifteen in a row ; and light was against light in three ranks. And he made a porch of pillars ; the length thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth thereof thirty cubits, and the porch was before them ; and the other pillars, and the thick beam were before them. Then he made a porch for the throne, where he might judge ; and it was covered with cedar from one side to the other of the floor. — Moreover, the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold ; and there were six steps to the throne, with a footstool of gold, which were fastened to the throne, and stays on each side of the sitting-place, and two lions standing by the stays ; and twelve lions stood there, on the one side and on the other, on the six steps : there was not the like made in any kingdom." — (1 Kings, c. vii. part of ver. 3. 4. 6, 7. ; 2 Chron. c. ix. ver. 17, 18, 19.)

This royal magnificence of the king of Israel, was constructed nearly five hundred years before the time of Cyrus ; but yet the resemblance exists sufficiently strong even at this time, in the royal details of the East, to make a perfect parallel very likely, above two thousand years ago. I shall soon have occasion to observe something very similar to the ivory throne, and the golden footstool, and elevation of both on the sort of platform I suppose to have spread between these columns, on the intermediate pedestals. Indeed, I most decidedly agree with Professor Heeren, in opinion that the bas-reliefs are all in close relation with the particular purposes of the several places to which they are attached ; and in pursuing this idea, which seemed proved at every step, I do not hesitate in pronouncing this unrivalled terrace,

to have been the High Court of Honours of the kings of Persia. It is now covered with ruins, and in other respects so defaced and destroyed, as to have become almost one undistinguishable mass. On it south-eastern quarter particularly, few documents can be found to complete the chain of conclusive, though silent evidence. While wishing to dig up the mouldered heaps on that side, to search for bas-reliefs, to read in them the termination of the historical solemnity recorded on the front of the terrace, I could not but acknowledge the consequence of that noble art which commemorates the leading actions of great men and nations, by impressing their forms on stone and brass. Well might the ancients denominate sculpture an immortal art; for we find its monuments in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome, in Persia, bringing forth works, to which hardly a date can be assigned; so deeply does their beginning lie in the obscurity of antiquity; while others present a clear commentary on the writings of the ancients, explaining some passages, connecting others, and often proving the doubted truth of certain recorded facts, by a happy discovery of some of these marble apparitions remaining stationary on the very spot, where the substance and the action, of which they are the copy, once had a purpose and abiding-place.

The nearest building (K) now standing, to the *Chehel Minar*, or *Palace of Forty Pillars*, just described, appears on an elevation of about seven or eight feet above the level of the plane of the colonnades; and occupies a length of one hundred and seventy feet, by ninety-five. We approach it from the west by a double flight of stairs (A), which are almost in complete ruin; but fragments on, and near them, shew they also have been decorated with sculptured guards and other figures. The side to the east is so heaped with fallen remains, covered up with the earth of

centuries, that it is impossible to find the trace of a corresponding range of stairs there. To the south, the whole face of the terrace which supports this building, is occupied with another superb flight, the landing-place of which embraces nearly forty-eight feet, its width ten. Its front is divided by a tablet bearing an arrow-headed inscription; on each side of which stand spearmen of a gigantic height; their heads and shoulders alone, being now visible above the accumulated rubbish round the base of the edifice; but from their large proportions, we may easily calculate the rest.

It is much to be lamented that none of the British ambassadors, all of whom have passed through these ruins, (at least, so their names on the walls would testify,) did not set their numerous followers to work, to clear away some large portions of the collected matter, which buries so many valuable documents of antiquity; and which, probably, has not been opened since the total destruction of the place by the fanatic Arabs. It is only persons possessing such an ostensible rank, to whom authority would be granted, to explore these ruins to any extent; and, I doubt not, that a man of research, under those circumstances, clearly explaining his object, would obtain every privilege and facility, from the liberality of the present royal family of Persia, to dig; but not deface, nor carry away.

To the north of the building, after ascending its terrace, we find an open space (c) of sixty-five feet wide, on which appear the foundations of some narrow walls; probably belonging to what had been the front of the edifice, now fallen and swelling the heaps below. On each side of this space, forty feet towards the south, stand two lofty entrances (d d) composed of four solid upright blocks of marble, of a colour nearly black; within

the portals of which are bas-reliefs of two guards on each, sculptured on the sides of the walls. (Plate XLVI.) They are habited in the Median robe, armed with a long spear, and instead of the fluted tiara, their heads are bound with a broad band; which, from the manner it is worn, I should suppose was metal. In front of the foremost guard, appears a long cylindrical form, which he seems to grasp behind with his left hand; it is constructed of perpendicular rod-like shapes, each considerably thicker than the staff of his lance, capped at the top with a flat surface, which is parallel with the chin of the holder. I could never discover the form of the termination at the nether end; for, whenever a repetition of these figures occurred, they have always been nearly half-buried in the earth. The two advanced guards on each side of the portal, are the only ones with whom these things appear. I have heard some persons suppose them to represent the leaves of a folding door; but that is not very probable, the general appearance being unlike the usual surface of a door; and however low may be the common entrances to tombs, or the cells of devotees, it is not credible that the ingress to a palace would be so constructed as to oblige the sovereign to stoop his head on entering. I must here observe, that all the portals which may be considered public entrances into hall or chamber, throughout these ruins, are invariably guarded by a similar double guard. It seems possible that this questionable substance they are holding, may be intended for the ancient shield, called the gerra, which is universally described as formed of the osier, or branches of the willow. The guards, where it occurs, usually wear the metal circlet, instead of the fluted tiara; but when the tiara'd soldiers appear with a shield, it is always of the Bœotian

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form. Indeed, no other shape presents itself (if we do not admit these long narrow masses to be shields,) excepting the single circular buckler, carried by a man in a short tunic and sandaled legs, in the procession on the grand staircase. On the immediate verge of the landing-place, from the western flight of steps belonging to the building I am describing, (a) we enter a portal of these long-shielded guards; and, at a very few paces onward, pass through a second, (f) into a room forty-eight feet square. Two other doors open from it to the north, two to the west, one to the south, and formerly two to the east; but one only remains on that side, fragments alone of the second marking where its frame-work has been. On three sides of the room, we found several niches, each excavated in one solid stone, to a depth of three feet, five in height, and six in the width. They appear to have been exquisitely polished within, while upright lines of cuneiform characters run along their edges. Four windows, ten feet high, open to the south. They embrace the whole thickness of the wall, namely, five feet; and at present, from the accumulation of ruins on the floor, are hardly a foot above it. The door-ways (g g g g) have all, on their several sides, duplicate bas-reliefs of a royal personage, attended by two persons, one holding an umbrella. But as it is a subject which will present itself frequently during my observations on the whole of these edifices, I shall postpone a more particular description till I have investigated farther. Compartments of inscription are over the heads of all the groups. For the same reason, I shall defer entering on the details of three other bas-reliefs in the same room, consisting of single combats between a man and a lion, a man and a griffin, and a man with a nondescript creature.

There is another division of the same building, open to the south, (h) thirty feet in length by forty-eight; and terminating on each side (i i) towards that point, on the landing of the superb stairs, by a couple of square pillars of one entire piece of marble, about twenty-two feet high, and covered in different ranges with a variety of inscriptions, cuneiform, Cuphic, Arabic, and Persian. The first has been faithfully copied by Niebuhr; that in Arabic was written in the year of the Hegira 881. The whole of the ground in the shell of this building, is greatly raised by the crumbled masses of its fallen roof, and, probably that of its central supports also. I must not leave this spot without remarking, that the faint traces of a double colonnade, are still visible along the open space which lies between the western brink of the greater terrace, and the western face of this building.

I have now mentioned an ascent of three terraces from the natural ground of the plain. First, the grand platform which supports all the others. Second, the Chehel Minar terrace. Third, the terrace that sustains the edifice of the double chambers I have just described. A fourth elevation of the same kind, presents itself at about ninety-six feet to the south of the preceding. (L) Its summit is on a level with that of the last, but three of its sides are much obscured by the encumbering mounds of fragments at their base. Along the northern verge, parallel to the before-mentioned structure, rise the heads of a line of figures, in size equal to those on the stairs of the terrace of the double chamber; but these figures seem to be armed with the bow and quiver only, no trace of a spear being to be seen amongst them. A flight of sadly mutilated steps, in two ascents of fifteen each, is found at the north-western corner;

on these are the vestiges of much fine bas-relief decoration. Having reached the plane of the terrace, I saw a square of ninety-six feet; thirty-eight feet of the western side was occupied by the depth of the approach just described; whence ran along, in two direct lines, the bases of ten columns; their diameter being three feet three inches, and standing ten feet equi-distant from each other. These were all the remains existing on this level of the fourth terrace; but were the hillocks of buried ruins removed from its surface, I doubt not we should find the remnants of a continued piazza, along every side. Fifty-eight feet of this terrace, at its south-western angle, is surmounted by an additional square elevation, (M) the whole depth of which, from the summit to the base, is sixty-two feet; and along its upper surface are the lower parts of twelve pillars, divided into three rows, of the same diameter and distance from each other, as those in the neighbouring colonnade.

Immediately beyond the completely obliterated tract of buildings, on this comparatively small terrace, which I call that of the Double Pillars, (to facilitate the explanation of so complicated a succession,) rises a fifth, and much more extensive elevation. The plan of its edifice might seem to indicate part of the dwelling-quarters of the royal residence. For, that the different offices which comprised a palace of the ancient eastern sovereigns, were not merely divided into courts, as is the present style in these countries, but were often distinct buildings, may be seen by referring again to the first book of Kings, c. vii. where the House of the Forest of Lebanon is described, under the appellation of Porches, as four completely separate structures. But before I commence the details of this fifth terrace, I must stop to hazard a few suggestions on one of the most interesting

spots of the whole magnificent platform. To me, it seemed to tell its own story; lying like the buried body of the last Darius under the ruins of his capital, and speaking with a voice from the grave; crying, in the words of Euripides over the like desolation, — "O woe, woe, woe! My country lost! — And thou, boast of my noble ancestors, how art thou shrunk, — how art thou vanished!"

From the southern extremity of the eastern colonnade, on the terrace of the Chehel Minar, and over all the heaped fragments which slope from that point down upon the surface of the great platform, is an expanse of three hundred and fifteen feet, measuring in a direct line from the colonnade to the northern front (a) of the building on the fifth terrace, yet to be described. The whole of this vast space lies open, without a protruding wall, or pillar; but its plain is interrupted by an immense mound of ruins v, commencing at b b, and sinking again into the level surface, at c c; these two points, being the extreme ends of a line through d, marking a spacious area between the mound and the dwelling-palace on the fifth terrace, and the entrances to which were (e e) by two flights of stairs on the east and west. The appearance of the mound has every mark of having been a pile of ruins, hid from the face of day for ages; and, as it has long been an established fact, that the great architectural remains before us are not of temples, but of mansions dedicated to the use of the sovereigns of Persia, and their retinue; I would hazard an opinion, that this immense heap covers the mouldered relics of a division of the palace answerable to that (a) immediately to the south; probably the most magnificent of the two, as it would lie so much nearer the Chehel Minar, or great hall of audience; and likely, from that circumstance, contained the chambers of

banqueting, and other entertainments. In that case, here may have stood the very palace of Persepolis, which fell a sacrifice to the drunken revelry of the Macedonian conqueror. That it did stand on this platform, there cannot be a doubt; as it manifestly is the quarter of the city that was assigned to the royal residence; and there does not appear a spot over the whole space, so likely to be chosen for the banqueting-halls of the sovereign, when himself and his friends must be in their most unguarded moments, as this quadrangle, in the midst of the other regal edifices, and so standing as if in a sanctuary. Thus much for the situation alone; but the circumstance of so vast a space, with so singular a mound occupying so large a portion of it, strongly inclines me to believe that I am not mistaken, in assigning that heap to the desolating brands of Alexander and his, then, half-frantic compeers. Certainly not a trace of the effects of fire is discernible on any of the adjacent walls; and it may be alleged, that if so considerable a building in their vicinity, had been consumed to ashes, the ravages of the flames must have reached and marked some of them. But in looking on the plan, and perceiving how unconnectedly all the edifices stood from each other; not merely separated by spacious areas, but divided by detached terraces, we might easily imagine how one of them might be burnt to the ground, without a spark reaching any of the others. Besides, the solidity of the walls of these palaces are calculated to confine the fire, as in a furnace, within which ever of them it might be kindled, while it continued devouring all, interiorly, that was combustible in its way. The internal materials of the destroyed palace, according to Q. Curtius, (lib. v.), were cedar, and other consumable substances; these, with the splendid hangings, and carpets on the

walls and floors, with the more ample draperies suspended over the usual openings in the sides of the grand saloons, for the double purpose of air and to shield them from the sun, would, altogether, when once the brand was set to the building, hasten its destruction. That such veils from the heat were of ancient use in Persia, we find in the Book of Esther, (ch. i. ver. 6.) speaking of the palace, "Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen to silver rings, and pillars of marble." The custom, indeed, prevails to the present day. It being admitted, that the interior alone of the edifice was consumed, the next objection might be, that no trace of such solid walls are yet standing. But the substance of the stones, of which they were built, would be so injured by the extreme action of the fire, that we may readily conceive its rapid crumbling to decay, and falling in upon the already prostrated roof. Besides, we learn from Plutarch, that the madness of Alexander's intoxication subsided almost as soon as the wanton act he had committed blazed into full effect, and that with laudable repentance and activity, he commenced every exertion to extinguish, or prevent the flames from spreading. In this attempt it is likely that a very common mode under similar circumstances, would be resorted to, and part of the edifice itself battered in, to smother the fire. The foundation of the mound would thus be raised at once, and the casualties of successive ages could not fail heaping it with earth, till it assumed the rounded form in which it now appears.

Q. Curtius, in his account of this affair, exaggerates the extent of the destruction, by saying that Alexander did not confine his violence to the palace, "but, at the instigation of a prostitute, and infuriated with wine, took a flaming brand, and totally

destroyed the city he had just before spared with the noblest clemency, when his soldiers had taken it sword in hand. He now burnt it to the ground, not leaving a vestige of its lofty buildings to mark the spot on which it stood; and only to be traced in our times by the stream of the Araxes, said to have flowed twenty stades from its walls." But so far from this account being correct, we find, both from Strabo and Arrian, that Alexander inhabited the royal palace of Persepolis, after his return from India: hence, only one detached part of it could have been consumed. And a hundred and sixty years afterwards, Antiochus Epiphanius formed a project to pillage the city of Persepolis and its temple. (2 Maccabees.) This is one evidence, that even the riches of the ancient capital existed long after the Macedonian conquest. Plutarch's description of the disgraceful scene which led to the disaster I am discussing, confirms me in the idea that it was the banqueting-house alone, where the king and his companions were feasting, to which they set fire. The historian mentions, that in the midst of the revels the courtesan Thais, an Athenian by birth, boasted of the pleasure she felt in thus triumphing over Persia in the stately palace of its monarchs, and expatiated on the glory it would be to set fire to the court of Xerxes with her own hands, while the conqueror should stand by and approve the deed. Excited by this, and the wine he had drunk, the king starts from his seat, seizes a burning torch, and with his chaplet of feasting on his head, rushes forward, with his party in the same way armed, and sets the whole in a blaze. "However," adds his biographer, "all writers agree that he soon repented of his rashness, and made every effort to extinguish the flames." Had he left the place he was in to kindle any other building of the palace, it must have

been a business of so much trouble and contrivance to ignite stone walls and pillars with the simple brands in their hands, that Alexander could not but have had ample time to come to his senses, before the mischief was at all effected. But instead of any such elaborate process, we find that the whole was the action of an instant; and therefore nothing is so likely as that Thais and the king would light the draperies of the hall with their torches, and then rush out, with the mad crew at their heels, dancing and shouting, as the historian describes, till the rising spires of the flames reminded Alexander that he was a king, and his most royal prerogative that of mercy. That the ruin was not cleared away for the purpose of rebuilding, is not a surprising circumstance, when we consider the brevity of Alexander's life, and the periods of confusion which followed his death. The city gradually fell into neglect, and consequent decay after this, its first recorded calamity; but such neglect was not the effect of the destruction then wrought, but of the previous conquest by a foreign power. A long succession of stranger princes, for so we may call both the Greeks and the Parthians, naturally inclined to prefer any city as their residence before the capital of the ancient race, promoted the abandonment of these walls and towers, which the cruel devastation of the Arabs in after-ages utterly accomplished. Hence it is very probable, that this very spot has remained in almost the same state from the night of its "stately palace's" destruction, which took place three hundred and twenty-nine years before the birth of our Saviour, to the day in which I stood by its mound, and made my notes for these observations.

The next subject of remark, is the terrace to the south of this (I wish for the honour of a really great man we might say)

tumulus of Alexander's maddened folly! And on that terrace, (which is the fifth in the order of description,) stand the remains of one of the most regularly and amply planned structures of the whole platform. (N) Its site is also the most elevated, shewing even now upwards of twenty feet above the level of that vast foundation. From its dimensions, and the disposition of its numerous apartments, with its contiguity to the destroyed part, which I suppose to have contained the festival halls, and the passages leading to the high court of ceremonies contained in the Chehel-minar, I am induced to believe this the dwelling quarters of the monarch, and where he might hold his more private days of audience. Hence, it is deeply to be regretted, that its state is one of the most ruinous of the whole; though enough remains to allow the ground plan to be traced with the greatest precision, and also to shew the bases and plinths of its pillars, with fragments of beautiful sculpture scattered about in the saddest confusion. The principal doorways, and huge marble window-frames are yet in their places; their lofty sides, and ponderous lintels, resembling, though with the finest workmanship, our druidical monument of Stonehenge. Perhaps we cannot have a better concurrent argument for the truth of our accounts of the longevity of the early patriarchs, than this habitual fashion of their more immediate descendants in all countries, to make erections calculated for the duration of ages. But to proceed with my description. Beginning at the southern side of this minor terrace, we find at the eastern and western ends, two flights of narrow steps (ff) descending to a lower level of thirty feet. These ways of ingress, from their style, appear to have been private, probably only appropriated to the inhabitants of the place. The several faces of the

building are at present only marked by their foundations, with the exception of one window to the west, and three to the east. They open from a couple of corresponding wings; which divisions are each sub-divided into three spacious apartments, the outer ones alone communicating with the pillared courts at G G. In the center of those courts or quadrangles stand the plinths of four small columns, in diameter not more than two feet six inches, but placed at a distance from each other of six feet, and sixteen feet from the door, (h) which leads into a noble hall of ninety feet square, the pavement being marked with the sites of thirty-six pillars of three feet three inches in diameter. A door on the opposite side of the hall corresponds with the one already mentioned, both conducting into similar open quadrangles of four pillars. Another portal leads to the south, and a fourth and fifth to the north, into a large vestibule the whole width of the hall, and supported by eight similar columns; at least their plinths remain, so to testify. Two doors from the vestibule, pointing east and west, lead into six smaller rooms; (k k) and from similar foundations, I conclude they joined others still more to the north.

The windows (l l l l l l) are each formed of four large blocks of marble, six feet in thickness, which is also the depth of the walls. In height they are four feet eight inches, and in width three feet six. On the inner faces of those that give light to the rooms (m m m) are duplicate bas-reliefs, (Plate XLVII.) occupying the whole surface, and consisting of two figures in each. The first figure is clothed in the long robe and buskins, but his head wears a kind of cowl, which passes over his mouth, and hangs down upon his chest and back. His face is much mutilated, and so are his hands, in which he appears to be

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carrying a cup, or goblet. He is followed by a man in a short tunic and leathern belt round his waist. This person wears a very singularly shaped cap, nearly covering his bushy hair behind, and totally veiling both his mouth and beard. With his left hand he grasps the horn of an animal resembling the mountain-goat of the country, and rests his right upon its neck. The sculptor has given this beast but one horn, which issues from the middle of the forehead, and in form like that of the Ibex. The windows (l l o o) are all ornamented with three bas-relief figures following each other, and every one facing inwards, as if going to the same spot; but what several of them carry in their hands, is now undistinguishable. The leading person in all these groups, is dressed exactly like the man with the cup before the goat, and the people who follow, in the habit of the man who holds the animal. One of these leaders supports a tray on both hands, on which rests a shape not unlike a skin of wine, or it may be a cloth thrown over some choice viands on the tray. The persons after him carry, with a peculiar grace of action, each a covered vessel of a form that denotes the contents being for repast. Indeed, I have seen resembling dishes now in Persia, holding rice and little roasts, or kababs. This suite of the apartments I should therefore think, might originally have been appropriated to the private table of the sovereign and his family; while the division, now no more, was dedicated to feasts of state, and other entertainments: and, in that case, this very building might have been that occupied by Alexander after his return from India.

Xenophon mentions, that in addressing a superior, the speaker generally held his hand to his mouth, that his breath might not be disagreeable to his auditor; possibly, the serving-

men might have their visages thus muffled up, that the royal viands might not be breathed upon. On the broken remnants of the windows (b b b g g) are found similar lines of three figures, (Plate XLVII.) some with their heads enveloped, and others perfectly free, but all carry some dish or bowl. Amongst the least defaced, I found two habited in the Median robe, on whose heads were the broad fillets, I suppose to be made of metal. The visages of both these are uncovered. One holds in his right hand a sort of censer, evidently intended for burning perfumes; and in the other hand, a vessel resembling a pail, probably to contain the aromatic gums. The man who follows him has a little bottle set in the palm of his hand, and in the other he carries a piece of linen. It has always been a custom in the East, to wash with fragrant waters, both before and after meals, for which purpose these attendants might be designed.

The frames of the doors have all one sort of bas-relief, namely, a royal personage followed by two attendants bearing an umbrella and a fly-chaser. Of this subject I shall give a more particular description hereafter; but meanwhile I remark, that wherever this style of bas-relief is found, there are three small compartments of inscription over its head. The outer doors, (k k) also those in the wings which their traces shew, are ornamented with the two guards armed with the spear only. In this part of the building may be seen, in various places beneath the pavement, what was the subterraneous aqueduct: it passes in a direct line under the center of the great hall (N) due east, where it received its supply of water from an immense tank, yet visible at the foot of the rocks in that quarter. From the same center, the great hall, it strikes out again in a northward direction, being traceable to the cistern (y) near the grand portals of the bulls

on the first platform; and, doubtless, has many other branches besides, which are now totally lost under the accumulated ruins.

The channel is very ruggedly hewn out of the solid rock; and it is this dark way which some former travellers, not apprehending its real purpose, have described as a secret passage communicating with other mysterious excavations in the body of the mountain, and also leading to certain subterraneous entrances into its tombs. These designs seem very improbable, but at any rate a close examination of the channel, appears to me so very declarative of its use, that I am only surprised any other conjecture respecting it ever could be conceived.

At the sides of the open court (d) stand the remains of its once magnificent approaches; (e e) near that to the east, ten or twelve feet from the landing-place of its stairs, rise from a hollow beneath, to a level with the pavement, four enormously large and strong supports, (P) in shape not unlike rough-formed pedestals intended to uphold some body or bodies, of very great weight. The flight of steps they face, is of a double ascent, beginning from beneath inwardly. They are in a state of almost complete decay, with a scarcely legible inscription, and bas-reliefs of guards, with duplicates of the combat between the lion and the bull, all in the same broken condition.

About sixty feet from hence, to the north, (o) appear several colossal masses of stone, formerly the sides of large portals leading into a square edifice, small in proportion to the size and number of its entrances; for, from the situation of these four doors, it could not have been more than ninety-six feet. Three of the door-ways are yet pretty entire. On the interior face of the one to the east, are three figures of such gigantic dimensions as to be twelve feet in height. They are a repetition of the

king and his attendants, before mentioned, and which I shall now particularly describe. (Plate XLVIII.) The monarch is represented in the act of walking, and is accompanied by a couple of attendants. The face of his majesty is mutilated, but the air of his person is singularly stately and majestic. A long and venerable-looking beard is disposed with the nicest care upon his breast, and the abundant mass of hair which covers his neck, is not less scrupulously curled. His tiara has a smooth surface, but partakes of the general shape worn by his robed nobles and guards. In his right hand he carries a long thin staff, with an ornamented finishing at the top. Herodotus observes, that the Babylonians made use of sticks in walking, with richly decorated heads carved in various figures. An apple, it is said, was the usual termination, on the sceptre or staff of the Persian kings; but the ornament on this regal person's staff, does not resemble that shape in the least. In his left hand he holds a lotos, the calix and leaves of which announce its name, without dispute. The broad belt and Median robe complete his raiment. His attendants follow: one carrying in both his hands an umbrella over the head of the great personage; while the other waves his fly-chaser in the same direction, grasping in his left hand what, probably, is intended for the royal handkerchief. These are clad in the long robe, with the metal fillet round their heads, and rings in their ears. The admirable taste and fine finish of this bas-relief, redoubled my regret at the demolished state of the faces and hands; the feet also are lost, by the rising heaps around, formed by the ruins of the rest of the building; these, uniting with those of the mound on its western side, have connected the whole, by a regular slope, to the terrace below. That the principal personage here depicted, represents

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the monarch I believe there can be no doubt; the peculiarity of his beard, and the employment of his servants, attest his dignity; the use of the umbrella being regarded in Persia as the prerogative of royalty alone. One large stone, sixteen feet high, and between eight and nine feet wide, contains the group. Another block of smaller dimensions surmounts it, on which is seen a figure whose dress and outline of form resemble those of the personage below. The only difference is, that his left hand holds a ring, and his right is raised and open. He issues from a circle, whence diverge two floating forms, something like serpents with their heads hidden behind the figure. A pair of immense wings spread themselves on each side of the circle; in that differing from the radiated vehicle of the aerial being so often seen on the tombs of Nakshi-Roustam.

If this be the *Ferwer*, or spiritual prototype of the king, which, according to the Zendavesta, always hovers near him, its wings may be attributes of the duties of a living monarch, activity and fostering care of his people; while the Intelligence, whom we see on the tombs, supported by clouds and sun-beams, shews that the prince who was his divided self, has now nothing more to do with the business of earth but to appear once in the glorified substance into the essence of which his shade is absorbed, to his royal successor while performing the established rites at his tomb.

Perhaps this doctrine of Zoroaster may be more clearly seen in an extract from the *Desatir*, a work of the old Pehlivi, and which, amongst other subjects, attempts an explanation of the above mystery.

" Verse 35. Whatever is on earth, is the resemblance and shadow of something that is in the sphere.

" 36. While that resplendent thing [the prototype] remaineth in good condition, it is well also with its shadow.

" 37. When that resplendent object removeth far from its shadow, life fadeth away.

" 38. Again, that resplendent thing is the shadow of a light more resplendent than itself.

" 39. And so on, up to Mez, [Ormuzd] who is the light of lights." — Desatir, Book of Zerdusht.

With the exception of the figure in the centre, the symbol of the wings and circle is precisely that which so often occurs over almost all the ancient temples of the East, designating Providence, and which is worshipped in Egypt under the name of the god Cneph. The circle of entwined serpents, bespeak Eternity and Wisdom, and the expanded wings, Ubiquity and protective Goodness. Doubtless, the pride of many Persian monarchs would be flattered by the association of such lofty attributes of divinity, with their Ferwer, or second self; and believing themselves already half gods, they would disdain their duties as men. But there were others who might read a salutary lesson in this sublime emblem. Besides the sovereign properties of wisdom, omnipresence, and eternity, there was another, of ministration — protecting goodness, which was the most conspicuous symbol of the whole; and therefore, only in its exercise, could a king prove his claim to the high attributes of wisdom and ubiquity, by a general watchfulness, through upright ministers, over the welfare of his subjects; by the enacting of just laws, and their impartial fulfilment; and by that universal paternal conduct which gave Cyrus the name of " Father of his People," rendering it immortal on earth, while, with " the spirits of the just made perfect," we cannot doubt that he who

" was called by name the Shepherd of the Lord, to do all his pleasure," would himself be enjoying the eternity of heaven. It does not, however, appear from any thing we read, (whatever might be the belief from the earliest ages in Persia, of guardian angels,) that the idea of a Ferwer or presiding *second-self*, was ever thought of there before the time of Zoroaster; and that was some years after the death of Cyrus. And if this aerial figure is meant to represent that extraordinary being, it at once decides that the bas-reliefs where it forms a part, must have been the work of a subsequent reign; and none so likely as that of Darius Hystaspes, who was the patron of Zoroaster, and the zealous assertor of his doctrines and religious rites. Indeed, according to the hyperbolical calculations of the East, we are told that the regulations of the prophet were so numerous, and the reverence in which they were held by the monarch so devoted, that they filled " twelve thousand skins of parchment, of a cow-hide each," and were deposited, by the royal order, in spacious vaults dug in the bosom of the rock at Persepolis. " Holy men were appointed to guard them; and it was commanded that the profane should never approach the sacred records." (Zeenut-ul-Tuarkh.) But it appears that the sword of the caliphs, like that of Alexander, cut the cord of mystery: the sanctuary of the sacred archives was violated by the followers of Mahomed; and the originals of the Zendavesta were heard of no more.

We now return to the bas-reliefs of the structure (O). On the portals (b b) are duplicates of the same royal personage I have just described as walking forth under his umbrella; but here he is represented seated on a chair of state, holding a staff in one hand and a lotos in the other. An attendant stands

behind, waving the usual fly-chaser over his head; and the aerial figure we have been discussing, in his winged car, hovers near him. These four portals(a a b b) open opposite to each other in the four sides of this quadrangular building; in the centre of which I found the plinths of four columns, standing equidistant ten feet, and each in diameter four feet. From the form, and the immense materials of this place, the latter so much beyond any common proportion with its present apparent dimensions, it seems very likely to have been dedicated to religious uses; and, probably, was the private oratory of the king, where he offered up his daily adorations to Mezdan (Ormuzd): such solidity of structure being a reverence to the name to which it was inscribed. From the smoothness of these four large central stones, it does not appear that they had formerly been connected with any crowning material, neither a platform, nor statues; and so far from there being any probability of images occupying this, or any other temple in Persia, from the reign of Cyrus, to that of the last Darius, we learn from historians, that Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, destroyed Apis, the idolatrous object of the Egyptians' worship, in his indignation at likening the Supreme Power to a brute beast; and that Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspes, and the pupil of Zoroaster, broke in pieces the statues of the Greeks, from the same sense of what was due to Deity. Hence, I should suppose, that between these four pillars stood the altar that contained the sacred fire; the only visible image of the Divinity, which his followers admitted into their temples. This edifice, like most of the others, rose on its own distinct little terrace; and though all its entrances seem to have been distinguished by the royal effigy, yet here we find no representations of guards to protect his sacred person; which seems to declare, that the place is sanctuary sufficient; and its

proximity to the part of the palace which now lies under the mound, further inclines me to believe that this was the retiring place of the monarch, to perform his morning and evening adorations.

At about a hundred and sixty feet to the south-east of this little building of the four pillars, and down upon the level of the great platform, (u) appears another pile of ruins. (P) On drawing near, I found not only foundations and scattered fragments, but the frames of doors and windows, and niches in the walls; some upright, and all distinctly traceable. A quadrangular building, (P) of forty-eight feet, constitutes its chief structure; and another, separated from it by only the intermediate wall, extends towards the south thirty feet, where it is completely open. These two apartments would appear to comprehend the whole edifice, did we not see a continuation of the foundation of walls along the southern front, with the fragments of columns, architraves, and other architectural adjuncts to the support of a roof. At the extremities of the walls which point to the south, leaving the open space between, (b b) are two single stones, in height about eighteen feet, five in thickness, and three and a half in width. Their inward faces, near the top, are excavated with large square holes, as if for the reception of a connecting beam. A couple of door-ways at (c c) have bas-reliefs of the double guard on their sides, and another portal of considerable expansion opens from the middle of the southern apartment into the inclosed quadrangle. On this passage we found the walking figure of the king, attended by one person only, carrying a parasol. The square to which it conducted us, has received its principal light from a range of lofty windows; the casements of three are yet tolerably perfect, as well as are several niches cut

in the solid wall. Two entrances open into it from the east and west, ornamented with repetition bas-reliefs of a combat between a man and a lion. Two others perforate the wall to the north, (all the walls are five feet thick,) but one only of its portals is standing, and its sides are sculptured with the spearmen. The interior ground of these apartments, as well as that without, is raised, and rendered very uneven by the fallen fragments of their more ruined parts. No trace of an inscription is to be found in the building; neither does it appear to stand, like those to the west, on any terrace of its own.

At one hundred and ninety feet to the north, stands a structure (q) next in extent as a single building, to that of the Chehel-minar. It is a perfect square, of two hundred and ten feet along each face. Two doors enter it from every side, but those from the north have been the grand portals, being thirteen feet in width, whereas all the others are only seven. Between every two of the latter is an immense niche, while the former are divided by seven large windows, whose side-blocks measure ten feet, the original depth of the walls. At forty feet distant from the northern front, and almost parallel with its east and west corners, rise the mutilated forms of two colossal bulls, (a a) standing on pedestals of eighteen feet in length, by five in height. They are the remains of statues, not bas-reliefs, and clearly shew by their position on each side of an area of entrance, that they were meant for ornament, not idolatry. These two face the north; and at two hundred and seventy feet from them, in the same direction, (R) appear two others looking due south. This latter twain have formed the sides of a grand gate-way, the style and dimensions of which are much like those of the great portal (D) on the first platform. The one I am now describing

forms the vertex of a triangle, of which the north front of the square building is the base; hence it faces neither of the doors, but probably was the entrance into some spacious outer court: its noble remains are cruelly defaced, but enough is left to shew both its purpose and ornaments. At S a little further to the north, we see an enormous insulated column terribly broken, but still I was enabled to make a copy of its fine capital. (Plate XLV. fig. E.) But to return to the square building itself. The sides of the principal doors (c c) are richly adorned with sculpture; and in the most elevated compartment of the whole, we find the kingly personage mentioned before, seated on his chair of state, (Plate XLIX.) with both feet resting on a footstool. Over his head, are the bas-relief remains of a canopy supported by slender pillars, the whole profusely decorated with fret-work, fringes, and borders of lions and bulls. After what we had seen before, there can be little doubt that the attendant spirit had, as usual, surmounted the group, but it was now entirely broken away. The seat of the royal personage answers exactly to the description given by Brisson in one of the passages he has selected as illustrative of Persian antiquities and customs, and which states, that the throne of the king of Persia was a chair gorgeously inlaid with gold, covered with a splendid carpet or cushion, and so high from the ground, that a stool was always placed at its feet. This description is not unlike that of the throne of Solomon, in the second book of Chronicles: — "Moreover, the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold; and there was a footstool of gold, and stays on each side of the sitting-place." — So far, the chair, or throne: the platform, or pedestal, or either one or the other, on which it might stand, are totally distinct from the idea of the throne itself. That such

was the only form of seat regarded by the ancients as that of sovereignty, may be gathered from a variety of authorities; and amongst others, several Grecian coins, where we see Jupiter placed in a similar chair; and nearly all the Parthian money that has fallen in my way, bears the same sort of throne, though very rudely represented. But what is more curious still, so long has the fashion of this chair lasted, and so widely has it travelled, that there is hardly perhaps one of my English readers who has not seen, in the old hall of some family mansion in England, almost a fac-simile of the great high carved chair in which the king of Persia sits here enthroned. In this, the two favourite symbolical animals of the east form part of the ornaments; we find the feet of the lion in the legs of the chair, and those of the bull in the feet of the footstool. In this representation of the royal personage, his dress is particularly simple, having neither collar nor bracelets; in his right hand he holds the long staff, or sceptre, and in his left the lotos. He is evidently sitting in state. Behind him stands the usual attendant with the fan and handkerchief, and his face muffled, for probably the same reason as mentioned before. A second figure in the short Persian tunic follows, bearing the royal bow and battle-axe. Sword, or arms bearers, of whatever sort the king might use, were appendages of state all over the East, and the custom exists in the court of Persia to this day. The battle-axe which presents itself here, is in all probability the *sagaris*. We are told that it resembled the double axe of the Amazons. This before us, though a double-headed instrument, wants one essential feature of an axe, the pointed or sharp edge on the two extremities; but it is not unlikely, that, borne here only as a weapon of state, its hostile ends would be blunted, emblematic;

of the peace and security near the throne. Under the same idea, we find the bow cased that accompanies it; and having a handle, which the bearer grasps, I should suppose it to be something of a cross-bow. A third person stands behind, on the other side of the sort of pillared recess which incloses the immediate group round the king. His dress is the Median robe and fluted tiara; and he holds a long wand in both hands: it has no appearance of ever having been pointed with a spear-head; hence, I suppose him an officer of purely court occupation, and probably, from being so near the person of the monarch, of the highest rank. Just before the foot of the throne, two gracefully shaped vessels present themselves, similar to those which are carried by the figure in Plate XLVII., but with the addition of connecting chains to their covers. I have no doubt they contain burnt perfumes, and their situation between the king and his applicants warrants the idea. A muffled attendant approaches from without the pillared frame on that side, bringing a small metal-like pail, (as seen in the former plate,) which probably contains the prepared aromatics to supply them. Immediately behind the censers, and in front of the sovereign, appears a man in the short tunic and plain bonnet, with his left hand grasping the short staff which marks the court-ushers on the great stair-case, and his right held to his mouth, to prevent his breath exhaling towards the august personage to whom he bends as he addresses himself. Lowliness of attitude on approaching superiors, is yet sufficiently a mark of good breeding in Persia; but this personal delicacy (so necessary indeed to mutual personal respect) seems to have expired with the courtiers of the Kaianian dynasty. Beneath the royal group, and divided from it by a long horizontal border studded with roses, are five ranges of attendants,

each row, separated in the same way by a similar border. Indeed, a frame of this rose-work incloses the whole bas-relief, like that of a picture. The first row, under the king, contains ten figures, all in the Median robe and fluted tiara, and grasping spears.

The three first on the right hand of the sculpture, carry also the Bœotian-shaped shield on their left arms; and as they are marching towards the middle of the ground on which they appear to move, their spear-hands are towards the spectator. Before them are two with the spears, but no shields, and the foremost of them, standing in the center of the bas-relief, just under the feet of the king, faces another guard armed in the same way, who is the leader of four more spearmen resembling those on the opposite side. The shields of these three are consequently towards the spectator. The second row, is also a rank of ten figures. All here, excepting two, are in the Persian tunic, and plain curved bonnet, with spears in their hands, and the cased bow, and short sword at their sides. They are divided into two parties like the row above them, meeting in the center, where their two leaders face each other, in the Median robe and tiara, spears in their hands, and open bows with quivers over their shoulders. The third range is also of ten, in two divisions, marching to the same point. The men are in the tunic and plain cap, with the short sword on the right side, and cased cross-bows held over their shoulders; their leaders in the Median dress, and armed as the two above them. The fourth rank is precisely like the second, and the fifth like the fourth. But there may appear a distinction between the military array of the two files of robed leaders who bear the insignia of archery; the quivers of all those up the right side of the center seeming to be of a different shape at the top from that of the quivers on the

opposite side; but the apparent variation arises wholly from our seeing the same arrow-hood in different views; and I cannot pass it without drawing my reader's attention to the nicety with which it closes over the feathers. These five ranges of guards, evidently placed in regular rotation over each other, some way to represent their lines of station near the person of the king in the real scene, give me an impression that the platform on which the royal chair stood, was placed on an elevation of five steps, with the same number of ranks in the guards which stood before it; and who, probably, might occasionally leave a space between the files of leaders for an approach to the throne.

Just beyond the great northern front of this building, are two portals, (d d) pointing to the east and west; their sides are sculptured with the double guard, (Plate XLVI.) in so gigantic a style, that were the earth cleared away that encumbers their base, the figures would be twelve feet high. They are visible from a little below the knee, from which to the top of the head, they measure ten feet ten inches. The length of each face is two feet seven inches, of a beautiful contour, and admirably executed. I have attempted to copy its character with the strictest accuracy. The spear, as far as is seen, measures fourteen feet seven inches; and if we allow three feet to be hidden in the ruins, it will extend to seventeen feet seven inches. When we reduce the guard who holds it to the common size of nature, and proportion the spear to that reduction, we then find it no more than seven feet eight inches long; a weapon of no extraordinary dimensions, and which agrees perfectly with Herodotus, "αἴχμας δὲ βραχέας ἔχον." Indeed, every other in the various bas-reliefs appear no longer. The whole way between these portals is thickly scattered over with fragments of columns,

architraves, &c. which leave no doubt of a covered colonnade having overshadowed this principal face of the building. The doors that open from the southern side, (e e) are the same in depth, and in the subject of their sculptures, as those on the north. Here, also, on the higher compartments, (Plate L.) sits the royal figure in the usual garb, but attended by the fly-chaser alone. The canopy over his head is quite entire, displaying the most exquisite workmanship in its fretted fringe, roses, and other ornaments. Lions, and the unicorn-bull, fill two rows of it; the range of the first being separated by the serpent-winged emblem, in like manner as in the mutilated canopy on the other side of the building. The aerial figure surmounts the whole, occupying an exact fac-simile of the symbol below; the universality of its appearance in the most ancient structures of the East, prevents me from giving it the appellation Egyptian, though it was on the temples of that country I first saw it, and we are apt to attribute the primary use of things to the places where we first notice them. Instead of a ring in his hand, the *Ferwer*, in this bas-relief, holds the lotos, an emblem of even more extensive adoption than the other. But that ideas of divine, or angelic attributes, have been connected from the earliest times with these emblematic wings, circles, and radiated ethereal cars, we find in the most ancient of all books, divine in its origin; and so well attested by nature, that witnesses to its veracity, even as a history of the East, rise up every day in the persons of successive travellers. In a former part of this volume, I have already remarked on the symbolical wings given to angels, so early as the time of Moses, when, by the divine appointment, he spread them over the mercy-seat of the ark of the law. Descriptions of the like ministers and messengers of the Most High,

are given in all the Prophets, and most of them with the same attributes more or less; but in Ezekiel, we find a vision of seraphic forms, who appear in something like the radiated car of the Persian *Ferwer*, as it is seen on the tombs.

"And I looked, and behold a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it; and out of the midst thereof, as the colour of amber, came the likeness of four living creatures; and this was their appearance, they had the likeness of a man. As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their rings were full of eyes, round about them four. And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them: and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up. Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went; for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels." (Chap. i. part of verses 4, 5. 18, 19, 20.) Though the further context of these verses is universally accepted as symbolical prophecies of the four great empires in that part of the world, which succeeded the Jewish captivity; yet the imagery is quoted here, to shew whence Zoroaster drew the attributes, and even the general ideas of his *Ferwer*; that which the Prophet presents as symbolical, the impostor advancing as reality. Ezekiel wrote about a century before the appearance of Zoroaster, who did not promulgate his reformation, as he called it, of the Mithratic religion, till nearly fifty years after the restoration of the Jews to their country; and, indeed, we may trace a second more insidious plunder of the temple, its ordinances, and mysteries of the law and the prophets, in many of the perverted doctrines and rites of the Persian sage.

But to return to the bas-relief of the king, his winged prototype having carried me so far away. Three rows of figures, with a

broad frieze between each row, fill the space between the royal seat and the ground. The first row consists of four persons, supporting the upper frieze, or rather platform on which the throne is placed, with their uplifted hands, in the manner of caryates: the second row exhibits five men, upholding the intermediate frieze in the same way: while one figure only, and that an Ethiopian, is visible of the third range, which is so overgrown with earth, that a few strokes of the pick-axe were necessary to arrive at a distinct sight of this solitary Atlas. The rest of the figures on the two upper rows, are all in dresses I had seen in the procession on the great stairs; some in the Persian tunic and short sword, but more in the Median garb. The whole is inclosed in a sort of frame-work of double pillars, to which the canopy is attached at the top; while their nether extremities rest on each side of the royal platform, meeting the summits of two immense horizontally fluted columns; the lower ends of which are huge lion limbs, on a base something like that of the pedestal under the same-formed legs of the chair. These two columns support the platform on which the king sits, on each side of the caryatided front; the whole bearing a close resemblance to the royal elevation on the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam, and therefore a no inconsiderable argument of both being the work of nearly the same age.

Some of the niches, in the interior of the building, are still entire; and present a simple and beautiful effect, whether seen singly, or viewed in a range together. That which I have drawn, (Plate L.) stands about fifteen feet above the accumulated earth on the floor, and is composed of four stones. The upper one forms the pediment, which is carved with three rows of the lotos-leaf, exquisitely cut, and rising from a beaded cornice.

Pl. 51

One of the Niches at Persepolis.

A. an Architrave over the Great Door.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1820

The second stone constitutes the top of the niche; the third the niche itself, being hollowed into that form; and the fourth makes the foundation. Two feet six inches of this nether stone, remain above ground; and I do not think that more than an additional eight inches is buried in the ruins. It is not easy to form any conjecture respecting the use of these gigantic recesses; but they certainly have the effect of lightening, by the symmetry of their forms, the broad, and otherwise heavy flat of the walls. They do not appear to have been intended for statues, the bottom stones being perfectly smooth, and of the most brilliant polish. In all the modern palaces of Persia we find similar excavations, though not of such large dimensions. Like these, they usually commence a few feet from the ground, still bearing traces of the ancient style of architecture, and are almost always appropriated to holding pots of roses or other flowers; while these in the palace of Persepolis, are tall enough to hold trees, would their breadth admit them. The forms of the several great doorways have the same outline as the niches, and are crowned with a similar pediment. (Plate LI. A.) Fragments of several, lay on the ground; one of which I measured, and found it four feet six inches in depth, and luxuriantly decorated with lotos-leaves.

In my account of the building quite to the west, (k) where several bas-reliefs occur, representing single combats between a human figure and a variety of animals, I then mentioned that I should defer a more particular description of their design, till I could compare what I saw there, with those which would present themselves to my notice in the great structure to the east; and I now find, that in outline, if not in dimensions, they are facsimilies of those I see here. On the four portals (ffff) pointing east and west, these extraordinary encounters are displayed.

Their scale is colossal, and the sculpture in a style of answering magnificence. The man who contends with the animals, is usually called the Pontiff-king; a title which, in my mind, forms a clear text for the explanation of the whole. The first bas-relief in which we find him on these walls, is on one of the door-ways in the western face of the building. (Plate LII.) He is represented as a personage of a singularly dignified mien, clad in long draperied robes, but with the arms perfectly bare. His hair, which is full and curled, is bound with a circlet or low diadem; and his sweeping, pointed beard, is curled at different heights, in the style that was worn by majesty alone. He is in the act of grasping with his left hand, the strong single horn that grows out of the forehead of his antagonist, while he thrusts his short sword, or dagger, composedly, but firmly, into the animal's body. The creature is a monstrous combination of a lion, in body and limbs, with the head and neck of an eagle; and is covered with immense plumage, lying like scale-armour, half-way down its back; representing something like our common ideas of a griffin. Though struck in a vital part, the beast appears to be rampantly opposing the death his adversary seems so calmly inflicting.

The corresponding sculpture of the same hero, on the portal to the east, differs in nothing but the quadruped; which presents a union of forms completely strange to a European, our most abstruse allegorising heralds, never having invented any thing like its image to charge our shields or support them. (Plate LIII.) The head seems to be that of a wolf; the fore-legs and body, those of a lion; the hinder legs, from their joints, are certainly those of an eagle; the neck is scaled, or feathered, with a prickly mane, and it has wings which stretch nearly to

At Persepolis

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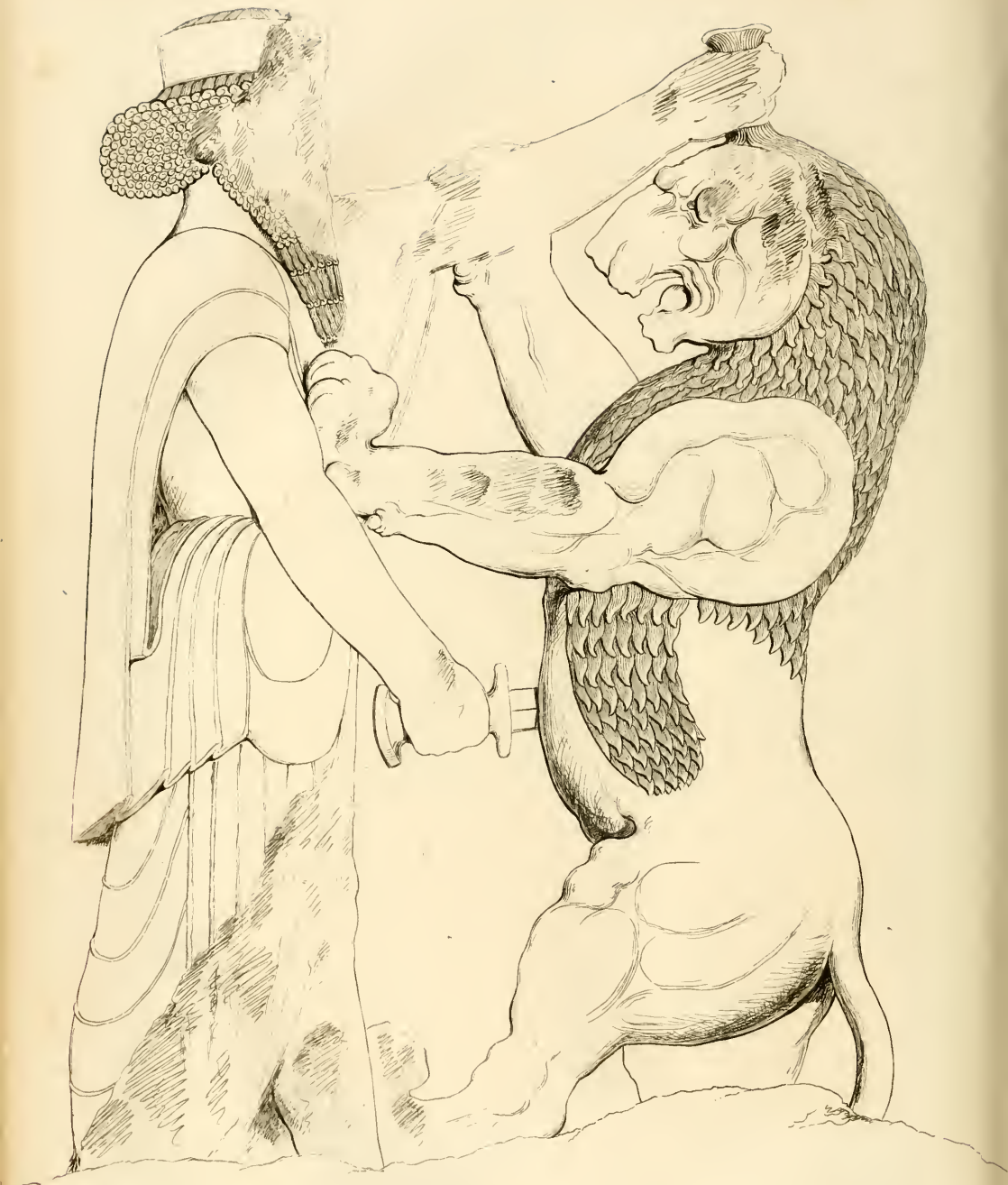


Persepolis

C. Heath. Sc

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1831

its tail. This latter appendage is extremely long, and formed of a chain of bones, like the vertebræ of the back, and cut with the most correct knowledge of anatomy. A crooked horn projects from the head of this monster, which is clasped as before by the hero, while he strikes his dagger into its body. His remaining adversaries, exhibited on the other two doors, are of a more natural appearance, being a horned lion, and a unicorn-bull, which he slays with the same composed action. The calmness of his air, contrasted with the firmness with which he grasps the animals, and strikes to his aim, gives a certainty to his object, and a sublimity to his figure, beyond any thing that would have been in the power of more elaborate action, or ornament, to effect. From the unchanged appearance of the hero, his unvaried mode of attack, its success, and the unaltered style of opposition adopted by every one of the animals in the contest, I can have no doubt that they all mean different achievements towards one great end; and under the figure of the pontiff-king, represent the ease with which the united powers of religion and regal authority, may vanquish the enemies of the true faith. The true faith, from a dateless epoch in Persian annals, until the conquest of the Arabs, was the Mithratic mystery; and from the period of its belief to the present times, a similar superstition has existed with regard to enchantments and evil spirits; an unremitted contest between Ormuzd, the light of the universe, and Ahriman, the origin of darkness. These two emanations acted on the mind and body of their respective followers; hence the worshippers of the sun denounced the Sabians, or adorers of images, to be a reprobate race, lost in darkness, and slaves to the evil power. Under this idea, the native writers of Persia are full of wars between their ancient kings and the deevs, or

dæmons, of the vast regions beyond the terrible heights of Elborz; who, in fact, were no other than the Sabian kings of eastern Scythia, and the neighbouring princes of the same faith. Jealous of the ambition of Darius, and abhorring the tenets of the man he upheld as a prophet, they made constant devastating inroads into the empire, and with merciless zeal sacrificed all they found to their offended deities. The celebrated Deev Sufeed, whom Roostam, the Hercules of Persia, slew, was no other than a loyal prince of Hyrcania, whose spells of enchantment were his good sword and dauntless heart; but meeting an equal arm in that of his invincible adversary, one dæmon, at least, was proved to be vulnerable. Not content with attributing to these nations the minds of evil spirits, the followers of Zoroaster represented their persons under the imagery of dragons, griffins, and supernatural monsters of every description; through whole armies of which, we are told, Roostam fought his way, before he could storm the castle of their magician master. In after-times, when the caliphs introduced a new creed into this part of the East, and the bulk of the people embraced it, still their superstitions remained the same, only changing their objects. The tribes amongst them who adhered to the worship of the sun, became transformed in their eyes; and to their imaginations, filled the long-vacated places of the deevs and devils. When they were mouldered away, buried under the ashes of their extinguished altars, the fiercer schismatic found a sanctuary in their deserted caves; and deriving the name with the station, in the person of Hassan Saheb, we find a second Deev Sufeed inhabiting the fastnesses of Elborz. On recollecting all these several accounts, we cannot be surprised when a Persian, standing by our sides at Persepolis, points

to these bas-relief combats on the walls, and with all the poetical enthusiasm of his country, declares them to be representations of actual contests between Jemsheed, or Roostam, or Isfundeer, and the emissaries of evil, in those hideous forms. Indeed, I agree with him in every particular of his explanation, excepting the existence of the dæmon animals in "veritable substance," to be seen and slain. The hero of the combats, I suppose to be intended for Darius Hystaspes, or his son and successor, Xerxes; but the beasts he encounters, purely allegorical. In consequence of the death of Zoroaster, who had been massacred in the great sacerdotal city of Balk, by Argasp the Scythian king, Darius took on himself the title of Archimagus; and after avenging the murder of his prophet, on the Scythian nation, we are told by Porphyry, that the Persian monarch commanded that the name of that sacred distinction should be inscribed on his tomb. Here, then, we find the pontiff-king. And in the firm grasp with which he holds the horn of power on the heads of all the animals, while his sword is in their hearts, we may read his conquest over the monsters of Sabianism in Scythia, Egypt, India, and in Babylonia, which had revolted; and whose gods, and whose towers, he and his son reduced to "a perpetual desolation." Xerxes, who was thus associated with his father's warlike achievements, had more than his own share of fame. The Persian poets call him Isfundeer; and regarding him as one of their darling heroes, decorate him with all the virtues that he — did not possess. But he was a prince of daring enterprise; he had carried the arms of Persia to more distant regions than any of his predecessors; and glare being mistaken for glory, the writers of the East represent him as a hero *sans peur, sans reproche*. In the midst of his victories, and the multitude of his

vices, for he had a sufficient number of both, he so far followed the track of Darius, as to declare war against image-worship; and not only the shrines of Babylonia felt his indignation, but every country through which his conquering eagles flew. Greece, above all, writhed under the load of her temples levelled with the dust; while the orphans of the slain, clasping the broken swords of their fathers in the smoking ruins, swore a signal vengeance on the violater of their hearths and their altars. After-times saw the vow fulfilled on the banks of the Granicus; the blood of Xerxes flowed from the bosom of his descendant Darius Codamanus; and Thais the Athenian, terribly visited the devastation of her native city on the imperial walls of the capital; before whose relics so many pilgrim footsteps have stood, pondering the terrible event. Nevertheless, the Persian poets forget all these calamities, while dwelling on the splendour of the actions to which they were a retribution; and ambitious of equalling their idol Isfundeer, with his predecessors Roostam and Kai Khoosroo, they describe even his unfortunate enterprises in the same figurative style of vain-glory, with which we find his progress towards the capture of the great strong-hold of Scythia, emblazoned and recounted. He approached the city through seven enchanted gates. The first was defended by two savage wolves, the second by two enormous lions, the third by a dragon, the fourth by a ghoul, or dæmon-devourer of the dead, the fifth by a griffin, the sixth by an ever-flowing cataract, the seventh by a lake and boundless mountains: all of which marvellous succession of impediments he overcame and surmounted, gained the city, and killed Argasp the king.

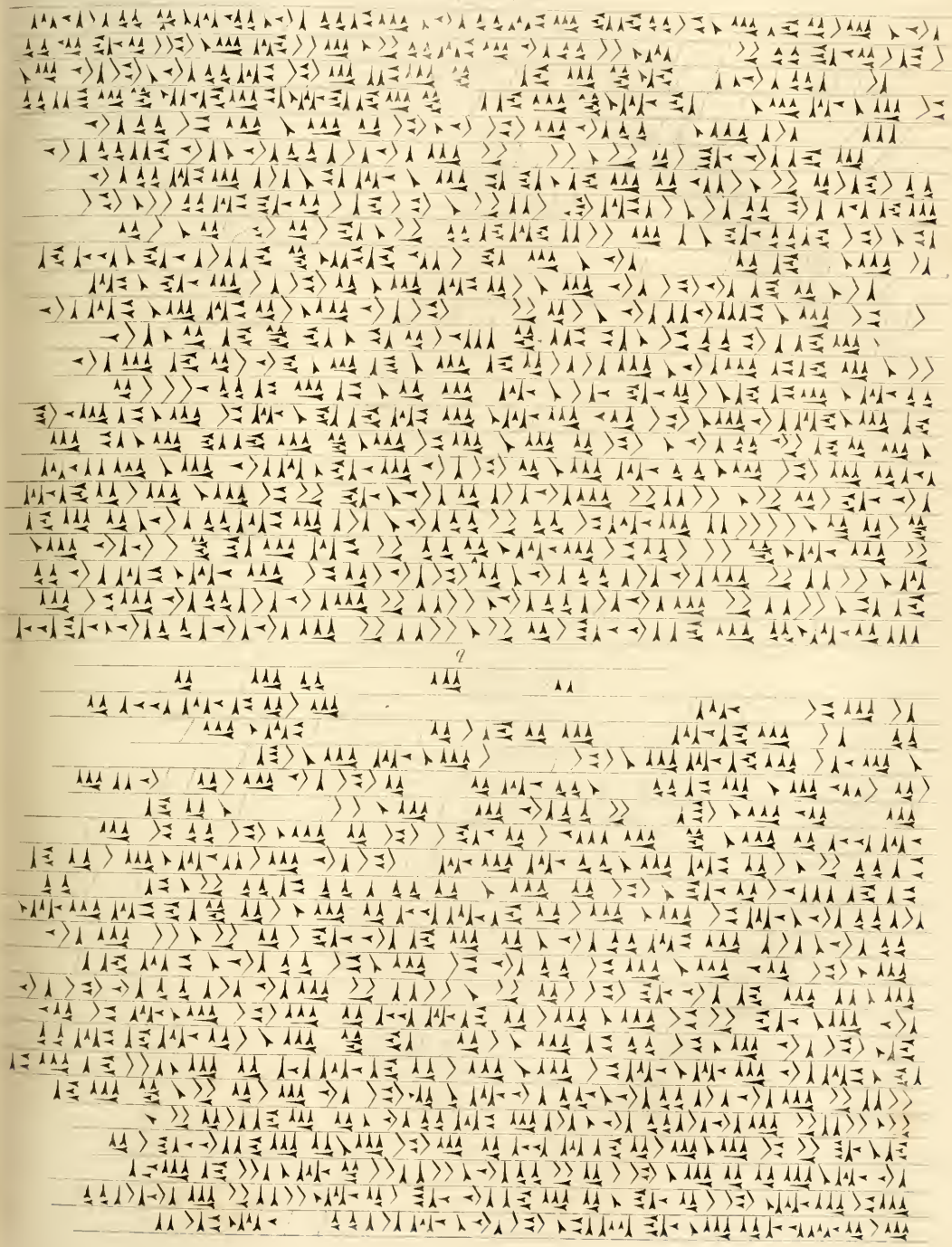
I do not doubt, that the contemplation of the bas-relief combats in these ruins, has assisted the romance-writers of Persia

in these fables; but the one throws light on the other; and though apparently of different hues, by a mingling of beams, a ray of truth is produced, which points clearly to the fact, that whether this august figure of the four encounters be intended for Darius Hystaspes or his son, the story it tells is the same; representing a sovereign, who united in his own person the regal with the sacerdotal influence, and who exerted both to the destruction of impiety, in the subjugation of the powers to which it was allied. A single horn being the emblem of national empire, in all these combats he clutches that symbol; shewing that he holds its still existing strength, whilst his sword strikes at the vital principle of religious schism, whether in men or in empires. Throughout the legends of Persia, the countries north of Elborz are typified under the figures of the simurgh, eagle, or griffin; and it is not improbable that the monster we see here with the skeleton-tail, and which is very like the *martichorus* of Ctesias, may be the ghoul, or flesh-eating dæmon of Isfundeer. What particular nation it may represent, I do not pretend to guess; though no doubt remains in my mind that all the four beasts in these bas-reliefs are symbols of certain Sabian countries subdued by Darius or Xerxes; and that, as the pontiff-king, the descendant of Mithra, and the successor of his prophet Zoroaster, the great victor is sculptured on the stone in everlasting monument. The structure to which these colossal combats are attached, appears to have been intended for a place of public duties, next in rank to the more spacious Chehel-minar, or hall of chief ceremonies. The symbolical encounters just described, set forth the heroic acts of the monarch in quelling the corrupters and disturbers of his empire; and the bas-reliefs on the high compartments of the doors, shew the

same royal pontiff seated in his chair of state, enjoying the security of peace, and surrounded by a throng of people pressing to uphold his throne. In this building I completed the catalogue of sculptures immediately connected with the objects on the platform; and, going out at the eastern portal where the king and the tailed monster keep their unwearied guard, the mountain itself was before me. The slope commences at two hundred feet from the side of the edifice, rising out of the surface of the platform which had been cut from its base.

I went forward, and ascending the height for about six hundred feet, arrived at one of the excavated tombs, (X) which stands in a direct line with the great building of the pontiff-king. To describe it, would be a repetition of what I saw in the sepulchre at Nakshi-Roustam, with only one difference, a range of small lions running along the frieze, which crowns the bull-headed pilasters. I have made a sketch of these animals in Plate XLIII. (a) to shew they are not dogs; a mistake that has prevailed, from the hasty observation of some former travellers. Another excavation is seen more to the south, and higher up the mountain. But an illness, induced by the heat and fatigue, and which I vainly fought against, had made such progress by the time I would have visited the second tomb, my diminished strength was not sufficient to climb the steeper rocks. I viewed it, however, from the distance at which I stood, and was reconciled to my disappointment; nothing appearing different in it, from the one I had been so fortunate as to reach.

Near the south-eastern angle of the platform, and on the slope of the hill, I found the extensive reservoir (W) which formed the grand fountain for the reception of the waters of the mountain; and whence they flowed in a variety of subterraneous



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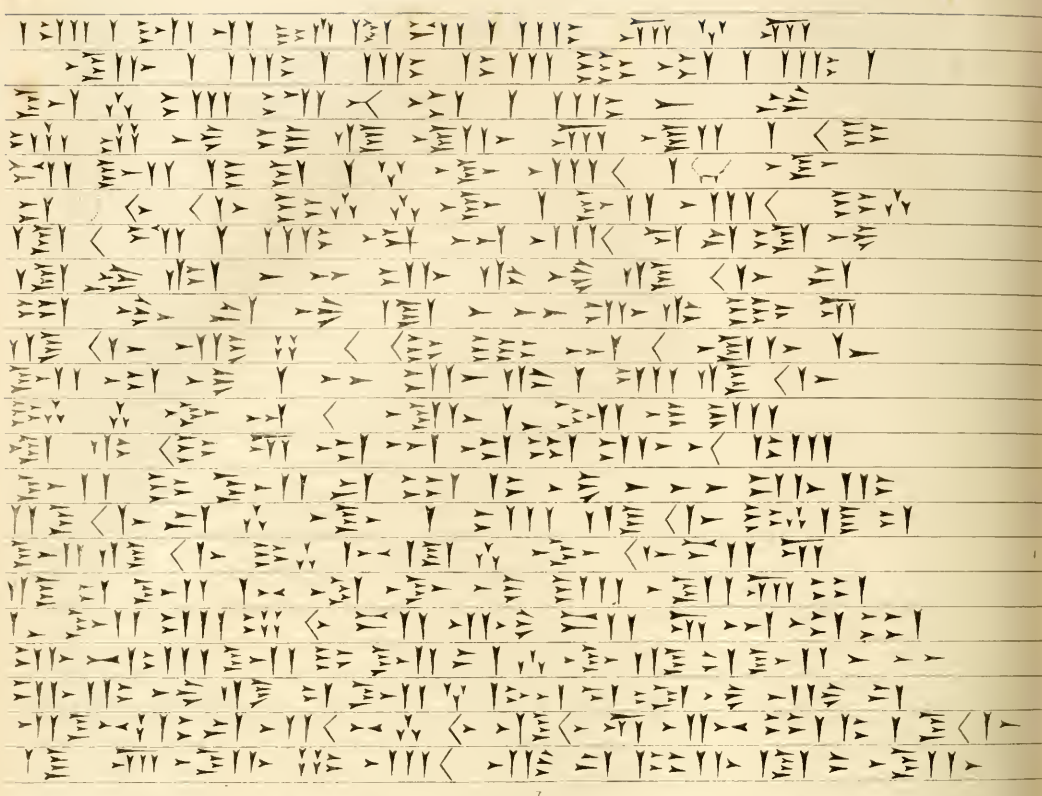

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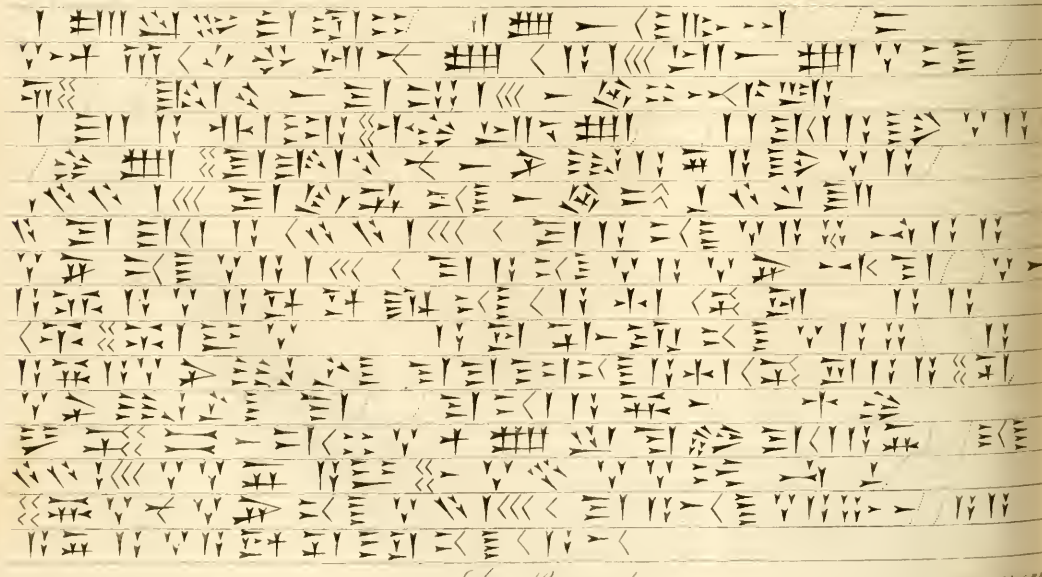

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At Persepolis.

Engraved by Saml Bell

channels through the body of the platform to the cistern, (y) and diverging thence again, supplied the buildings on the several terraces. The directions of these aqueducts may be seen in the plan, by the dotted lines. As I looked from side to side, and up the rocks, to objects now beyond my compass, I felt the deepest regret in being obliged to abandon my labours. My fever increased rapidly upon me, and I found it absolutely necessary to seek some place where I might be ill within reach of medical assistance, and near comforts not in the power of a poor village, or a horde of wandering Eelauts, however kind, to afford me. Shiraz was to be our object; and, however reluctantly, I gave orders to prepare our immediate departure. In collecting the produce of my many days' sojourn on this most interesting spot, I had the satisfaction of finding that I had drawn nearly every bas-relief of consequence, had taken a faithful plan of the place, and copied several of the cuneiform inscriptions. Those on Plates LV., LVI. in four compartments are complete, all but a very few lines of the last, which the state of my disorder would not allow me to finish. My own circumstances in this respect, may be that of many future travellers curious in ancient inscriptions, and, to spare them more than necessary exposure to the sun, which is here reflected to an almost insufferable heat by the rock and the mountain, I mention the inscriptions that yet remain uncopied. Twelve small tablets covered with arrow-headed characters, which are seen over the colossal animals on the two great portals immediately after ascending the platform stair-case from the plain. Also the lines round the niches, in the edifice behind the Chehel-minar, and the much mutilated writing on the stair-case (e) to the east of the building (N) on Plate XXXII.

Ill as I was, a kind of loadstone influence attracted me to this inexhaustible treasury of deep interest; and before I took my final leave, I rode over the ground round the base of the great platform, to search for relics of the city beyond its lines. Few remain; and the first that presented itself was a stately door-way, or porch, standing singly on the plain to the north of the platform, and at a short distance from the rocks. Its form resembles the niche in Plate LI., and the inner faces of its sides are sculptured with figures in long robes, now nearly broken away. The second object is to the south-west of the platform, and consists of a heap of beautiful fragments, apparently the ruins of a temple, or some structure of architectural consequence; which the views of Chardin and Le Brun have distinguished by a noble and solitary column standing up from amidst its fallen companions, like a hero over his mighty dead. But it is now laid beside them, and the long grass alone, "waves its green banner" above the prostrate pillars of greatness. The last stroke which levelled this beautiful relic, was struck about fifteen years ago by a party of the natives, for the sake of the iron which united the stones together. My informant was the peasant who daily attended me in my researches, and who confessed to have been one in the act of depredation. He likewise added, that nothing of the kind was likely to happen again, the danger of such sacrilege being now perfectly understood. On my inquiring what he meant, he related, that a man of their village had lately thrown down a pillar on the great terrace, and died the following day: but that was not all; for so many dreams had foreshewn his fate, and so many had since warned others of the same punishment for the same offence, from Solomon or the devil, that no man henceforward would ever dare put a

finger on the fabrics, which one or other, or both of those potent personages had so largely assisted to erect. I was not a little pleased with the effect of this superstition, and felt that he would be no friend to the memorable past, who should attempt to dispel the protecting cloud.

The next object I visited, and indeed the last of any consideration, is an unfinished tomb in the base of the mountain southward of the platform, and not far from the ruin just described. The architectural character of this sepulchre is precisely the same as the others above, but its situation is singular in being so near the ground: had its lower divisions been completed, they would have risen hardly more than four feet from the level of the plain. I found some difficulty in approaching it, scattered masses of rock blocking up the way; and when I surmounted them, and stood by the half-hewn work, which appeared as if the sculptor had just taken away his tools to come again to-morrow, I could scarcely believe that what I looked upon had been so left nearly two thousand years ago. The upper compartment alone was finished, which contained the bas-relief king, altar, and hovering figure. Magnificent as these sepultures are, both from station and ornament, they do not give that sublime idea of undisturbed repose, which the huge and simple mounds of ancient Scythia impress upon the mind. Most of them have remained from age to age, without a stone being removed from the gigantic heaps since it was first piled there; and, indeed, the labour of such violation must be like digging for a mine to the bottom of a hill. But a constructed wall of a tomb, of whatever strength, whether it be cut out of the side of a mountain, or erected on the surface of the ground, a few feet thick, like that of Cyrus at Mourg-aub, or as many

fathom, like the Pyramids of Egypt, all have been accessible to the ingress of avarice; and seen the remains of their illustrious dead thrown abroad, when the riches in which they lay were made the spoil of the violator. The account which Q. Curtius gives of certain consecrated deposits in the tomb of Cyrus, affords some knowledge of the temptations with which these last dwellings of the great in those countries were stored. He relates, that "on Alexander's return from India, he halted at Pasargadæ, where he ordered the tomb of the Persian monarch to be opened, that he might render due honours to the ashes of so great a man. What then was the Conqueror's surprise, when on entering he found nothing but an old shield, and a sword, and a simple urn; for he had expected to see *treasures of gold and of silver;* it having been reported to him, that such were the deposits in the royal tomb. But, placing a golden crown upon the urn, and covering it with his own mantle, he expressed his amazement that a king so renowned should have been buried with such bare simplicity; upon which Bagoas the eunuch, who accompanied him, made reply: — "It is not surprising that the sepulchres of kings should be found empty, when we behold the houses of Satrapes glittering with treasures stolen thence! As for me, I never before saw the tomb of Cyrus; but I have often heard it said in the presence of Darius, that it possessed wealth to the value of a thousand talents."

At first sight, this does not appear to agree with the gorgeous representation given us by Strabo and Arrian, of its contents; but when we recollect that this votive homage was paid to the tomb, on the return of Alexander from India, at the very time when, Plutarch tells us, Polymachus had rifled it of its treasures, we need not be surprised either at the apparent contradiction of

the descriptions, nor at the reply of Bagoas, whose shrewd answer reconciles both, and probably gave the first hint to the monarch of his officer's delinquency. The homely urn which Q. Curtius mentions, must have been the stone *soros*, that formerly contained the golden coffin of Cyrus, and into which the sacred relics would be cast after their more superb covering was rent away.

With a head full of these recollections, of Cyrus who had planted this empire, and of Alexander who had torn it from its rock, I turned from the tenantless tombs, and as desolated metropolis. All were equally silent; all were alike the monuments of a race of heroes, whose spirits live in their actions; and of two princes at least, whose existence was foreshewn, and their names stampt on the imperishable tablets of Holy Writ.

The line of mountains, which rise behind the platform of Persepolis, divide the celebrated plain of Merdasht, and stretching nearly three farsangs to the south-east, terminate in that part of the vale which I noticed soon after my leaving Sewan-pa-ine as opening magnificently towards the rising sun. The left branch of the Kur-aub (whose stream, in some of its channels, had accompanied us all the way from Mourg-aub,) flows through the Persepolitan plain, affording ample sources of irrigation to the peasantry for many miles; till it makes its escape by falling into the Araxes, not far from the close of the Rahmet chain of hills. Consequently, the vale of Merdasht may be said to describe an oval, pointing east and west, lying between the western and eastern branches of the Kur-aub, and the Araxes flowing to the south.

On viewing the opposite country from the great platform, the mountains to the south-west do not appear more elevated than

the hills immediately behind the ruins, which, though rocky, assume rather gentle forms; but on following the chain of southern mountains as they curve round to the north-west, they rise into abrupt, bold, and singular shapes, some pointed, others with table summits, and a countless succession of jagged and rugged forms shooting up above and beyond them again, seeming like the barriers of the world. These terrific heights are connected westward with the great branch of the Bactiari mountains, amongst which lie the passes Alexander found so difficult to force, being not more bulwarked in rocks, than defended by a resolution unto death, of their brave tribes the Uxii. From the depths of these mountains rises the Araxes of the south, which, after traversing their valleys, and winding through the heart of ancient Persis, meets the Kur, or southern Cyrus; and thence flowing onwards some farsangs, throws its augmented waters into the small salt lake Bactigan, at a short distance south-east of Shiraz. Some of the Persian writers, and amongst others Khondemir, preserve the name of the Kur to the united streams, till they are lost in the lake. But after-ages have given them a second immersion, by swallowing up both the classic titles of Araxes and Cyrus after their junction, in the Asiatic appellation Bund-Emir. About the year 1000, the Emir Azud-u-Doulah, vizier-governor of Persia under the caliphs of Bagdad, amongst other beneficial acts raised a dyke on the river near Persepolis, for the purpose of yielding water to fertilize the land. The new work was called Bund-Emir, the dyke of the emir, and thence the river itself gradually acquired the same designation.

July 1st, 1818. This day I bade adieu to Persepolis, and to a little band of hospitable Eelauts, whom I left encamped on the

low ground before the great terrace: they had supplied me daily with *moss*, a beverage of acidulated milk, during my labours there; and the wild groups they formed, with their black tents, simple garbs, and pastoral occupations, made a striking contrast with the finely composed and deserted magnificence in their rear. On leaving our lodgings in the village of Kanarah, we took our way westward across the plain. The ground was in excellent cultivation wherever water was procurable, and kanaughts were sunk in a variety of places for that purpose. Considerable tracts lay in natural pasturage, which afforded nourishment to the numerous flocks and herds belonging to the various parties of Eelauts who were scattered over the whole plain. The number of villages we passed in our day's march, is hardly credible. In some we found inhabitants, but most of them were entirely deserted; yet, wherever the trace of a human dwelling presented itself, the evidence of past agriculture was also discernible in the shape of kanaughts, and the ground being in more luxuriant produce than in other places. These villages so innumerably overspread the valley in every direction, they must have been erected at different periods; successions of them rising and falling with the prince or his race, who ordered their foundation: and this seems to explain why so little of what formed the ancient capital remains on the ground below the platform. At about a couple of farsangs from Kanarah, we reached the banks of the river, not having met even the smallest stream in our way, and crossed by a stone bridge called the Pool-Khan. It has been a fine structure of three arches, but that to the west has fallen into such ruin, we found only a sort of ledge to pass along, and that so narrow as to threaten our slipping off every moment. However, I had now

been sufficiently accustomed to such perilous paths, not to find them dangerous, repairs being so seldom attended to in this country, that hardly a bridge presents itself without some gap of dilapidation or decay. The river in this quarter, is exceedingly rapid, pouring along through steep and rocky banks, and making so tremendous a noise in its passage, that hearing it at a great distance, I anticipated the sight of an immense flood, instead of a stream hardly twenty yards across.

From the bridge to Zergoon, we at first travelled over a barren valley, bounded by mountains of the same description; but towards the close of our day's journey, our road turned suddenly due west, and soon after entered the gorge of a deep and close dell, which led us to Zergoon, the place of our rest. The distance from Kanarah is only seventeen measured British miles, though estimated at six farsangs.

July 2d. We left our menzil at four o'clock this morning, over a bad and stony road, twisting amongst rugged hills, in a generally south-western direction. About mid-way of our day's journey we reached the *Radarri*, or custom-house, near which we crossed an inconsiderable pass, along even worse ground than before. Four miles further, brought us to the celebrated stream of Rocknabad, which, half a century ago, flowed through the paradise of Fars. It is now diminished to a mere rivulet, still, however, retaining its singular transparency, and softness to the taste; but the Arcadian scenery which embanked it, is vanished away; nothing now distinguishes the spot, so often the theme of Hafiz, but the name of the river, and the brilliancy of its wave. In his time it ran nearer Shiraz, but neglect has choaked its channel in that quarter. A little onward, and through an opening in the mountains, the city itself appeared.

It stood in an extensive plain, at the foot of the height we were descending, and seemed a place of great consequence and extent, from the mosques and other lofty buildings which towered above the flat roofs of the vast expanse of dwelling-houses. Gardens stretched on all sides of the fortified walls; and, faint with sickness and fatigue, I felt a momentary reviving pleasure in the sight of a hospitable city, and the cheerful beauty of the view. As I drew near, the image of my exemplary countryman, Henry Martyn, rose in my thoughts, seeming to sanctify the shelter to which I was hastening. He had approached Shiraz much about the same season of the year, A. D. 1811, and like myself, was gasping for life under the double pressure of an inward fire, and outward burning sun. He dwelt there nearly a year; and on leaving its walls, the apostle of Christianity found no cause for "shaking off the dust of his feet" against the Mahomedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend. Through his means, the Gospel had then found its way into Persia; and as it appears to have been sown in kindly hearts, the gradual effect hereafter, may be like the harvest to the seedling. But, whatever be the issue, the liberality with which his doctrines were permitted to be discussed, and the hospitality with which their promulgator was received by the learned, the nobles, and persons of all ranks, cannot but reflect lasting honour on the government, and command our respect for the people at large. Besides, to a person who thinks at all on these subjects, the circumstances of the first correct Persian translation of the Holy Scriptures being made at Shiraz, and thence put into the royal hands, and disseminated through the empire, cannot but give an almost prophetic emphasis to the transaction,

as arising from the very native country, Persia Proper, of the founder of the empire, who first bade the temple of Jerusalem be rebuilt, who returned her sons from captivity, and who was called by name to the divine commission.

As we descended the mountain, the bold and steep foreground through which we approached the city, increased the picturesque of its situation; and guiding our horses carefully down the narrow and romantic path, we soon found ourselves on the broad road of the low ground, which leads direct to the great northern gate. The son of the late Jaffier Ali Khan came out to meet me: he hailed me, more like an old friend than a *frangeh* stranger; and received myself and people into his house with every cordial hospitality our situation needed. My fever had gained an alarming height; and one of my European servants, a Russian, was in an unmanageable state, having become delirious. Repose seemed the first point, to give some check, if possible, to the advance of our disorder; and when too ill almost to thank our kind host, I found cool apartments prepared, and every comfort he could command, even to a physician, if I would have trusted myself and faithful follower, to Asiatic medical skill. From general observation, and a little particular instruction on the subject before I left Europe, I had gained some knowledge of the disorders incidental to this climate, and the safest mode of treating them; hence, I took myself and servant into my own hands, and did not spare our travelling pharmacopeia. The nummud on which I lay, spread in a shaded corner of my room; with the air breathing in at the open window, and the sweet refreshment of rose-water sprinkled over my clothes, while the flowers themselves scattered on the floor, or gathered in pots near me, exhaled a fuller fragrance;—these

were all that I saw of Shiraz for several days after my arrival. But the attentions of my host were so unwearied, that I never could forget I was in the house of the near kinsman of the two noble Persians, Jaffier Ali Khan, and Mirza Seid Ali, who had shewn the warmest personal friendship to our "Man of God!" for so they designated Henry Martyn. When the weather became too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear the extreme heat of the city, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for him in a most delightful garden beyond the walls, where he pursued his Asiatic translations of the Scriptures; or sometimes in the cool of the evening, he sat under the shade of an orange-tree, by the side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversation with the two admirable brothers, which caused their pious guest to say, "That the bed of roses on which he reclined, and the notes of the nightingales which warbled above him, were not so sweet as such discourse from Persian lips." The land in which he so expressed himself, is indeed that of the "bulbul and the rose;" the poet Hafiz having sung of their charms till he identified their names with that of his native city.

To Shiraz, like most other towns of the empire, many different periods are assigned for its foundation. Some Asiatic authors date it so far back as to the Mahabad kings; a race so sunk in the depths of time, that if they existed at all, it must have been before the flood. Others say, it was built by Kaiomurs, the beginner of the Paishdadian line, a grandson of Noah; and in that case, Shiraz would have been one generation anterior to Babel itself. But these are dreams, which have literally no foundation; and though it be highly probable that so fine a situation for a city would not be left long unoccupied, after that part of the East became spread with inhabitants; yet, as no

remains can be traced in or near its site, like those of Babylon or Nineveh, so early an origin must be denied; though, possibly, we might find it to have been the Corra of Ptolemy. It is situated in latitude 29° 33′ 55″, and is now the capital of the province of Fars, formerly the kingdom of Persia-Proper; but which, in earliest time, bore the name of Elam, from the eldest son of Shem, whose descendants were its first people. It was also called Paras: hence the Persis, and Persia, of the classic authors; but the natives themselves do not recognise it by any of those appellations; and in the time of Cyrus it was known by that of Iran; which name was afterwards extended to the whole empire when he became its master. This latter circumstance might support Xenophon's account of the royal birth of Cyrus, against the legend of Herodotus, who represents him as the son of a mere Persian nobleman. Had his paternal origin been so comparatively low, it seems hardly probable that when he became sovereign of the more extensive country of the Medes through the bequeathment of his mother's brother, he would not rather have distinguished his maternal descent, by giving its nobler name to the united kingdoms, than swallow up the greater in the less; and also bestow an appellation, which could only remind the proud monarchs of the East, that their formidable rival was the son of a petty lord in an only minor kingdom. But when we regard Cambyses as the king of Iran, and his son, the mighty conqueror who endowed his royal ally of Media with territories on all sides; then Iran becomes of consequence in its prince, and the kingdom of his natural inheritance very properly gives its name to the empire of which he is the acknowledged founder.

Shiraz, which has now usurped the station of Persepolis, as

capital of this part of the country, bears a proportionate inferiority to the grandeur of the ancient metropolis, with the difference in national rank between a kingdom and a province. It stands in a fine valley, about ten or twelve miles wide, and twenty-four in length, and has rather a pleasant than an imposing appearance.

Several native writers of less ambition than those lately referred to, arrogate no higher antiquity for the foundation of the town, than the first century of the Hegira; and Aben Haukel, who decidedly calls it a "modern city," dates its origin to Mahmed ben al Cassem Okail. It did not receive walls of strength till several hundred years afterwards, when we find that Azud-u-Doulah, the magnificent vizier who erected the dyke on the Araxes, rendered Shiraz a station of important consequence. But its time of greatest aggrandizement was under the celebrated Kerim Khan, who made it the seat of his empire about the middle of the last century, embellished it with public buildings and gardens, filled his courts with learned men, and girded the city with increased fortifications. But after the struggle for empire, between his descendants and the ancestors of the present royal family, came to an end in favour of the latter, when Aga Mahomed Khan took possession of the town, he levelled its walls with the ground; and committed so many extended ravages, that little now remains there of the Arcadia, whose shade blooms in the page of Hafiz; and which, a few centuries before, even Timour the Tartar had spared for the sake of the poet and his song. It is related, that when that conqueror entered Shiraz, red with the blood of Ispahan, in the sweeping fury of his humour he sent for Hafiz, who was in the town, and demanded how he dared to dispose of two of the Tartar's richest cities,

Samarcand and Bakhorah; which, in an amatory stanza, he had said he would give for the mole on his mistress's cheek. — "Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour!" was the reply; which changed the monarch's indignation into favour, and produced reward instead of punishment.

About three hundred years after this event, Kerim Khan raised tombs over the remains of this poet, who was considered the Anacreon of Persia, and those of Sadi, its Socrates in verse. They were planted with trees, and a college of holy men lodged in the boundary to protect the honoured shrines. But a solitary cypress or two, are now all that mark the inclosure of the poet; and scarce a tree of any height shows itself in the immediate vicinity of the town. At some little distance, the Bagh-i-Jehun, or garden of Kerim Khan, and the more modern plantations of Tackt-i-Kujar, vary the shadeless monotony of the plain. The city itself differs little from most other capitals of provinces in the empire. The old walls, which conquest threw down, were ten feet in thickness, of a corresponding height, and protected by a ditch of thirty feet in depth: but the new ones, with which Aga Mahomed Khan replaced them, boast neither the breadth nor elevation of those which are no more. These are of brick, with towers, and five or six gates opening into the plain.

The present governor, Hassan Ali Mirza, is a son of the king, and a very young man. His jurisdiction extends northward to Yezdikhast, and southward, along the shores of the gulf to Bushire; but its influence is not very powerful in either of these places, nor even at Shiraz itself. His youth inclines him more to the pleasures of his anderoon than to the toils of state; and when the prince sleeps in the arms of luxury, it can be no subject of wonder, that his ministers should only wake to similar enjoyment.

Every thing within the town seems neglected: the bazars and maidans falling into ruins; the streets choaked with dirt, and mouldered heaps of unrepaired houses, and the lower orders who infest them, squalid and insolent; while the actual poor crawl out of their dens in a state of rags and wretchedness which no pen can describe. How different is this scene from one that occurred in the same province many centuries ago! "And his friend said to Cyrus, *But when will you adorn yourself?* and he answered, *I am already adorned in adorning my people!*"

One of the most material instances of public neglect, and which presses immediately on the attention, is the state of the water; which is so foul as to injure the health of the inhabitants, and so loathsome as to stink with putrefaction. No excuse can be offered on the part of the magistrates for the sufferance of so intolerable a beverage for the people; the same sources remaining, which in former years provided wholesome and beautiful water for every use. The spring at the tomb of Sadi is still ready to pour its stream through proper channels into the town; and the limpid rills of the Rocknabad, once more collected from the scattering offices of irrigation, might again visit the walls of Shiraz, and sparkle on the boards of its people. I enquired whether the water which at present supplies the town, is always in so bad a state; and was answered in the affirmative; cooler weather producing it more plentifully, but making no change in the quality. Notwithstanding this information, I cannot believe that the excessive heat of the summer does not increase its corruption. Since my arrival, the thermometer, at any time of the day, has seldom fallen below 96° in the shade, or under 80° at night. But while Captain Franklin was here, he had the

advantage of a milder atmosphere, the average of the thermometer being then at 78° during the day, and 62° at night.

At little more than a mile from the Ispahan gate, appears a square inclosure, within which stands the tomb of Hafiz, and in whose vicinity, in the days of the Persian Anacreon, rose the gay and romantic suburb of Mosella. From the delightful descriptions given of the spot by Kœmpfer, Franklin, and others, I expected to find more than vestiges of the deep shade of tributary trees, which for so many years had hung an unseared leaf over his urn, seeming to brighten in the unfading fame they so beautifully emblemed. Whatever might have been the ravages of war elsewhere, or the depredations of cupidity, or the ruinous effects of neglect, I could not doubt that the national pride of the Persians, uniting with their known enthusiasm for poetry, would preserve the spot in all its honours, which contained the remains of their favourite bard. But how was I disappointed! — The ground, which former reverence had devoted to his ashes alone, is covered with promiscuous graves; and the tomb of white marble erected by Kerim Khan, and closely written over with extracts from the works of the poet, as his noblest inscription, stands otherwise unmarked in the midst of them. The fine copy of his poems, which were fastened to the shrine, is no longer to be seen; and the trees, so luxuriant a few years ago, and whose ancient boughs had so often dropped the tears of Spring on the cold bosom of her lover beneath, — they too were gone. No creature attended, to point out the sacred grave to the enquiring stranger; no parties of enthusiasts now appeared, as heretofore, to boast the birth-place of their poet, while they sung his praises in the words of his own unequalled verse. A

few lines from that song will shew what this side of the city was in the day of his veneration.

" Boy, give me wine, for Paradise does not boast such lovely banks as those of Rocknabad, nor such groves as the high-scented fragrance of the bowers of Mosella."

But another poet has said, " Though the bowers of Love grew on its banks, and the sweet song of Hafiz kept time with the nightingale in the rose, the summer is past, and all things are changed. The pleasant arbour is sought, but not found; the voice of the bird and of the minstrel have ceased; a burning sun beats on the unsheltered stream, which runs sobbing away; like a misused orphan, not only deprived of the home of its parent, but driven from its weeping position near his grave."

The change is, indeed, what these lines describe; the clear and refreshing stream of Rocknabad, impeded by the accumulated consequences of utter neglect, has abandoned its wonted course; and all else, which before marked the place, being in like manner rent or mouldered away; in a short time even the stone that tells the poet's name must be defaced, and nothing remain to distinguish his grave, from that of the rudest clod of earth encumbering his invaded cemetery.

The last resting-place of Sheik Sadi, the second boast of Shiraz, was my next object. The import of his verses particularly command reverence to the character of the poet; though some writers of the noblest strains, in our own country, put " so strange a face on their own perfection," as to profess that the purpose of poetry is to amuse rather than to instruct. But neither Homer, nor Virgil, Dante, Tasso, Milton, nor any of that glorious school of the lyre, shewed themselves of this opinion. They speak the language of the gods, because the words they use

are not more mellifluous than the spirit they breathe is powerful to inspire virtue, and render it delightful. I am happy to be supported in this conviction of "the high purposes" of poetry, by Sir William Malcolm, who, in writing on the same subject, describes the Sheik Sadi as a rare union of genius, learning, heroic principle, and tender sentiment. "His tales," our author observes, "are appropriate to almost every event that can occur, conveying the most useful lessons; and his maxims have acquired an authority over his countrymen that render them almost equal to laws; for instance, —

"Alas! for him who is gone, and has done no work: the trumpet of march has sounded, and his burthen was not bound on!"

And again: —

"Be merciful, and thou shalt conquer without an army: Seize the hearts of the world, and be acknowledged its legitimate sovereign!"

For my part, I should call these as true trumpets of the god, as that which Tyrtæus blew to the same end. But whatever influence the strains of the poet may yet have on the minds of his countrymen, it certainly does not point to care of his remains. In following the line of mountains that bound the valley of Shiraz to the north-east, and riding along their base for an extent of three miles, the country presented many lovely views, worthy the pen of him, whose grave I was journeying to visit. At the end of three miles we approached a narrow opening into the hills, which leads to a variety of little romantic dells, partially cultivated, and studded with villages. At a short distance from the entrance of the opening stands the object I came to seek: but it presented even a more forlorn appearance than the burying-

place of Hafiz. There, a cypress or two lingered near the spot, and the decaying towers of the mosque of Shah Mirza Hamza, in its neighbourhood, bespoke some fellowship in neglect, as well as in former reverence. Here, a solitary square structure, perfectly bare without, and within planted with a few low shrubs and vegetables, was opened to me as the garden and sepulchre of the venerable Sadi. Three or four miserable wretches, who crept out from the adjacent rocks, are the owners of this humble substitute for "the olive and the bay," planted by Kerim Khan. In one corner of the quadrangle, in a sort of vaulted chamber, they shewed me a small marble sarcophagus, which covered the bones of the poet. Neither the world's pomps nor contempts could sweeten nor imbitter his repose; but, to the spectator, the desolation that reigned there would have been more than melancholy, if "the surcease of this life trammelled up the consequence; and the be all, was to end all." The volume of his works, which had been fastened to his tomb like those of Hafiz, was not even to be heard of; and, so deserted is the spot, no public burying-ground calling people towards it, few others than strangers, and those foreigners, ever think of visiting the shrine of Sadi.

When returned to the outside of the building, I was shewn into a vaulted apartment, under the level of the ground; and descending again, about twenty or thirty steps, they led me to the brink of a stream, clear as crystal; and so contrived as to flow over a deepened basin in the rock, yet containing some of the finny race, whose ancestors the poet of tenderest humanities had protected in this his grotto of meditation. It was his favourite spot of retirement; and, reclining by the cool wave, he

is said to have composed some of his most beautiful poems. Starving as the poor people look who shelter near his remains, they hold the fish his name has appropriated, in too sacred a light ever to draw one from its native fountain. And this, perhaps, is all the respect still shewn to the memory of Sheik Sadi.

On the summit of the mountain, near the tomb, we see the ruins of a fortress, called Kala Bendar. It is said to have been the work of one of the Seljukian kings of Persia; many of whom, though of Tartar origin, shewed an extraordinary respect to literature; and governed by its proper consequents, justice and mercy.

The only remarkable object amongst the ruins is a well of an amazing depth, which formerly supplied the castle with water. Continuing along the same side of the valley, to the distance of nearly four miles, we arrived at the jutting points of several lofty rocks, and found the remains of another edifice; but this claimed the age, with the classic elegance, of those at Persepolis. It appears to have been a square of thirty feet, with a portal in each face, three of which are standing. Their sides are sculptured with figures similar to those I have already drawn (Plate XLVII.) in Median robes; some carrying small vessels in one hand, and a piece of linen in the other; and the rest bearing little pails of aromatic gums for the incense-stands. The lintels of the doors are the same with those of Chehel-minar, charged with lotos-leaves, and worked with an admirable skill. The whole fabric is of Persepolitan stone; very beautiful fragments of which lay all over the ground, in the broken shapes of architraves, friezes, &c. A little onward, on the same height, the remains of several very strong walls and

towers stretch a considerable way along the rocks, evidently the relics of some old bulwark, but of a much posterior age to the graceful edifice in its neighbourhood.

Some Europeans have thought, and many of the Persians assert, that the finely sculptured remains just described, with the principal parts of Shiraz, and all structures of consequence in its vicinity, have been built out of the ruins of the ancient capital. During all my searches within and without the new city, I could not find any thing to impress me with this idea: not a fragment of Persepolitan work, or its marble, presented itself in wall or tower, or any where else, excepting the sculptured edifice on the height; and that is too perfect in plan, construction, and finishing, to have been a compilation of old materials, or the erection of any other than the master-hands which raised the palaces of Darius. It appears to have been always insulated. Whilst its own form and extent are distinctly marked by the closely-set slabs of marble which form the floor, and the still existing foundations of all its four walls, there is no trace whatever of any other building of the same age having been in its neighbourhood. The people about give it the same title which the natives of Mourg-aub have bestowed on the tomb of Cyrus, calling it the tomb of Madré-i-Sulieman; a presumptive proof, in my mind, even if this were a sepulchre, that the royal lady lies in neither of them. But this building has no resemblance to any style of tomb in this country. It is too small for a dwelling-place answerable to the splendour of its architecture; and, from the character of its bas-reliefs, I should be inclined to suppose it the remains of a little temple. The figures on the portals are all bearing objects connected with religious oblation; the chalice, and the vessel of choice gums for the incense.

That such has always been considered by the natives, the design of these groups, may be seen from an account which the author of the Zeenut-ul-Mujalis gives of similar bas-reliefs at Persepolis. He says, "There are several figures on the sculpture, carrying urns, in which the worshipper burnt benjamin while adoring the sun." This, then, might have been a place of prayer for the inhabitants of villages; the priest officiating within, on his altar of fire, while the people worshipped without, before the large open portals, in the manner that Prideaux describes to have been a custom adopted by the Jews on their return to the Holy Land after the Babylonian captivity. He mentions, supported by a numerous list of authorities, that the people who lived at too great a distance from Jerusalem to resort thither for ordinary worship, built courts for themselves, in imitation of that in the temple, where the laity prayed, while the priest in the sanctum performed his oblations; and to these, in after-times, was given the name of Proseuchæ. Synagogues appear to have been the churches of cities; while these were the oratories of some extensive country district; and, being open at the top, surrounded with trees, and usually erected on hills, it is probable they were the *high places*, which we sometimes find mentioned in the Old Testament without terms of disapprobation; the *high place*, or *grove*, not making an offence, unless an idol be worshipped there.

It is more than curious to trace, in these resembling customs, the original affinity of these earliest nations of mankind; to see, that however some, like the Prodigal Son, had strayed from their fathers' house and altars, a memory was yet left in every bosom, of the parent land; of the sanctuary in which they worshipped; of the God whom they adored. Though both Herodotus and Strabo, as I have noticed before, in some parts of

their writings, do not allow that temples or altars were in use with the Persians, yet, in other places, they so completely contradict themselves in this assertion, I can have no doubt that what is received as a general remark, was intended by them to represent only a very distant anterior period. Strabo, in particular, gives the details of a sacrifice performed by the Pyrethi (the Magi) in Cappadocia, then a province of Persia, where both an altar and a temple are described; and the question is, whence would they derive such rites, if not from the Sovereign Pontiff of the empire? Indeed, it seems altogether absurd to ascribe the first temples in Persia to the introduction of Zoroaster; the situation of the country, between nations which, even now, shew the remains of religious structures, built from the earliest records of mankind, makes the proposition absolutely untenable. That he altered, and improved, may easily be credited; but it does not appear reasonably possible that three successive princes, who had reigned over the whole of known Asia, and were men of enterprise and ambitious taste besides, should not have appreciated the use and grandeur of a temple, till a religious recluse from the caves of Alborz brought forth plans to rival Greece and Egypt. That there was a progress in the style of these erections, is not to be doubted; but, according to circumstances, the customs of every age might be retained, and at times exhibited; whether to sacrifice on the high platform of the unsheltered mountain, like Cyrus at Pasargadæ, when the empire was his temple, and a whole people its congregation; or on the pillared altars of the Magi, where sometimes a sculptured wall veiled the sacred element from profane gaze, or a beamed roof guarded it from the casualties of the weather. All may fairly be supposed to

have existed in very early days; man gradually assimilating the places of his worship to the progressive stages of his own abode; from the open plain to the covert of trees, to the tent and tabernacle, to the house of stone, and the temple of God. We have seen sufficient in the architectural remains of ancient Persia, to discern some distant resemblances between the style and taste of their structures, with those of Egypt, India, and Judea; but we have to lament, that the utter demolition of all outline of building, or fragment of ornament, on the heaps of Nineveh and Babylon, totally deprives us, not only of the foundation-stone of architecture, but of those after-links which would have formed a perfect chain in the history of the art, from the building of Babel to the temples of the East, and thence onward to those of Greece and Rome.

Some writers attribute the first introduction of the semicircular arch into the architecture of Persia by Zoroaster; but it certainly is not to be found in any of the apparently most ancient edifices, if I except the two stone altars at Nakshi-Roustam. Neither does it occur in any of the colossal structures of Upper Egypt; the roofs of the buildings, and the lintels of the doors, being all perfectly straight. Hence, if the information respecting the adoption of the arch by the Magian sage be correct, the absence of it in all these Persepolitan buildings must prove their greater antiquity. But I do not think that the semicircle was used in Persian edifices, till after the Macedonian invasion; it then gradually gained ground, till the accession of the Sassanian dynasty spread it out into domes for palaces and temples. The conquest of the Arabs changed its form again, and run it up into all the pyramidal undulations of the Saracenic arch. Then appeared arcades, like avenues of trees cut in

stone, or elevated in fantastic brick-work; and rich varieties of arabesque friezes, with cupolas raised high into the air, without the aid of frames, or almost any scaffolding. The dome at Sultanea is one of the most perfect specimens of this superb Asiatic taste. Besides the lightness of its forms, the usual paintings and gilding which decorate their parts, give it an extremely gay effect; very different from the heavy Saxon arch of our ancestors, or the sober grace of the simple Gothic; both of which, in our cathedrals, fill the spectator with gravity and awe.

Any attempt to analyse the ancient Persian architecture, from the relics that exist, and thence deduce its origin, would now be a vain task. I observed, in a former part of my journal, that in some particulars it resembles the styles of Egypt and India; but in most respects its character is so totally dissimilar, that the ruins of Persepolis, as long as they stand, are likely to remain an unique specimen of a beautiful stage in the art, the foundations of which can no longer be traced. And the oblivion which has fallen over every monument of the Assyrian empire seems to me to have formed this impassable chasm in the analysis of the subject. But while following the track wherever it is visible, one remark forcibly recurs; the prodigious inequality between the moral and political progress of all these nations, and the exquisite degree of refinement to which they brought the arts. With regard to masonry and sculpture, we only imitate what they invented; no chaptrel combinations modern times have attempted, ever having equalled the beautiful order of Corinth. And what the acanthus did for Greece, when it met the eye of genius, the lotos of the Nile and the Euphrates had produced, ages before, for Egypt and Assyria. By what we have already seen of its use in the capitals and friezes of Persepolis, we may

venture to conclude that it was the germ whence, were the means extant, we might trace every ramification of that branch of the art, throughout the earliest nations of Cush and Elam. To the former, we might even ascribe the architectural glories of the temple of Jerusalem, Solomon having received his chief workmen from Tyre; and the Tyrians being a people bordering on the ancient Assyrian empire, probably they learnt their art of the masters in Nineveh; in the same way that "Hiram, the widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali," acquired his knowledge in the capital of the Phœnician king. From this very school of Hiram, Cadmus and his followers emigrated; and we can hardly doubt, that with the letters and sciences of his country, he would bestow some principles of its architecture on the people of Greece. Herodotus, speaking of Ecbatana, the capital of the Medes, while he gives an interesting detail of its splendour, ascribes its foundation to Dejoces, the Arphaxad of Scripture, who reigned about seven hundred years before the Christian era. Other writers honour that city with a little older date, supposing it to have been a work of Arbaces, who, about a century antecedent to the election of Dejoces, had assisted to overthrow the great Assyrian empire; and dividing it betwixt himself and Belesis, governor of Babylon, so far from doing any thing extraordinary at that time for Ecbatana, (where, doubtless, he had resided during his delegated power,) as soon as he took possession of his moiety of the spoil, and thence became king of Assyria, he removed to Nineveh; and the provincial capital, of course, fell into comparative neglect. This Arbaces is supposed to be the Tiglath-Pileser of Scripture, who first carried the tribes into captivity, and scattered them amongst the cities of Media. When that country was released from the yoke of

Assyria, and became a distinct kingdom of itself under Dejoces, Ecbatana revived; the new sovereign repaired, and so enlarged it, as almost to merit the title of its founder, and fixed his residence there during a reign of half a century. But when we recollect, that upwards of four hundred years before the existence of these two princes, Solomon's temple and palaces were erected under the auspices of a people dependent on the Assyrians, who had then been lords of Asia for nearly ten centuries, can we doubt Ecbatana having been a city of much older date than either Dejoces or Arbaces. Media, as a province of Assyria, would always need a governor; and here, probably, was his capital from the earliest times. These reflections stimulated my desire to visit Ecbatana, to compare what I might see there with the objects of my observation at Persepolis. In drawing a parallel between the architectural plans and ornaments of the latter place, with those so particularly noted in the book of Kings, of Solomon's temple and palace, their pillars, double capitals, carved knops, open flowers, and palm-trees, chapiters of lily-work, and supports of various sorts in the shapes of lions, oxen, and winged figures, the resemblance appears so striking, I cannot but assign them the same origin; and believe, in addition, that were the mounds of Babylon and Nineveh to yield up their buried treasures, we should not only recover the lost links in the descent of architecture, but find even a nearer affinity between their principles and the remains at Persepolis, than that which connects the buildings of modern Europe with the taste of ancient Greece and Rome.

On leaving the little Persepolitan temple, which commands a beautiful view over the adjacent country, we descended into the

valley; and following the foot of the mountain for two miles farther, arrived at a clear and copious spring, the ripple and lucidity of which, refreshing the parched and exhausted senses after so unsheltered a heat, might well excuse the dream of a celestial nymph in the fountain, and that her smile shone in the glancing waters. Just over this delightful spring, a range of sculptures presented themselves, cut in the rock. On drawing near, I found them to have been works of the Sassanian age, but much inferior to those at Nakshi-Roustam. Some of these are little more than commencements of their subjects. The most finished stands first for observation, (Plate LVII.) and consists of two figures; one is a woman of a graceful outline, clothed in drapery of peculiar lightness and delicacy; a large veil, modestly held by her left hand, envelops her figure, while she stretches out the right towards her companion. He is dressed in the royal style of the formerly described Sassanian bas-reliefs, but without the customary flowing badges of kingly rank: and presents her with something like a flower.

The remainder of the range comprises two more sculptures, both containing effigies of a king with a profusion of curls, the globular crown, a collar, and ear-rings; but the whole so ill executed, I did not deem them worth the further risk of stopping, under the fierce sun, to sketch their contents. My guides told me there were no more bas-reliefs in the valley; and turning from these with some disappointment, my attention was next engaged by the valley itself; the country appeared in higher cultivation here than nearer Shiraz; stretching on to the east, in vineyard, harvest, and village scenery. The grapes grow to a size and fulness hardly to be matched in other climates; and the juice expressed from them produces the celebrated wine of

Shiraz –

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1834

Sassanian Coins

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1834

J. Heath, sc

the East, called Shiraz; the Pierian spring of Hafiz, the deleterious draught which maddened so many native princes to the most horrible crimes, and probably the very wine which inflamed the wild passions of Alexander to set fire to the metropolis of the empire he had so lately won. But whatever may have been the properties of the juice in those days, and the skill of the vintner in succeeding ones, since the accession of the present royal family, who are particularly strict in obeying the ordinances of their prophet, the whole manufacture has fallen into disrepute. The culture of the vine itself is comparatively neglected; the sorting of the fruit, a delicacy seldom attended to; and the apparatus used in the compression, fermentation, &c. of the juice, is on so confined a scale that only small quantities of the esteemed flavour are obtained. Indeed no wine, under one name, possesses such variety of quality; every gradation, from a liquid clear as the most brilliant topaz, to a sour and muddy syrup. When good, the taste should be a little sweet, accompanied with the flavour of dry Madeira, to which, when old, it is not at all inferior. The Armenians of the district are the only persons who venture the manufacture; but it is always done in secret, sold in secret, and drank so secretly, that a man can hardly retire to any place alone, without being suspected of going to taste the forbidden cup. For these violations of the law, no dispensing power exists amongst the indulgences of the Koran; but with regard to breaches of the fasts, the Prophet has been more gracious; and it is curious to observe how some of his disciples insinuate themselves within the letter of his grant, while in their hearts they are conscious of having no real claim on the spirit of its indulgence.

The fast of Ramazan occurred during my visit to Shiraz, which afforded me several instances amongst my own Persian attendants of the laxity of principle just described. A strict observance of this month of abstinence, is enjoined as a most sacred duty, in commemoration of God having sent down the Koran from heaven to earth at that season of the year; during its continuance, every true believer must refrain, from day-break till sunset, from eating or drinking; none being in any way exempted from this obligation, excepting sick persons, women who are nurses, and persons encountering the extraordinary fatigue of necessary travelling. Some observe the fast so religiously as never to touch their lips with any liquid from sunrise to sunset; an abstinence amounting to almost intolerable pain, in this extremely hot weather. Persons employed in laborious works are permitted to bathe their parched mouths with a little water; but if a drop glides into their throats, the fast is broken for that day, and an answering vigil must repair the breach. The indulgence to travellers allows them to defer the rite till the journey is completed, and some of my attendants were not backward in seizing the privilege. They chose to construe the shortest morning excursion into the travel of a day; and, accordingly, lost no time in regaling themselves with bread, water-melons, and kaliouns. Those who so promptly find excuses for slipping the bonds which gall them, are not likely to volunteer a re-entrance, while there is risk of much pain in the yoke: but scrupulous observers of the fast frequently endure the utmost personal misery. The day, at present, (about the middle of July,) is fifteen hours long, and the atmosphere like a furnace. Nourishment of no kind must touch the devotees' lips during all that

while; and before the whole month is past, many fall sacrifices to the rigour of their faith; when this happens, the surviving relations rejoice over them, believing that so dying they go directly into the presence of the Prophet, and have a place at his side. According to the Mahomedan regulation of the year, the Ramazan is a movable fast; and besides its general sanctification to Mahomed himself, the twenty-first of the month is held here with peculiar severity, watching, and prayer, in memory of the death of their favourite Ali. The twenty-third, particularly, is noted as the anniversary of the very day in which the angel Gabriel brought the sacred book to the founder of the faith; and, when the month closes, joy breaks out "like the full moon;" feasting, revelling, and mutual congratulations filling the whole country.

The present summer has been unusually hot, and the feverish state of my frame made me feel it more so; but the inhabitants of this beautiful vale told me, that Shiraz is generally esteemed the most moderate climate in the southern division of the empire; that its summer noons may be warmer than is pleasant, but the mornings and evenings are delightful; but when September commences, the weather becomes heavenly; and continues, until the end of November, with a perfectly serene atmosphere, of a most balmy and agreeable temperature; and a sky whose soft hues are reflected from every object. The earth is covered with the gathered harvest, flowers, and fruits; melons, peaches, pears, nectarines, cherries, grapes, pomegranates; in short, all is a garden abundant in sweets and refreshment. The vales of Ouroomia, and of Salmos, which lie north-west of Tabreez, are the only places in the empire that compare with Shiraz and its autumnal bounties. And, thus fortunate in the fruits of the

earth, it possesses the additional attraction of giving birth to the most beautiful women in Persia; damsels, who are described with eyes brighter than the antelope's; hair clustering like their own dark grapes; and forms fairer and sweeter than the virgin rose. Indeed, all here seems to partake of their musky breath; the place being celebrated for the growth of every flower that yields perfume by extract. The rose-water of Shiraz is particularly fine and abundant; and so profusely scattered are every species of the most costly scents, the otto of rose is scarcely deemed a perfume of any value.

This luxuriant account of the valley of Hafiz may appear contradictory to my first impression, on approaching it from the hills; but anticipating the umbrageous avenues, which, in former years, led in different directions to the city, and seeing only a wide unshaded expanse immediately around its walls, the disappointment struck me with an idea of comparative nakedness. But though the groves of chenar, cypress, and other lofty trees, have disappeared; the humbler, and not less useful fruit-trees, with thickets of flowering shrubs, canopy the earth in abundance. On this bed of delicious verdure, the eye may revel all along the valley, when looking down from the adjacent heights. But it was long before I enjoyed it, or any part of the scenes I have been describing. The intensity of my fever had confined me to my quarters a tedious time after my arrival; and some of my people were in even a worse state than myself. The disorder was bilious, and for many days bore a very alarming aspect; however, at the end of three weeks, I ventured to remount my horse, to make the excursions I have lately described, and to pay my personal compliments to his Royal Highness the Prince-governor of the province, Hassan Ali Mirza. Like all the sons,

I have yet seen of Futteh Ali Shah, he is extremely handsome, with a similar grace of manner, and the affability which so particularly charms in princes. Perhaps there is no other class of human beings in the world, who can possess that charm; it belongs so entirely to their pre-eminent station when filled by an amiable mind. Conscious of holding the highest rank by an unassailable right, there is no motive for assuming a reserved loftiness of air, to secure the respect which no person has it in his power to dispute. The dignity of a mere nobleman is generally a little more or less stately, accordingly as he feels it to be on the defensive; but the dignity of a prince, needing no factitious lines of separation, is shown in the frankness of an affability too graciously and gracefully managed to be felt as designed condescension. On these principles, the manners of a usurper of any kind have always the general character of haughtiness, reserve, and rigour; right of possession, right conduct, and the right side of an argument, all naturally bearing the same aspect of openness, gentleness, and liberality. The birth-right of Hassan Ali Mirza gave him this ineffable dignity, in common with his brothers; and a similar courtesy of disposition made it equally amiable. The ceremony of my presentation here, was much the same as that which conducted me to the presence at Tabreez and Teheran; the most conspicuous difference being the introduction of coffee and kaliouns. When compared with those two courts, the grandeur of this falls much in shadow; or, probably, my eyes had been too lately filled with the dazzling splendours of the Hesht-beheste at Ispahan, and the remains of classic magnificence at Persepolis, to discern the pretensions of the palace at Shiraz. The room of audience is on the customary plan, decorated with white marble, gilding, and fantastic orna-

ments, intermixed with royal portraits and hunting-pieces; and being as usual open in front, from the ceiling to the floor, commands a pleasant view of some fine chenar-trees, yet left of those which so abundantly adorned the courts of Kerim Khan. The ground beneath them is agreeably cooled by several marble fountains, standing amidst all the varied flowers which "weave the rich mantle of resplendent June." Indeed, where this loveliest tapestry of nature is present, the refreshed and delighted eye wishes no other from the hand of man.

The palace was built by Kerim Khan; and being surrounded by an extensive embattled enclosure, forms the citadel, also, of the place. On passing into the great gate of the enclosure, we enter a square, or maidan, planted with a range of efficient artillery, manned and served by a party of Russian soldiers, who, together with their officer, have held this post many years; presenting the only specimen of novel military display to be found in the province. The cavalry and infantry of the young prince wear just the same rough accoutrements, and perform just the same wild evolutions, they did fifty years ago; but a considerable change having commenced in these things by the higher members of his family, it must, in course, spread to him. The more simple uniform, and certain tactics of western Europe, are brought into the camps of the king and Abbas Mirza by British and Russian officers; and the same organization has been adopted by the Prince-Governor of Kermanshah, under the auspices of Frenchmen. To carry modes of warfare into a country may seem a paradoxical way of being a harbinger of mercy; but with the tactics of Europe, we have every reason to hope the laws of its battle will be received; and that the imperishable pillar of a hero's glory, erected in the minds of his

people and the vanquished, may succeed to the corruptible pyramid of human heads, severed from bodies to whom resistance was no more. Their own great moral poet Sadi has furnished a motto for that renewed standard. "The happy conqueror was not an angel; neither was he cased in enchanted armour. It was by his valour, justice, and mercy, that he attained great and happy ends. Be thou brave, just, and merciful, and thou shalt be this hero!"

The palace and its dependencies, far from magnificent in themselves, are proofs of the parental care with which Kerim Khan provided for the more substantial grandeur of the country over which he was the actual sovereign, while bearing no prouder title than that of vakeel, or lieutenant of the reigning monarch. The king, whose duties he performed, was a poor child of eight years old, the last of the race of Sefi; and who had been nominally placed in the vacant throne by the destroyers of Nadir Shah. The happy government of Kerim Khan, Malcolm beautifully observes, when contrasted with the tyrants who preceded him, "affords to the historian that description of mixed pleasure and repose which a traveller enjoys, who arrives at a lovely and fertile valley in the midst of an arduous journey over barren and rugged wastes; for it is pleasing to recount the actions of a chief, who, though born in a subordinate rank, obtained power without a crime, and who exercised it with a moderation that was, in the times in which he lived, as singular as his humanity and justice." All the cities of Persia flourished under his jurisdiction, but none with such marks of personal attachment as Shiraz. Sprung from one of the native tribes himself, he preferred that city from its vicinity to the simple people from whom he derived his descent; strengthened its works, enriched it with

manufactories, adorned it with buildings, and planted the pleasant environs with the most delightful gardens. But he was often heard to say, " he was more desirous of promoting the comfort and prosperity of the people under his care, than to encrease the magnitude, or add to the splendour of his capital." This virtuous prince died at an extreme old age, in the bosom of peace, regretted by the nation at large; and even now remembered with tributes of ingenuous encomium by the royal descendants of the personal enemies of his race.

Amongst other public works, he erected a commodious bazar, nearly a quarter of a mile long, arched above, and furnished with openings at judicious distances for the admission of air and light; and yet so disposed, as to be rarely accessible to the disagreeable effects of excessive heat or rain. This is now in a very falling state, too well harmonizing with the remains of a large unfinished mosque, which still goes by his name.

With the death of its protector, expired many of the advantages which, during his life, the place of his residence possessed over other cities of the empire; and the civil wars that followed the event, ending in removing the seat of royal government, gave a mortal blow to the prosperity of Shiraz. Its commerce was diverted into other channels, and its numerous manufactories perished for want of purchasers; two, however, have survived the wreck, and are prosecuted with sufficient diligence and success; one is making glass for windows, bottles, and goblets, which, though not of the most elegant sort, are vendable all over the kingdom; the second is the formation of sword-blades and daggers, which are deemed excellent for general use. But nothing done here by even the best workmen, can equal the old manufacture of Kerman and Khorasan, called the Kermanry

and Karkorasany; the wave or *gishor* of the latter, particularly, being large and black, on a steel so tempered as never to break, and to keep an unbluntable edge. Some of these most precious weapons were offered to me at a price from fifty to a hundred tomauns; that is, from fifty pounds sterling to twenty-five each. The art of founding the metal in the superlative way that formed these ancient swords, poignards, knives, &c. is now lost; which occasions so very high a value being set on them, when they are proved to be genuine; a fact of some difficulty to ascertain, modern artificers so well counterfeiting the appearance of the antique blades, it requires no little experience to detect the cheat at sight. The manufactures in most esteem next to those already mentioned, which includes that of Shiraz, are those of Dishy, Lahory, and Kom Lindy. The foundery at Shiraz has entirely superseded that at Kom, or Koom; and the workmen have a method of renewing the damask or water-mark on the blade by the application of *zagh*, which they explained to me to be the black alum. Georgia too boasts an excellent manufacture of this kind; and there are two native workmen at Tiflis, whose swords, daggers, &c. bring the most extravagant prices. There were not many more objects of ingenuity to detain my attention, in a city which half a century ago commanded the home-traffic to the East; and, having made my purchase of a sword and dagger, with the regret of a man quitting a place, perhaps for ever, where he had experienced the most disinterested kindness, I found the time of my sojourn at Shiraz was drawing near a close. If any circumstance more than another is calculated to try the dispositions of men, it is when a stranger of a different faith, as well as of a different country, is thrown on their sympathy and care.

Hence I can never forget the more than hospitable roof of the son of Jaffier Khan.

Just before I took leave of my friendly host and his city, an opportunity occurred of my seeing the execution of the punishment which we call the bastinado, and the Persians mention by the familiar term of "turning up the heels." It is adjudged to them all, from the highest khan to the lowest peasant, when delinquency demands chastisement; and being so common, unhappily it is hardly considered a disgrace. The present scene was to be enacted on the demand of the British chargé-d'affaires, who had sent directions for that purpose to Dr. Sharpe, a countryman of our own, who came to Shiraz in his way from Bushire to Teheran, where he was to replace my friend the late Dr. Campbell, as physician to the king. This circumstance rendered the commission doubly disagreeable; and, besides having to require the act from the son of his future patron, he was enjoined to witness its being done. The delinquents were three natives of the place, and moreover servants of the prince; the alleged crime (which had been committed several months before) was having grossly insulted one of our civilians from India, at that time residing in the environs of Shiraz for his health. As soon as the outrage had become known, the British diplomatic agent at the court of the Shah, with a promptitude honourable to himself, and due to the nation he represents, required the apprehension and punishment of the offenders; but it was a difficult task to discover them; and two unfortunate persons, seized on suspicion, were bastinadoed for the crime, and afterwards discovered to be innocent. The offenders being yet to be sought, it was supposed that British honour could not be satisfied till they were actually brought to the scourge; and after much search, they were at last found.

On this intimation, Dr. Sharpe had received his commission. The day being fixed for the infliction of the punishment, which must always be performed in the presence of the royal governor, I availed myself of the circumstance to be a spectator of so ancient an Asiatic mode of correction. The time appointed by the prince being about an hour after sunset, Dr. Sharpe and myself repaired to the palace; and were received by his Royal Highness with a good humour I hardly anticipated on an occasion which might have been galling to the feelings of a prince and a master.

We were to look from the open side of the saloon upon the scene of punishment, which the gloom of the evening threw rather into shade. The saloon itself was lit by half a dozen most uncourtly tallow-candles, set on the carpet under glass protectors, which shielded the flame from the outward air. But the usual veils for this purpose are upright octagon frames of stained wood, covered with white, or prettily painted muslin, the transparency of which, dispensing, yet softening the rays it diffuses, gives a moonlight, or varied picturesque hue to all the objects around.

After a short conversation with Hassan Ali Mirza, we saw the delinquents make their appearance below; and being ceremoniously identified as the real objects of justice, they were ordered to retire some paces to the left, in view of the prince, and there receive the meed of their crime. The word and the action seemed almost one, for in a few moments the court re-echoed with the sound of the flail-like sticks of the ferroches, the *lictors* of this part of the world. The process is simple, and the natives are so accustomed to the sight or the sufferance, they make the necessary preparations with unaffected *sang froid*. Having stripped

off their shoes, they place themselves flat on their backs in a row on the ground, then raise their legs high enough to rest them, near the ankles, on a strong pole, the ends of which are held by two men. Three loose nooses had been previously attached to the apparatus we saw, through which the feet of the culprits were thrust, and the pole twisted till it drew the nooses close, and fixed the limb firmly to the pole. Thus prostrate and secured, the flagellation was inflicted by two of the ferroches, who were stationed on each side of their victims, who, notwithstanding the coolness with which they prepared for the stroke, the moment it was given, set up the most horrible shrieks and howlings, and so continued, as if every lash entered their souls, though I believe more sticks were broken against the pole than touched their feet. However, so unpleasant a scene was not allowed to endure long: Dr. Sharpe was soon satisfied that his commission needed no more, and he and myself united in begging the prince-governor to put an end to the punishment. His Royal Highness did not require persuasion, since the object of the chargé d'affaires was now acknowledged to be accomplished, namely, that no insult offered to a British subject should pass with impunity. And having commanded the men to be withdrawn from the place, he requested that we would put our names to a paper to the same effect, adding, "It being necessary to have such a voucher, that these men, or others, might not be punished a third time for the same offence."

If all the punishments of the East equalled the gentleness of this, there would be no reason to complain of oriental severity; the ordinary style of the infliction seldom producing more inconvenience than a few days' extraordinary tenderness in the parts that sustained the stroke.

Much as my stay at Shiraz had been protracted by the state of my own health, and that of my poor Russian servant, it was likely to have lasted much longer, had not Dr. Sharpe arrived at the very time of our greatest extremity, and, under the goodness of Providence, certainly raised us both from the grave. I soon regained strength sufficient to meditate the farther prosecution of my tour; but my servant, though recovered from the fever, continued in a fearful state of mental derangement. It being impossible to take him with me under such circumstances, I made arrangements with a worthy Armenian priest, to leave him under his care till cooler weather, and his restored faculties, should enable him to follow me in safety. My own plan was to proceed to Darabgurd, Firoozabad, &c., and thence, by Bushire, to places of interest still farther eastward. But when I discussed it with my medical friend, he told me at once, that from the extreme heat of the season, and my debilitated state, should I persist in my resolution of travelling in that direction, through a region which is emphatically called the *gurmseer*, or quarter of heat, there was every chance I should never see Europe again. My object now, he added, must be to entirely recover my health, before I could dare to attempt any distant journeyings whatever; and a retrograde movement was what he strongly urged. Indeed, my own personal feelings seconded his advice; and finding by such a change I must relinquish the more eastern expedition altogether, I resolved to return to Ispahan without delay, having the double inducement of my kind physician's care, and his society; and when it should please Heaven to re-brace me to my usual strength, it now became my intention to proceed to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, to satisfy my wish of

comparing its relics with those I had so lately seen in the province of Fars, the ancient Persis; and thence take my course along the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates, to search into the remains of the oldest city of the world, and with my own eyes behold the stupendous pile of Babylon; the awful witness of the sure word of prophecy, the great city, which covered so many leagues, reduced to a heap, and a pool, and a wilderness: not a man dwelling there, nor a roof remaining to show that there ever was a dwelling for man: and yet, after more than two thousand years of this utter desolation, neither time, nor warring nations in its neighbourhood, have been able to level the imperishable heap; which stands a mountain in the desert, the monument alike of its great existence and signal overthrow. With this object now possessing my mind, I took my leave of all at Shiraz; and, adding my own people to the suite of Dr. Sharpe, on the 30th of July, 1818, set forth on my return to Ispahan.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

London:
Printed by A. and R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

At Persepolis.

2nd Group

5th Group. Upper rang.

7th Group.

At Persepolis.

5th Group. Upper Row

6th Group. At Persepolis

1st Group

2d Group

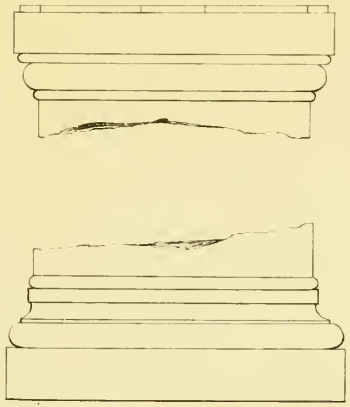
Persepolis

1st Group. At Persepolis.

(b)

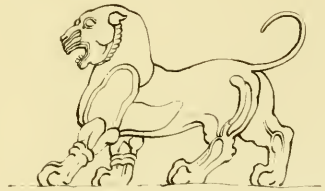
Thebes.

(c)



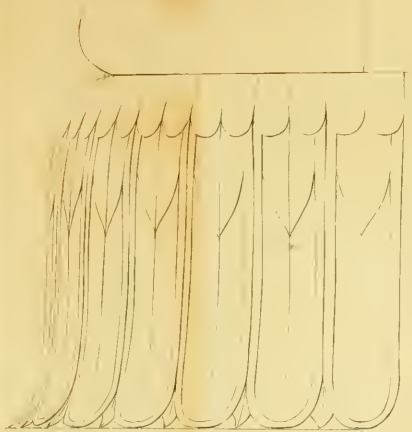
Kangavar.

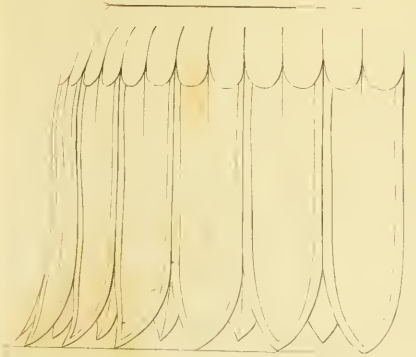
(a)

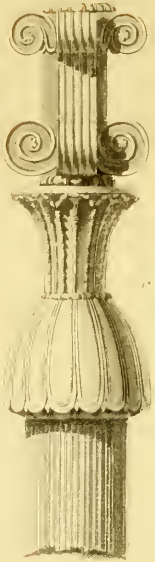


Persepolis.

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1852







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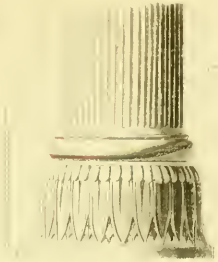

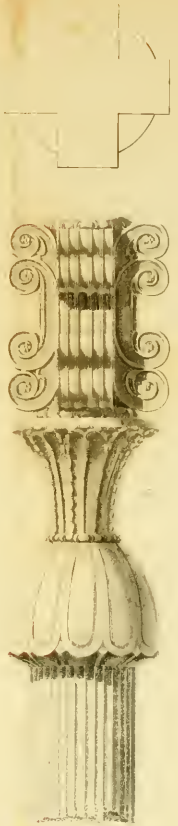

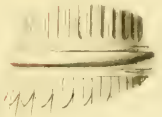

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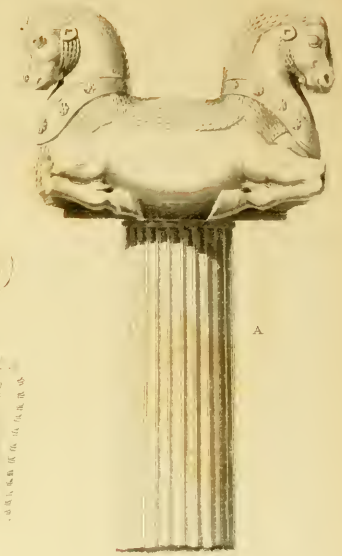

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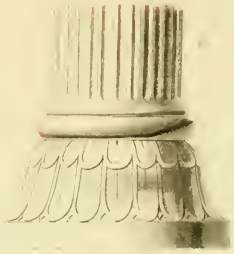
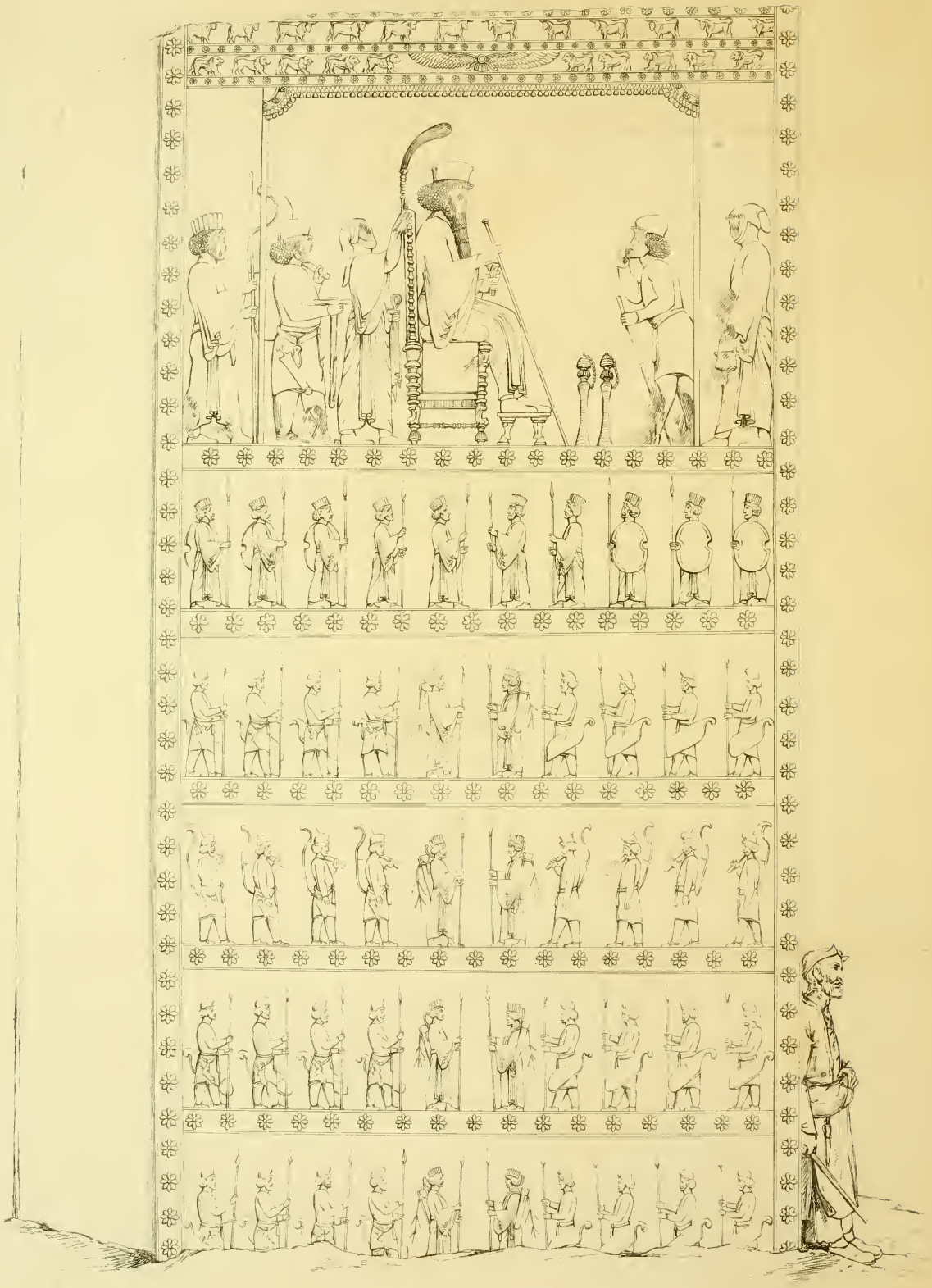
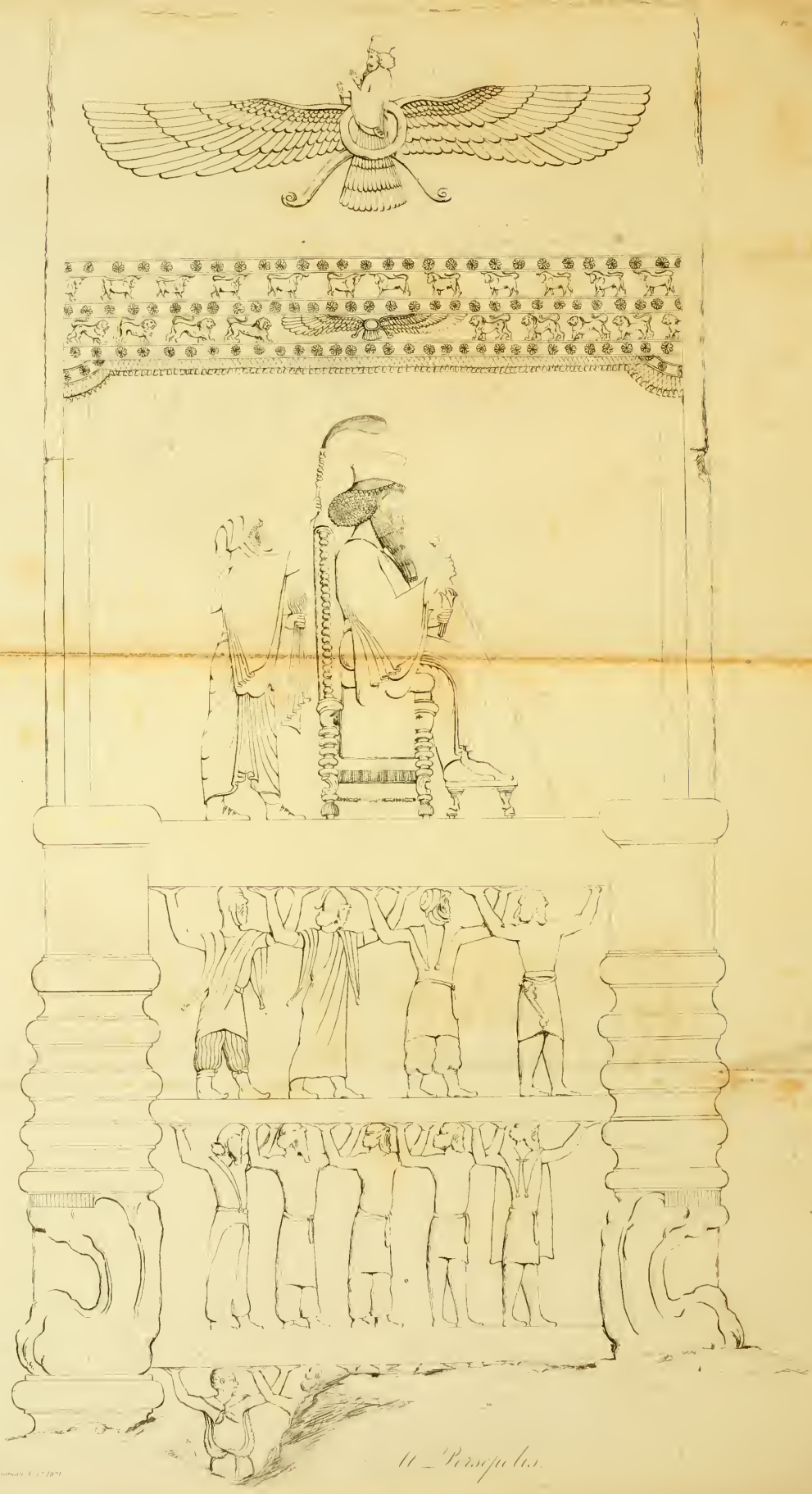


Capitals of Columns &c. at Persepolis.

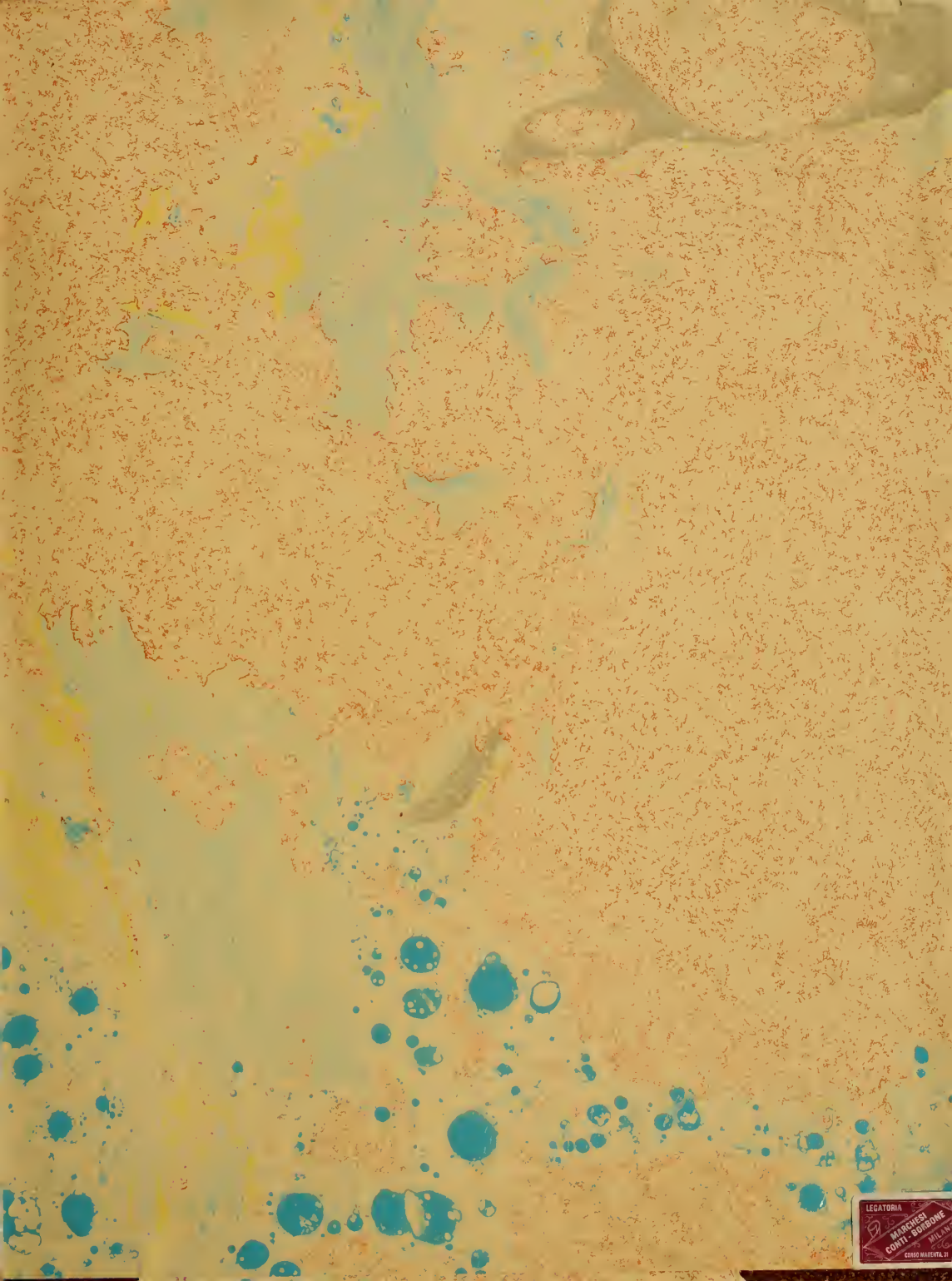
London Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1821



At Persepolis



A. Persepolis.


LEGATORIA
MARCHESI
CONTI BORGONE
MILANO
CORSO MAGENTA 31